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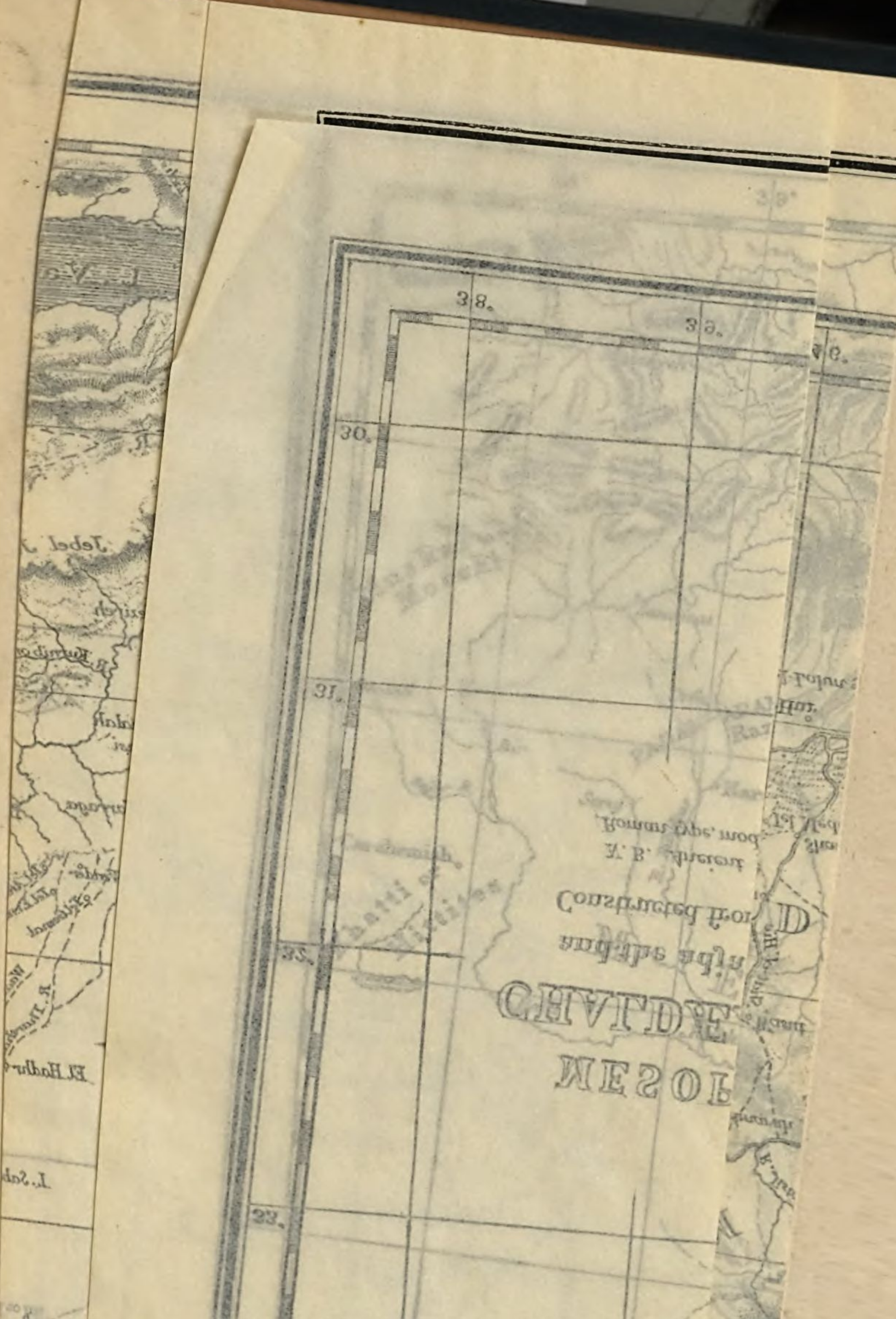
38.
39.
30.
31.
32.
33.
CHATDE
MESOP

MESOPOTAMIA, CHALDÆA, ASSYRIA
and the adjacent Countries.
Constructed from the latest Surveys.

N.B. Ancient names are given in Roman type, modern names in Italics.

38° 39° 40° 41° 42° 43° 44° 45° 46° 47° 48° 49° East of Greenwich

38° 37° 36° 35° 34° 33° 32° 31° 30°

ARMENIA
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
BABYLONIA
ARABIA
MEDIA
ELAM OR SUSIANA
CHALDÆA
SITTACENE
APOLLONIATIS
ADIABENE
CHALONITIS
MYGDONIA, or GAUZANITIS
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
L. Van
L. Golyk
L. Zerlar
L. Sabakhah
Salt Lake
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
R. Khabur
R. Zab
R. Diyaleh
R. Karun
R. Kerkah
R. Jerrahi
Mt. Masius
Mt. Niphates
Mt. Kardu
Mt. Zagros
Mt. Elwand
Mt. Manisht
Mt. Sirwan
Mt. Hamrin
Mt. Sanam
Mt. Makhul
Mt. Shahrazur
Mt. Shirwan
Mt. Pasitigris
Van
Bitlis
Amidi
Sered
Jezireh
Julamerik
Urumiyeh
Tabriz?
Ardebil
Koniyeh
District of Karasou
Maldiyeh
Sumeisat
Severek
Ain-tab
Bir
Haran
Tel Apni
Carchemish
Khatti or Hittites
Balis
Rakkah
Sidikan (Arban)
Shadadi
Fedghami
Bit Khalup?
Sirki (Circesium)
Tsupri?
Nakaraban?
Khindan?
Izzah or Werdi
Kharidi?
Anat
Tzur?
Tsukhi or Shuhhites
Ihi or Is
Hit
Samarah
Tel Imaarah
Alluvium begins
Tel Dhahab
Sifeirah
Tel Khef
Siddawiyeh C.
Feluujeh
Duraba
Mohammed
Baghdad
Opis
Ctesiphon
Psittace
Tsipar or Sepharvaim
Cutha
Kerbela
Hymar
Hillah
BABEL
Im. Khair
Sherifeh
Borsip
Duair
Kefil
Tel-Daabil
Nediif
Cufa
Iskuriyeh
Kut-el-Amarah
Zibbliyeh
Nipur or Calneh
Wasut
Delayhim
Bismiya
Jidr
Diwaniyeh
Balm-i-Nediif
Lamlum
Hammam
Tel-Ede
Nurdyi
Erech
Larsa
Tel Medineh
Shatra
Jeb Mehari
Ur or Hur
Tel-el-Lahm
Mal Battush
Abu Shahrein
Suk-es-Sheiookh
Korneh
Buserah
Zobair
Mohammerah
Ahwaz
Shuster
Susa
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Badaea
Kebir Kuh
Kuh-i-Gird
Kuh-i-Zard
Kuh-i-Mungasht
Kuh-i-Sefid
Kuh-i-Kerkah
Kuh-i-Kurdistan
Kuh-i-Zagros
Kuh-i-Elwand
Kuh-i-Sefid Kuh
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THE

SEVEN GREAT MONARCHIES

OF THE

ANCIENT EASTERN WORLD;

OR,

THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES OF CHALDÆA, ASSYRIA, BABYLON, MEDIA, PERSIA, PARTHIA, AND SASSANIAN, OR NEW PERSIAN EMPIRE.

BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOLUME I.

With Maps and Illustrations.

NEW YORK:

JOHN B. ALDEN, PUBLISHER,

1885.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

TROW'S
PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING COMPANY,
NEW YORK.

Fg 97 40715

PREFACE TO FIVE GREAT MONARCHIES.

THE history of Antiquity requires from time to time to be re-written. Historical knowledge continually extends, in part from the advance of critical science, which teaches us little by little the true value of ancient authors, but also, and more especially, from the new discoveries which the enterprise of travellers and the patient toil of students are continually bringing to light, whereby the stock of our information as to the condition of the ancient world receives constant augmentation. The extremest scepticism cannot deny that recent researches in Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries have recovered a series of "monuments" belonging to very early times, capable of throwing considerable light on the Antiquities of the nations which produced them. The author of these volumes believes that, together with these remains, the languages of the ancient nations have been to a large extent recovered, and that a vast mass of written historical matter of a very high value is thereby added to the materials at the Historian's disposal. This is, clearly, not the place where so difficult and complicated a subject can be properly argued. The author is himself content with the judgment of "experts," and believes it would be as difficult to impose a fabricated language on Professor Lassen of Bonn and Professor Max Müller of Oxford, as to palm off a fictitious for a real animal form on Professor Owen of London. The best linguists in Europe have accepted the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions as a thing actually accomplished. Until some good linguist, having carefully examined into the matter, declares himself of a contrary opinion, the author cannot think that any serious doubt rests on the subject. [1]

The present volumes aim at accomplishing for the Five Na-

[1] Some writers allow that the Persian cuneiform inscriptions have been successfully deciphered and interpreted, but appear to doubt the interpretation of the Assyrian records. (See *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1862, Art III., p. 108.) Are they aware that the Persian inscriptions are accompanied in almost every instance by an Assyrian transcript, and that Assyrian interpretation thus follows upon Persian, without involving any additional "guess-work"?

tions of which they treat what Movers and Kenrick have accomplished for Phœnicia, or (still more exactly) what Wilkinson has accomplished for Ancient Egypt. Assuming the interpretation of the historical inscriptions as, in general, sufficiently ascertained, and the various ancient remains as assigned on sufficient grounds to certain peoples and epochs, they seek to unite with our previous knowledge of the five nations, whether derived from Biblical or classical sources, the new information obtained from modern discovery. They address themselves in a great measure to the eye ; and it is hoped that even those who doubt the certainty of the linguistic discoveries in which the author believes, will admit the advantage of illustrating the life of the ancient peoples by representations of their productions. Unfortunately, the materials of this kind which recent explorations have brought to light are very unequally spread among the several nations of which it is proposed to treat, and even where they are most copious, fall short of the abundance of Egypt. Still in every case there is some illustration possible ; and in one—Assyria—both the "Arts" and the "Manners" of the people admit of being illustrated very largely from the remains still extant.[1]

The Author is bound to express his obligations to the following writers, from whose published works he has drawn freely: MM. Botta and Flandin, Mr. Layard, Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. Loftus, Mr. Cullimore, and Mr. Birch. He is glad to take this occasion of acknowledging himself also greatly beholden to the constant help of his brother, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and to the liberality of Mr. Vaux, of the British Museum. The latter gentleman kindly placed at his disposal, for the purposes of the present work, the entire series of unpublished drawings made by the artists who accompanied Mr. Loftus in the last Mesopotamian Expedition, besides securing him undisturbed access to the Museum sculptures, thus enabling him to enrich the present volume with a large number of most interesting Illustrations never previously given to the public. In the subjoined list these illustrations are carefully distinguished from such as, in one shape or another, have appeared previously.

Oxford, *September*, 1862.

[1] See Chapters VI. and VII. of the Second Monarchy.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

In preparing for the press, after an interval of seven years, a second edition of this work, the author has found it unnecessary to make, excepting in two chapters, any important or extensive alterations. The exceptions are the chapters on the History and Chronology of Chaldæa and Assyria. So much fresh light has been thrown on these two subjects by additional discoveries, made partly by Sir Henry Rawlinson, partly by his assistant, Mr. George Smith, through the laborious study of fragmentary inscriptions now in the British Museum, that many pages of the two chapters in question required to be written afresh, and the Chronological Schemes required, in the one case a complete, and in the other a partial, revision. In making this revision, both of the Chronology and the History, the author has received the most valuable assistance both from the published papers and from the private communications of Mr. Smith—an assistance for which he desires to make in this place the warmest and most hearty acknowledgment. He is also beholden to a recent Eastern traveller, Mr. A. D. Berrington, for some valuable notes on the physical geography and productions of Mesopotamia, which have been embodied in the accounts given of those subjects. A few corrections have likewise been made of errors pointed out by anonymous critics. Substantially, however, the work continues such as it was on its first appearance, the author having found that time only deepened his conviction of the reality of cuneiform decipherment, and of the authenticity of the history obtained by means of it.

Oxford, *November*, 1870.

PREFACE TO THE SIXTH MONARCHY.

THE FOLLOWING WORK is intended, in part, as a continuation of the ancient History of the East, already treated by the Author at some length in his "Five Great Monarchies"; but it is also, and more expressly, intended as a supplement to the ancient History of the West, as that history is ordinarily presented to moderns under its two recognized divisions of "Histories of Greece" and "Histories of Rome." Especially, it seemed to the writer that the picture of the world during the Roman period, commonly put before students in "Histories of Rome," was defective, not to say false, in its omission to recognize the real position of Parthia during the three most interesting centuries of that period, as a counterpoise to the power of Rome, a second figure in the picture not much inferior to the first, a rival state dividing with Rome the attention of mankind and the sovereignty of the known earth. Writers of Roman history have been too much in the habit of representing the later Republic and early Empire as, practically, a Universal Monarchy, a Power unchecked, unbalanced, having no other limits than those of the civilized world, engrossing consequently the whole attention of all thinking men, and free to act exactly as it pleased without any regard to opinion beyond its own borders. One of the most popular[1] enlarges on the idea—an idea quite inconsistent with the fact—that for the man who provoked the hostility of the ruler of Rome there was no refuge upon the whole face of the earth but some wild and barbarous region, where refinement was unknown, and life would not have been worth having. To the present writer the truth seems to be that Rome never was in the position supposed—that from first to last, from the time of Pompey's Eastern Conquests to the Fall of the Empire, there was always in the world a Second Power, civilized or semi-civilized, which in a true sense balanced Rome,[2] acted as a counterpoise and a check, had to be consulted or considered, held a place in all

men's thoughts, and finally furnished a not intolerable refuge to such as had provoked Rome's master beyond forgiveness. This Power for nearly three centuries (B.C. 64—A.D. 225) was Parthia, after which it was Persia under the Sassanian kings. In the hope of gradually vindicating to Parthia her true place in the world's history, the Author has in his "Manual of Ancient History" (published by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press) placed the Parthians *alongside* of the Romans, and treated of their history at a moderate length. But it has seemed to him that something more was requisite. He could not expect that students would be able to give Parthia her proper place in their thoughts unless her history were collected and put forth in a readable form with some fulness. He has, therefore, employed most of his leisure during the last two years in writing the present work, which he commends to students of the later Greek and Roman periods as supplemental to the modern Greek and Roman histories in which those periods are commonly studied.

The Parthian Chronology depends very much upon coins. In preparing this portion of his work the Author has been greatly indebted to aid kindly rendered him by M. R. Stuart Poole and Mr. Gardiner of the British Museum. The representations of coins in the work have been, with one exception, taken by the Author from the originals in the National Collection. For the illustrations of Parthian architecture and art he is indebted to the published works of Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ross, the late Mr. Loftus, and MM. Flandin and Coste. He feels also bound to express his obligations to the late Mr. Lindsay, the numismatic portion of whose work on Parthia[1] he has found of much service.

CANTERBURY, December, 1872.

PREFACE TO SEVENTH MONARCHY.

THIS work completes the Ancient History of the East, to which the author has devoted his main attention during the last eighteen years. It is a sequel to his "Parthians," published in 1873; and carries down the History of Western Asia from the third century of our era to the middle of the seventh. So far as the present writer is aware, no European author has previously treated this period from the Oriental stand-point, in any work aspiring to be more than a mere sketch or outline. Very many such sketches have been published; but they have been scanty in the extreme, and the greater number of them have been based on the authority of a single class of writers. It has been the present author's aim to *combine* the various classes of authorities which are now accessible to the historical student, and to give their due weight to each of them. The labors of M. C. Müller, of the Abbé Grégoire Kabaragy Garabed, and of M. J. St. Martin have opened to us the stores of ancient Armenian literature, which were previously a sealed volume to all but a small class of students. The early Arab historians have been translated or analyzed by Kosegarten, Zotenberg, M. Jules Mohl, and others. The coinage of the Sassanians has been elaborately—almost exhaustively—treated by Mordtmann and Thomas. Mr. Fergusson has applied his acute and practised powers to the elucidation of the Sassanian architecture. By combining the results thus obtained with the old sources of information—the classical, especially the Byzantine writers—it has become possible to compose a history of the Sassanian Empire which is at once consecutive, and not absolutely meagre. How the author has performed his task, he must leave it to the public to judge; he will only venture to say that he has spared no labor, but has gone carefully through the entire series of the Byzantine writers who treat of the time, besides availing himself of the various modern works to which reference has been made

above. If he has been sometimes obliged to draw conclusions from his authorities other than those drawn by Gibbon, and has deemed it right, in the interests of historic truth, to express occasionally his dissent from that writer's views, he must not be thought blind to the many and great excellencies which render the "Decline and Fall" one of the best, if not the best, of our histories. The mistakes of a writer less eminent and less popular might have been left unnoticed without ill results. Those of an historian generally regarded as an authority from whom there is no appeal could not be so lightly treated.

The author begs to acknowledge his great obligations, especially, to the following living writers: M. Patkanian, M. Jules Mohl, Dr. Haug, Herr Spiegel, Herr Windischmann, Herr Mordtmann, Canon Tristram, Mr. James Fergusson, and Mr. E. Thomas. He is also largely beholden to the works of M. Texier and of MM. Flandin and Coste for the illustrations, which he has been able to give, of Sassanian sculpture and architecture. The photographic illustrations of the newly-discovered palace at Mashita are due to the liberality of Mr. R. C. Johnson (the amateur artist who accompanied Canon Tristram in his exploration of the "Land of Moab"), who, with Canon Tristram's kind consent, has allowed them to appear in the present volume. The numismatic illustrations are chiefly derived from Longpérier; but one or two have been borrowed from other sources. For his frontispiece the author is indebted to his brother, Sir Henry Rawlinson, who has permitted it to be taken from an original drawing in his possession, which he believed to be a truthful representation of the great Sassanian building.

CANTERBURY: *December* 1875.

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THE FIRST MONARCHY.

CHALDÆA.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE COUNTRY.

"Behold the land of the Chaldæans."—ISAIAH xxiii. 13.

THE broad belt of desert which traverses the eastern hemisphere, in a general direction from west to east (or, speaking more exactly, of W.S.W. to N.E.E.), reaching from the Atlantic on the one hand nearly to the Yellow Sea on the other, is interrupted about its centre by a strip of rich vegetation, which at once breaks the continuity of the arid region, and serves also to mark the point where the desert changes its character from that of a plain at a low level to that of an elevated plateau or table-land. West of the favored district, the Arabian and African wastes are seas of sand, seldom raised much above, often sinking below, the level of the ocean; while east of the same, in Persia, Kerman, Seistan, Chinese Tartary, and Mongolia, the desert consists of a series of plateaus, having from 3000 to nearly 10,000 feet of elevation. The green and fertile region, which is thus interposed between the "highland" and the "lowland" deserts,[1] participates, curiously enough, in both characters. Where the belt of sand is intersected by the valley of the Nile, no marked change of elevation occurs; and the continuous low desert is merely interrupted by a few miles of green and cultivable surface, the whole of which is just as smooth and as flat as the waste on either side of it. But it is otherwise at the more eastern interruption. There the verdant and productive country divides

itself into two tracts, running parallel to each other, of which the western presents features not unlike those that characterize the Nile valley, but on a far larger scale; while the eastern is a lofty mountain region, consisting for the most part of five or six parallel ranges, and mounting in many places far above the level of perpetual snow.

It is with the western or plain tract that we are here concerned. Between the outer limits of the Syro-Arabian desert and the foot of the great mountain range of Kurdistan and Luristan intervenes a territory long famous in the world's history, and the chief site of three out of the five empires of whose history, geography, and antiquities it is proposed to treat in the present volumes. Known to the Jews as Aram-Naharaim, or "Syria of the two rivers;" to the Greeks and Romans as Mesopotamia, or "the between-river country;" to the Arabs as Al-Jezireh, or "the island," this district has always[2] taken its name from the streams, which constitute its most striking feature, and to which, in fact, it owes its existence. If it were not for the two great rivers—the Tigris and Euphrates—with their tributaries, the more northern part of the Mesopotamian lowland would in no respect differ from the Syro-Arabian desert on which it adjoins, and which in latitude, elevation, and general geological character it exactly resembles. Towards the south, the importance of the rivers is still greater; for of Lower Mesopotamia it may be said, with more truth than of Egypt,[3] that it is "an acquired land," the actual "gift" of the two streams which wash it on either side; being, as it is, entirely a recent formation—a deposit which the streams have made in the shallow waters of a gulf into which they have flowed for many ages.[4]

The division, which has here forced itself upon our notice, between the Upper and the Lower Mesopotamian country, is one very necessary to engage our attention in connection with the ancient Chaldæa. There is no reason to think that the term Chaldæa had at any time the extensive signification of Mesopotamia, much less that it applied to the entire flat country between the desert and the mountains. Chaldæa was not the whole, but a part of, the great Mesopotamian plain; which was ample enough to contain within it three or four considerable monarchies. According to the conbined testimony of geographers and historians,[5] Chaldæa lay towards the south, for it bordered upon the Persian Gulf; and towards the west, for it adjoined Arabia. If we are called upon

to fix more accurately its boundaries, which, like those of most countries without strong natural frontiers, suffered many fluctuations, we are perhaps entitled to say that the Persian Gulf on the south, the Tigris on the east, the Arabian desert on the west, and the limit between Upper and Lower Mesopotamia on the north, formed the natural bounds, which were never greatly exceeded and never much infringed upon. These boundaries are for the most part tolerably clear, though the northern only is invariable. Natural causes, hereafter to be mentioned more particularly,[6] are perpetually varying the course of the Tigris, the shore of the Persian Gulf, and the line of demarcation between the sands of Arabia and the verdure of the Euphrates valley. But nature has set a permanent mark, half way down the Mesopotamian lowland, by a difference of geological structure, which is very conspicuous. Near Hit on the Euphrates, and a little below Samarah on the Tigris,[7] the traveller who descends the streams, bids adieu to a somewhat waving and slightly elevated plain of secondary formation, and enters on the dead flat and low level of the mere alluvium. The line thus formed is marked and invariable ; it constitutes the only natural division between the upper and lower portions of the valley ; and both probability and history point to it as the actual boundary between Chaldæa and her northern neighbor.

The extent of ancient Chaldæa is, even after we have fixed its boundaries, a question of some difficulty. From the edge of the alluvium a little below Hit, to the present coast of the Persian Gulf at the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, is a distance of above 430 miles; while from the western shore of the Bahr-i-Nedjif to the Tigris at Serut is a direct distance of 185 miles. The present area of the alluvium west of the Tigris and the Shat-el-Arab may be estimated at about 30,000 square miles. But the extent of ancient Chaldæa can scarcely have been so great. It is certain that the alluvium at the head of the Persian Gulf now grows with extraordinary rapidity, and not improbable that the growth may in ancient times have been even more rapid than it is at present. Accurate observations have shown that the present rate of increase amounts to as much as a mile each seventy years,[8] while it is the opinion of those best qualified to judge that the *average* progress during the historic period has been as much as a mile in every thirty years![9] Traces of post-tertiary deposits have been found as far up the country as Tel Ede and Hammam,[10] or more than 200 miles from the embouchure of the Shat-el-Arab ; and there is ample reason for believing that

at the time when the first Chaldæan monarchy was established, the Persian Gulf reached inland, 120 or 130 miles further than at present. We must deduct therefore from the estimate of extent grounded upon the existing state of things, a tract of land 130 miles long and some 60 or 70 broad, which has been gained from the sea in the course of about forty centuries. This deduction will reduce Chaldæa to a kingdom of somewhat narrow limits; for it will contain no more than about 23,000 square miles. This, it is true, exceeds the area of all ancient Greece, including Thessaly, Acarnania, and the islands;[11] it nearly equals that of the Low Countries, to which Chaldæa presents some analogy; it is almost exactly that of the modern kingdom of Denmark; but it is less than Scotland, or Ireland, or Portugal, or Bavaria; it is more than doubled by England, more than quadrupled by Prussia, and more than octupled by Spain, France, and European Turkey. Certainly, therefore, it was not in consequence of its size that Chaldæa became so important a country in the early ages, but rather in consequence of certain advantages of the soil, climate, and position, which will be considered in the next chapter.

It has been already noticed that in the ancient Chaldæa, the chief—almost the sole—geographical features, were the rivers.[12] Nothing is more remarkable even now than the *featureless* character of the region, although in the course of ages it has received from man some interruptions of the original uniformity. On all sides a dead level extends itself, broken only by single solitary mounds, the remains of ancient temples or cities, by long lines of slightly elevated embankment marking the course of canals, ancient or recent, and towards the south by a few sand-hills. The only further variety is that of color; for while the banks of the streams, the marsh-grounds, and the country for a short distance on each side of the canals in actual operation, present to the eye a pleasing, and in some cases a luxuriant verdure; the rest, except in early spring, is parched and arid, having little to distinguish it from the most desolate districts of Arabia. Anciently, except for this difference, the tract must have possessed all the wearisome uniformity of the steppe region; the level horizon must have shown itself on all sides unbroken by a single irregularity; all places must have appeared alike, and the traveller can scarcely have perceived his progress, or have known whither or how to direct his steps. The rivers alone, with their broad sweeps and bold reaches, their periodical changes of swell and fall, their strength, mo-

tion, and life-giving power, can have been objects of thought and interest to the first inhabitants; and it is still to these that the modern must turn who wishes to represent, to himself or others, the general aspect and chief geographical divisions of the country.

The Tigris and Euphrates rise from opposite sides of the same mountain-chain. This is the ancient range of Niphates (a prolongation of Taurus), the loftiest of the many parallel ridges which intervene between the Euxine and the Mesopotamian plain, and the only one which transcends in many places the limits of perpetual snow. Hence its ancient appellation, and hence its power to sustain unfailingly the two magnificent streams which flow from it. The line of the Niphates is from east to west, with a very slight deflection to the south of west; and the streams thrown off from its opposite flanks, run at first in valleys parallel to the chain itself, but in opposite directions, the Euphrates flowing westward from its source near Ararat to Malatiyeh, while the Tigris from Diarbekr "goes eastward to Assyria."[13] The rivers thus appear as if never about to meet; but at Malatiyeh, the course of the Euphrates is changed. Sweeping suddenly to the south-east, this stream passes within a few miles of the source of the Tigris below Lake Göljik, and forces a way through the mountains towards the south, pursuing a tortuous course, but still seeming as if it intended ultimately to mingle its waters with those of the Mediterranean.[14] It is not till about Balis, in lat. 36°, that this intention appears to be finally relinquished, and the convergence of the two streams begins. The Euphrates at first flows nearly due east, but soon takes a course which is, with few and unimportant deflections, about south-east, as far as Suk-es-Sheioukh, after which it runs a little north of east to Kurnah. The Tigris from Til to Mosul pursues also a south-easterly course, and draws but a very little nearer to the Euphrates. From Mosul, however, to Samarah, its course is only a point east of south; and though, after that, for some miles it flows off to the east, yet resuming, a little below the thirty-fourth parallel, its southerly direction, it is brought about Baghdad within twenty miles of the sister stream. From this point there is again a divergence. The course of the Euphrates, which from Hit to the mounds of Mohammed (long. 44°) had been E.S.E., becomes much more southerly, while that of the Tigris—which, as we have seen, was for awhile due south—becomes once more only slightly south of east,[15] till near Serut, where the distance between the

rivers has increased from twenty to a hundred miles. After passing respectively Serut and El Khitr, the two streams converge rapidly. The flow of the Euphrates is at first E.S.E., and then a little north of east to Kurnah, while that of the Tigris is S.S.E. to the same point. The lines of the streams in this last portion of their course, together with that which may be drawn across from stream to stream, form nearly an equilateral triangle, the distance being respectively 104, 110, and 115 miles.[16] So rapid is the final convergence of the two great rivers.

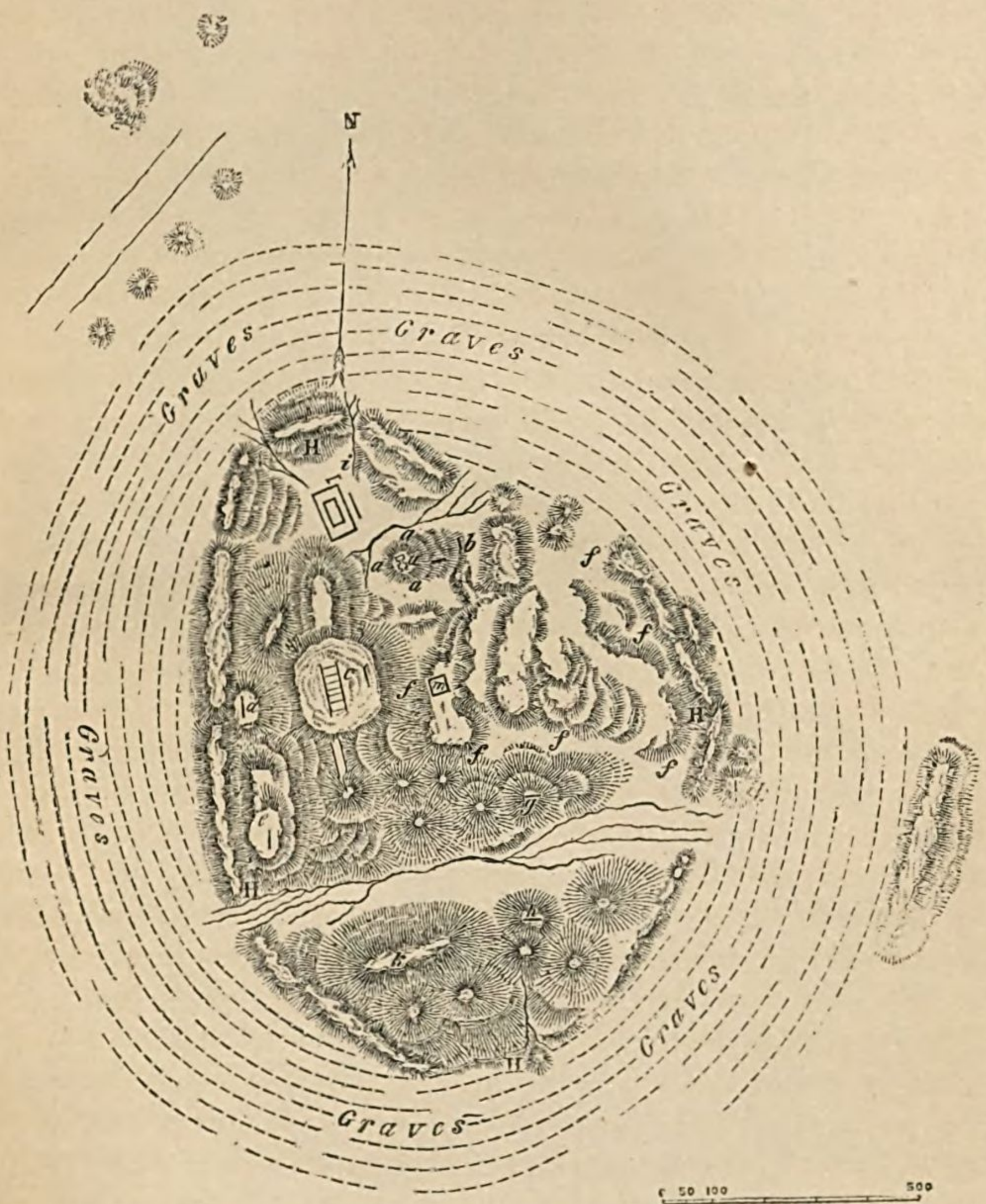
The Tigris and Euphrates are both streams of the first order. The estimated length of the former, including main windings, is 1146 miles; that of the latter is 1780 miles.[17] Like most rivers that have their sources in high mountain regions, they are strong from the first, and, receiving in their early course a vast number of important tributaries, become broad and deep streams before they issue upon the plains. The Euphrates is navigable from Sumeïsat (the ancient Samosata), 1200 miles above its embouchure; and even 180 miles higher up, is a river "of imposing appearance," 120 yards wide and very deep.[18] The Tigris is often 250 yards wide at Diarbekr,[19] which is not a hundred miles from its source, and is navigable in the flood time from the bridge of Diarbekr to Mosul,[20] from which place it is descended at all seasons to Baghdad, and thence to the sea.[21] Its average width below Mosul is 200 yards, with a depth which allows the ascent of light steamers, unless when there is an artificial obstruction.[22] Above Mosul the width rarely exceeds 150 yards, and the depth is not more in places than three or four feet. The Euphrates is 250 yards wide at Balbi, and averages 350 yards from its junction with the Khabour to Hit; its depth is commonly from fifteen to twenty feet.[23] Small steamers have descended its entire course from Bir to the sea. The volume of the Euphrates in places is, however, somewhat less than that of the Tigris, which is a swifter and in its latter course a deeper stream. It has been calculated that the quantity of water discharged every second by the Tigris at Baghdad is 164,103 cubic feet, while that discharged by the Euphrates at Hit is 72,804 feet.[24]

The Tigris and Euphrates are very differently circumstanced with respect to tributaries. So long as it runs among the Armenian mountains, the Euphrates has indeed no lack of affluents; but these, except the Kara Su, or northern Euphrates, are streams of no great volume, being chiefly mountain-torrents

which collect the drainage of very limited basins. After it leaves the mountains and enters upon a low country at Sumeïsat, the affluents almost entirely cease; one, the river of Sajur, is received from the right, in about lat. 36° 40′; and two of more importance flow in from the left—the Belik (ancient Bilichus), which joins it in long. 39° 9′; and the Khabour (ancient Habor or Chaboras), which effects a junction in long. 40° 30′, lat. 35° 7′. The Belik and Khabour collect the waters which flow from the southern flank of the mountain range above Orfa, Mardin, and Nisibin, best known as the "Mons Masius" of Strabo.[25] They are not, however, streams of equal importance. The Belik has a course which is nearly straight, and does not much exceed 120 miles. The Khabour, on the contrary, is sufficiently sinuous, and its course may be reckoned at fully 200 miles. It is navigable by rafts from the junction of its two main branches near the volcanic cone of Koukab,[26] and adds a considerable body of water to the Euphrates. Below its confluence with this stream, or during the last 800 miles of its course, the Euphrates does not receive a single tributary. On the contrary, it soon begins to give off its waters right and left, throwing out branches, which either terminate in marshes, or else empty themselves into the Tigris. After awhile, indeed, it receives compensation, by means of the Shat-el-Hie and other branch streams, which bring back to it from the Tigris, between Mugheir and Kurnah, the greater portion of the borrowed fluid. The Tigris, on the contrary, is largely enriched throughout the whole of its course by the waters of tributary streams. It is formed originally of three main branches: the Diarbekr stream, or true Tigris, the Myafarekin River, and the Bitlis Chai, or Centrites of Xenophon,[27] which carries a greater body than either of the other two.[28] From its entry on the low country near Jezireh to the termination of its course at Kurnah, it is continually receiving from the left a series of most important additions. The chain of Zagros, which, running parallel to the two main springs, shuts in the Mesopotamian plain upon the east, abounds with springs, which are well supplied during the whole summer from its snows,[29] and these when collected form rivers of large size and most refreshing coolness. The principal are, the eastern Khabour, which joins the Tigris in lat. 37° 12′; the Upper Zab, which falls in by the ruins of Nimrud; the Lower Zab, which joins some way below Kileh Sherghat; the Adhem, which unites its waters half way between Samarah and Baghdad; and the Diyaleh (ancient

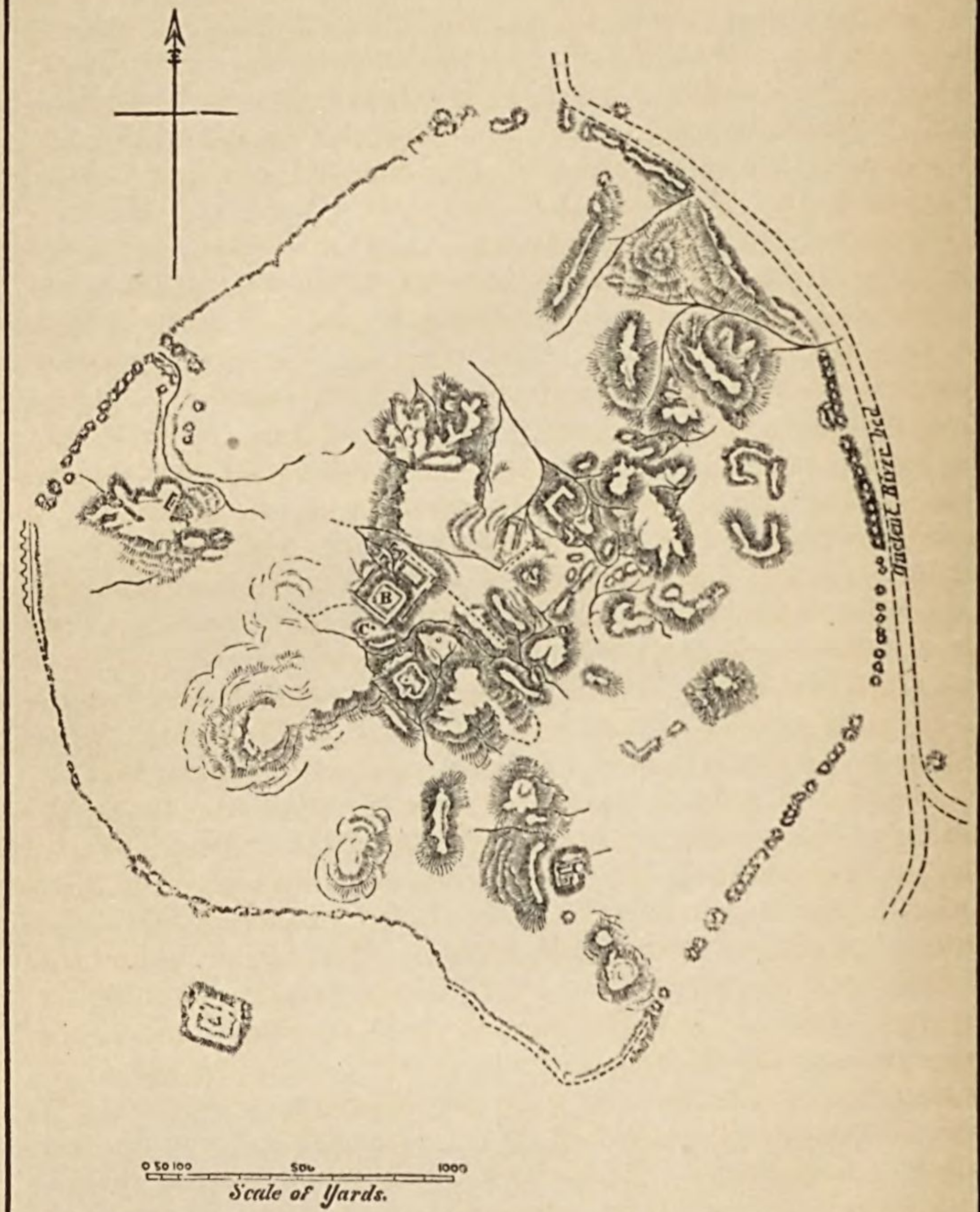
Gyndes), which is received between Baghdad and the ruins of Ctesiphon.

By the influx of these streams the Tigris continues to grow in depth and strength as it nears the sea, and becomes at last (as we have seen) a greater river than the Euphrates, which shrinks during the latter part of its course, and is reduced to a volume very inferior to that which it once boasted. The Euphrates at its junction with the Khabour, 700 miles above Kurnah, is 400 yards wide and 18 feet deep; at Irzah or Werdi, 75 miles lower down, it is 350 yards wide and of the same depth; at Hadiseh, 140 miles below Werdi, it is 300 yards wide, and still of the same depth; at Hit, 50 miles below Hadiseh, its width has increased to 350 yards, but its depth has diminished to 16 feet; at Felujiah, 75 miles from Hit, the depth is 20 feet, but the width has diminished to 250 yards. From this point the contraction is very rapid and striking. The Saklawiyeh canal is given out upon the left, and some way further down the Hindiyeh branches off upon the right, each carrying, when the Euphrates is full, a large body of water. The consequence is that at Hillah, 90 miles below Felujiah, the stream is no more than 200 yards wide and 15 feet deep; at Diwaniyeh, 65 miles further down, it is only 160 yards wide; and at Lamlun, 20 miles below Diwaniyeh, it is reduced to 120 yards wide, with a depth of no more than 12 feet! Soon after, however, it begins to recover itself. The water, which left it by the Hindiyeh, returns to it upon the one side, while the Shat-el-Hie and numerous other branch streams from the Tigris flow in upon the other; but still the Euphrates never recovers itself entirely, nor even approaches in its later course to the standard of its earlier greatness. The channel from Kurnah to El Khitr was found by Colonel Chesney to have an average width of only 200 yards, and a depth of about 18 or 19 feet,[3] which implies a body of water far inferior to that carried between the junction with the Khabour and Hit. More recently, the decline of the stream in its latter course has been found to be even greater. Neglect of the banks has allowed the river to spread itself more and more widely over the land; and it is said that, except in the flood time, very little of the Euphrates water reaches the sea.[31] Nor is this an unprecedented or very unusual state of things. From the circumstance (probably) that it has been formed by the deposits of streams flowing from the east as well as from the north, the lower Mesopotamian plain slopes not only to the south, but to the west.[32] The Euphrates, which has



Plan of Mugheir Ruins.

H H H H. 2946 yards round.
a a a. Platform on which the house *a* is built.
a. House cleared.
b. Pavement at edge of platform *a*, 12 feet below surface.
c. Tomb mound.
d e g h k l m. Points at which excavations were made by Mr. Loftus.
f f f f Comparatively open space of very low mounds.



Ruins of Warka (Erech).

A. Bowarlyeh.
B. Wuswas.
C. Parthian ruin.
D. Edifice of cones.

low banks, is hence at all times inclined to leave its bed, and to flow off to the right,[33] where large tracts are below its ordinary level. Over these it spreads itself, forming the well-known "Chaldæan marshes,"[34] which absorb the chief proportion of the water that flows into them, and in which the "great river" seems at various times to have wholly, or almost wholly, lost itself.[35] No such misfortune can befall the Tigris, which runs in a deep bed, and seldom varies its channel, offering a strong contrast to the sister stream.[36]

Frequent allusion has been made, in the course of this description of the Tigris and Euphrates, to the fact of their having each a flood season. Herodotus is scarcely correct when he says that in Babylonia "the river does not, as in Egypt, overflow the corn-lands of its own accord, but is spread over them by the help of engines."[37] Both the Tigris and Euphrates rise many feet each spring, and overflow their banks in various places. The rise is caused by the melting of the snows in the mountain regions from which the two rivers and their affluents spring. As the Tigris drains the southern, and the Euphrates the northern side of the same mountain range, the flood of the former stream is earlier and briefer than that of the latter. The Tigris commonly begins to rise early in March, and reaches its greatest height in the first or second week of May, after which it rapidly declines, and returns to its natural level by the middle of June. The Euphrates first swells about the middle of March, and is not in full flood till quite the end of May or the beginning of June; it then continues high for above a month, and does not sink much till the middle of July, after which it gradually falls till September. The country inundated by the Tigris is chiefly that on its lower course, between the 32d and 31st parallels, the territory of the Beni Lam Arabs. The territory which the Euphrates floods is far more extensive. As high up as its junction with the Khabour, that stream is described as, in the month of April, "spreading over the surrounding country like a sea."[38] From Hit downwards, it inundates both its banks, more especially the country above Baghdad (to which it is carried by the Saklawiyeh canal), the tract west of the Birs Nimrud and extending thence by way of Nedjif to Samava, and the territory of the Affej Arabs, between the rivers above and below the 32d parallel. Its flood is, however, very irregular, owing to the nature of its banks, and the general inclination of the plain, whereof mention was made above.[39] If care is taken, the inundation may be pretty equally distrib-

uted on either side of the stream; but if the river banks are neglected, it is sure to flow mainly to the west, rendering the whole country on that side the river a swamp, and leaving the territory on the left bank almost without water. This state of things may be traced historically from the age of Alexander to the present day, and has probably prevailed more or less since the time when Chaldæa received its first inhabitants.

The floods of the Tigris and Euphrates combine with the ordinary action of their streams upon their banks to produce a constant variation in their courses, which in a long period of time might amount to something very considerable. It is impossible to say, with respect to any portion of the alluvial plain, that it may not at some former period have been the bed of one or the other river. Still it would seem that, on the whole, a law of compensation prevails, with the result that the general position of the streams in the valley is not very different now from what it was 4000 years ago. Certainly between the present condition of things and that in the time of Alexander, or even of Herodotus, no great difference can be pointed out, except in the region immediately adjoining on the gulf, where the alluvium has grown, and the streams, which were formerly separate, have united their waters. The Euphrates still flows by Hit (Is) and through Babylon;[40] the Tigris passes near Opis,[41] and at Baghdad runs at the foot of an embankment made to confine it by Nebuchadnezzar.[42] The changes traceable are less in the main courses than in the branch streams, which perpetually vary, being sometimes left dry within a few years of the time that they have been navigable channels.[43]

The most important variations of this kind are on the side of Arabia. Here the desert is always ready to encroach; and the limits of Chaldæa itself depend upon the distance from the main river, to which some branch stream conveys the Euphrates water. In the most flourishing times of the country, a wide and deep channel, branching off near Hit, at the very commencement of the alluvium, has skirted the Arabian rock and gravel for a distance of several hundred miles, and has entered the Persian Gulf by a mouth of its own.[44] In this way the extent of Chaldæa has been at times largely increased, a vast tract being rendered cultivable, which is otherwise either swamp or desert.

Such are the chief points of interest connected with the two great Mesopotamian rivers. These form, as has been already observed, the only marked and striking characteristics of the

country, which, except for them, and for one further feature, which now requires notice, would be absolutely unvaried and uniform. On the Arabian side of the Euphrates, 50 miles south of the ruins of Babylon, and 25 or 30 miles from the river, is a fresh-water lake of very considerable dimensions—the Bahr-i Nedjif, the "Assyrium stagnum" of Justin.[45] This is a natural basin, 40 miles long, and from 10 to 20 miles broad, enclosed on three sides by sandstone cliffs, varying from 20 to 200 feet in height, and shut in on the fourth side—the north-east—by a rocky ridge, which intervenes between the valley of the Euphrates and this inland sea. The cliffs are water-worn, presenting distinct indications of more than one level at which the water has rested in former times.[46] At the season of the inundation this lake is liable to be confounded with the extensive floods and marshes which extend continuously from the country west of the Birs Nimrud to Samava. But at other times the distinction between the Bahr and the marshes is very evident, the former remaining when the latter disappear altogether, and not diminishing very greatly in size even in the driest season. The water of the lake is fresh and sweet, so long as it communicates with the Euphrates; when the communication is cut off it becomes very unpalatable, and those who dwell in the vicinity are no longer able to drink it. This result is attributed to the connection of the lake with rocks of the gypsiferous series.[47]

It is obvious that the only natural divisions of Chaldæa proper are those made by the river-courses. The principal tract must always have been that which intervenes between the two streams. This was anciently a district some 300 miles in length, varying from 20 to 100 miles in breadth, and perhaps averaging 50 miles, which must thus have contained an area of about 15,000 square miles. The tract between the Euphrates and Arabia was at all times smaller than this, and in the most flourishing period of Chaldæa must have fallen short of 10,000 square miles.

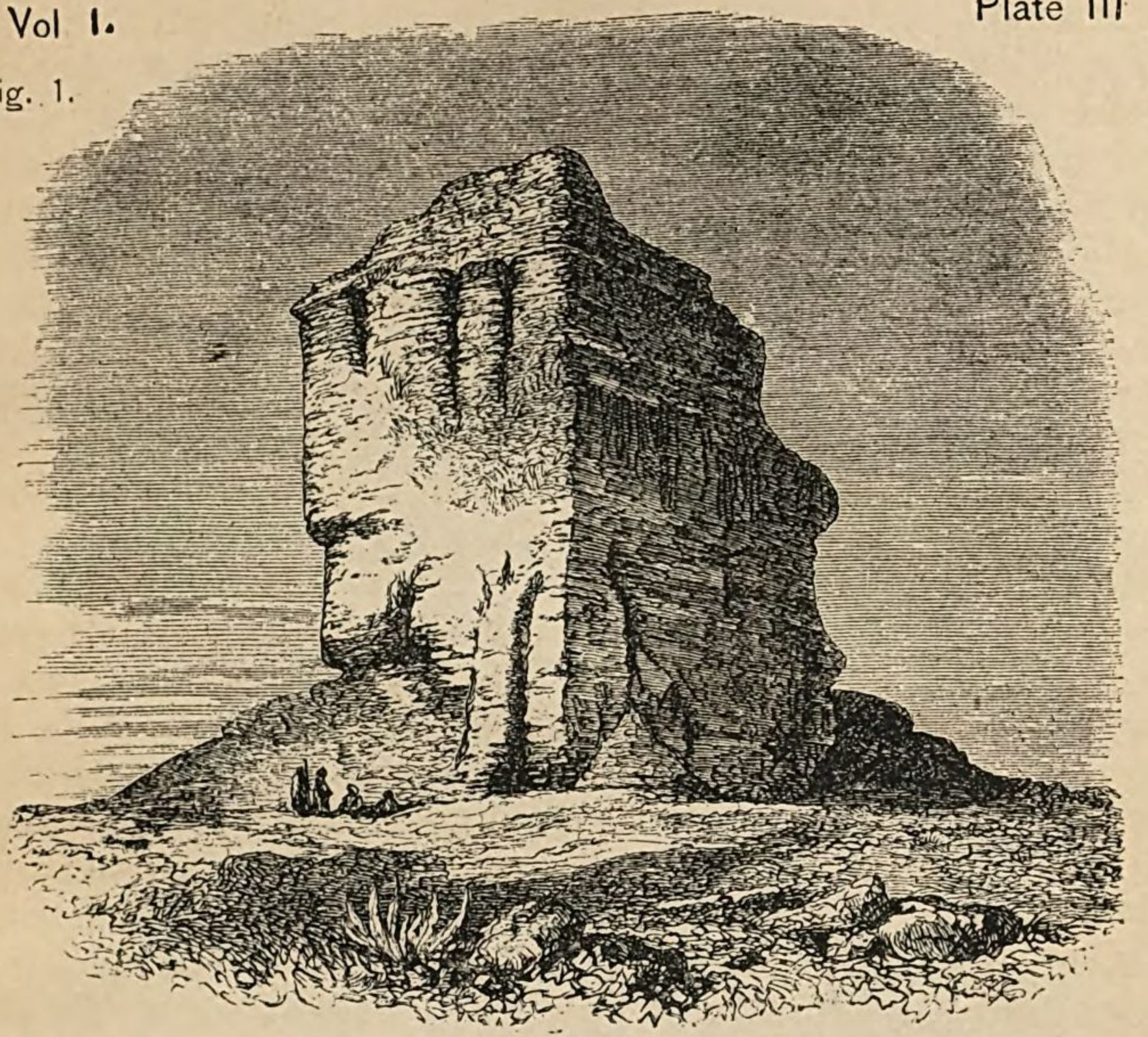
We have no evidence that the natural division of Chaldæa here indicated was ever employed in ancient times for political purposes. The division which appears to have been so employed was one into northern and southern Chaldæa, the first extending from Hit to a little below Babylon, the second from Niffer to the shores of the Persian Gulf. In each of these districts we have a sort of tetrarchy, or special pre-eminence of four cities, such as appears to be indicated by the words—"The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad,

and Calneh, in the land of Shinar."[48] The southern tetrarchy is composed of the four cities, Ur or Hur, Huruk, Nipur, and Larsa or Larancha, which are probably identified with the Scriptural "Ur of the Chaldees," Erech, Calneh, and Ellasar.[49] The northern consists of Babel or Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, and Sippara, of which all except Borsippa are mentioned in Scripture.[50] Besides these cities the country contained many others, as Chilmad, Dur-Kurri-galzu, Ihi or Ahava, Rubesi, Duran, Tel-Humba, etc. It is not possible at present to locate with accuracy all these places. We may, however, in the more important instances, fix either certainly, or with a very high degree of probability, their position.

Hur or Ur, the most important of the early capitals, was situated on the Euphrates, probably at no great distance from its mouth. It was probably the chief commercial emporium in the early times; as in the bilingual vocabularies its ships are mentioned in connection with those of Ethiopia.[51] The name is found to have attached to the extensive ruins (now about six miles from the river, on its right bank, and nearly opposite its junction with the Shat-el-Hie) which are known by the name of Mugheir, or "the bitumened."[52] [Pl. I.] Here on a dead flat, broken only by a few sand-hills, are traces of a considerable town, consisting chiefly of a series of low mounds, disposed in an oval shape, the largest diameter of which runs from north to south, and measures somewhat more than half a mile. The chief building is a temple, hereafter to be more particularly described, which is a very conspicuous object even at a considerable distance, its greatest height above the plain being about seventy feet.[53] It is built in a very rude fashion, of large bricks, cemented with bitumen, whence the name by which the Arabs designate the ruins.

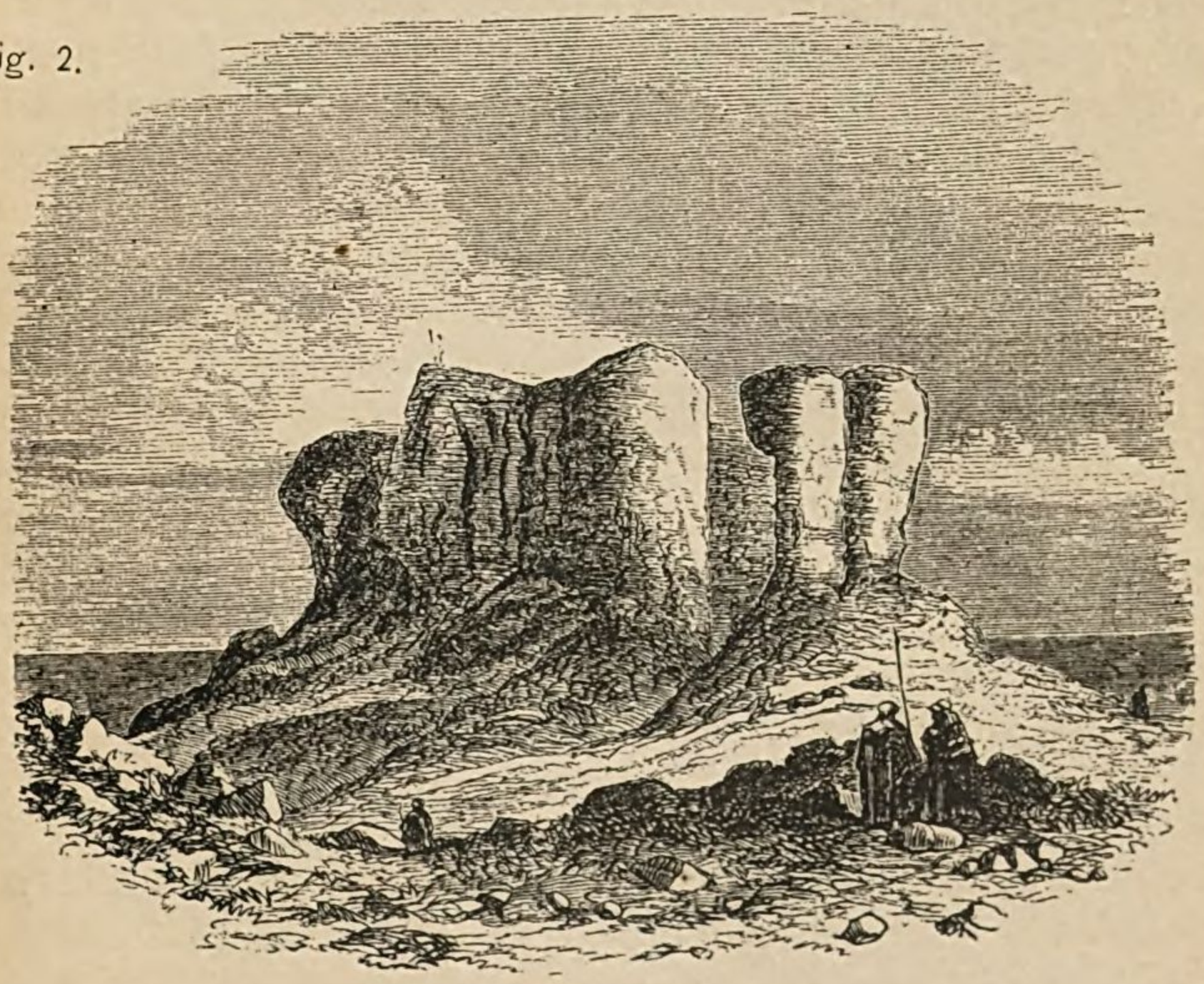
About thirty miles from Hur, in a north-westerly direction, and on the other side of the Euphrates, from which it is distant eight or nine miles, are the ruins of a town, called in the inscriptions Larrak, or Larsa, in which some of the best Orientalists have recognized at once the Biblical Ellasar,[54] the Laranchæ of Berosus,[55] and the Larissa of Apollodorus, where the king held his court who sent Memnon to the siege of Troy.[56] The identification is perhaps doubtful; but, at any rate, we have here the remains of a second Chaldæan capital, dating from the very earliest times. The ruins, which bear now the name of Senkereh or Sinkara, consist of a low circular platform, about four and a half miles in circumference, rising gradually

Fig. 1.



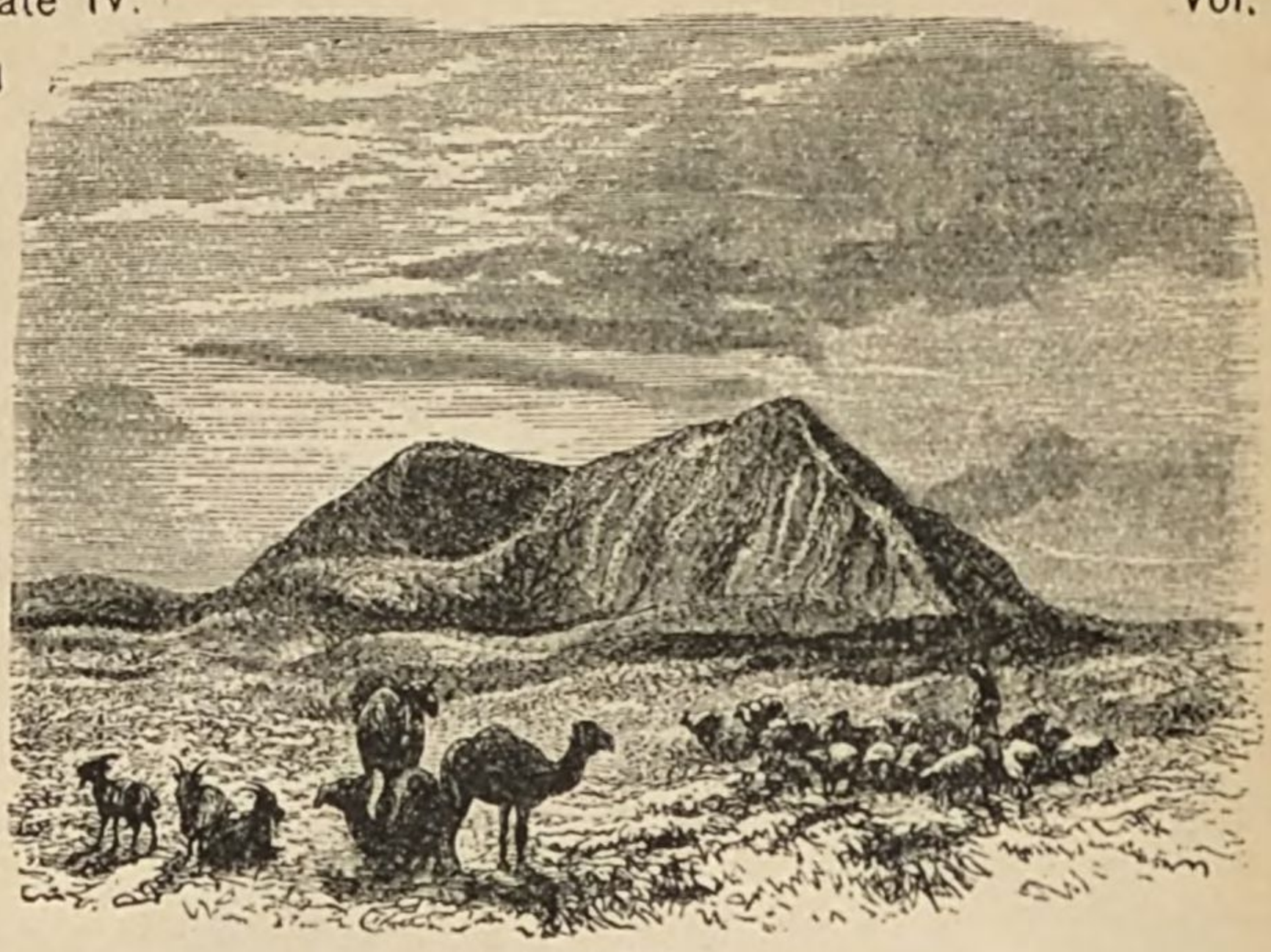
Akkerkuf.

Fig. 2.



Hammam.

Fig. 1



Tel-Ede.

Fig. 2.

Palms.

from the level of the plain to a central mound, the highest point of which attains an elevation of seventy feet above the plain itself, and is distinctly visible from a distance of fifteen miles.[57] The material used consists of the ordinary sun-dried and baked bricks; and the basement platforms bear the inscriptions of the same king who appears to have been the original founder of the chief buildings at Ur or Mugheir.

Fifteen miles from Larsa, in a direction a little north of west, and on the same side of the river, are ruins considerably more extensive than those of either Ur or Larsa, to which the natives apply the name of Warka, which is no doubt a corruption of the original appellation. [Pl. II.] The Erech, or Orech,[58] of the Hebrews, which appears as Huruk in the cuneiform geographical lists, became known to the Greeks as Orchoë;[59] and this appellation, probably continuing in use to the time of the Arab conquest, was then corrupted into Urka or Warka, in which shape the name given by Nimrod still attaches to the second of his cities. The ruins stand in lat. 31° 19′, long. 45° 40′, about four miles from the nearest bend of the Euphrates, on its left or east bank. They form an irregular circle, nearly six miles in circumference, which is defined by the traces of an earthen rampart, in some places forty feet high. A vast mass of undulating mounds, intersected by innumerable channels and ravines, extends almost entirely across the circular space, in a direction, which is nearly north and south, abutting at either end upon the rampart. East and west of this mass is a comparatively open space, where the mounds are scattered and infrequent; while outside the rampart are not only a number of detached hillocks marking the site of ancient buildings, but in one direction—towards the east—the city may be traced continuously by means of ruined edifices, mounds, and pottery, fully three miles beyond the rampart into the desert. The greatest height of the ruins is about 100 feet; their construction is very rude and primitive, the date of some buildings being evidently as early as that of the most ancient structures of either Mugheir or Senkereh.[60]

Sixty miles to the north-west of these ruins, still on the left or eastern bank of the Euphrates, but at the distance of thirty miles from its present course, are the remains of another city, the only Chaldæan ruins which can dispute, with those already described, the palm of antiquity. They consist of a number of separate and distinct heaps, which seem to be the remains of different buildings, and are divided into two nearly

equal groups by a deep ravine or channel 120 feet wide, apparently the dry bed of a river which once ran through the town.[61] Conspicuous among the other hillocks is a conical heap, occupying a central position on the eastern side of the river-bed, and rising to the height of about seventy feet above the general level of the plain.[62] Further on in this direction is a low continuous mound, which seems to be a portion of the outer wall of the city. The ruins are of considerable extent, but scarcely so large as those at either Senkereh or Warka. The name which now attaches to them is Niffer ; and it appears, from the inscriptions at the place, that the ancient Semitic appellation was but slightly different.[63] This name, as read on the bilingual tablets, was Nipur ; and as there can be little doubt that it is this word which appears in the Talmud as Nopher,[64] we are perhaps entitled, on the authority of that treasure-house of Hebrew traditions, to identify these ruins with the Calneh of Moses,[65] and the Calno of Isaiah.[66]

About sixty-five miles from Niffer, on the opposite side of the Euphrates, and in a direction only slightly north of west, are the remains of the ancient Borsippa. These consist of little more than the ruins of a single building—the great temple of Merodach—which was entirely rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar. They have been sometimes regarded as really a portion of the ancient Babylon;[67] but this view is wholly incompatible with the cuneiform records, which distinctly assign to the ruins in question the name of Borsip or Borsippa, a place known with certainty to have been distinct from, though in the neighborhood of, the capital.[68] A remnant of the ancient name appears to be contained in the modern appellation, Birs-Nimrud or Birs-i-Nimrud, which does not admit of any explanation from the existing language of the country.[69]

Fifteen miles from thence, to the north-east, chiefly but not entirely on the left or east bank of the Euphrates, are the remains of "Babylon the Great," which have been so frequently described by travellers, that little need be said of them in this place. The chief ruins cover a space about three miles long, and from one to two broad, and consist mainly of three great masses : the first a square mound, called "Babil" by the Arabs, lying towards the north at some distance from the other remains ; the second or central mound, a pile called the "Kasr" or Palace; and the third, a great irregular heap lying towards the south, known as the "mound of Amram," from a tomb which crowns its summit. The "Kasr" and "Amram" mounds

are enclosed within two lines of rampart, lying at right angles to each other, and forming, with the river, a sort of triangle, within which all the principal ruins are comprised, except the mound called "Babil." Beyond the rampart, towards the north, south, and east, and also across the river to the west, are various smaller detached ruins, while the whole ground, in every direction, is covered with fragments of brick and with nitre, the sure marks of former habitations.

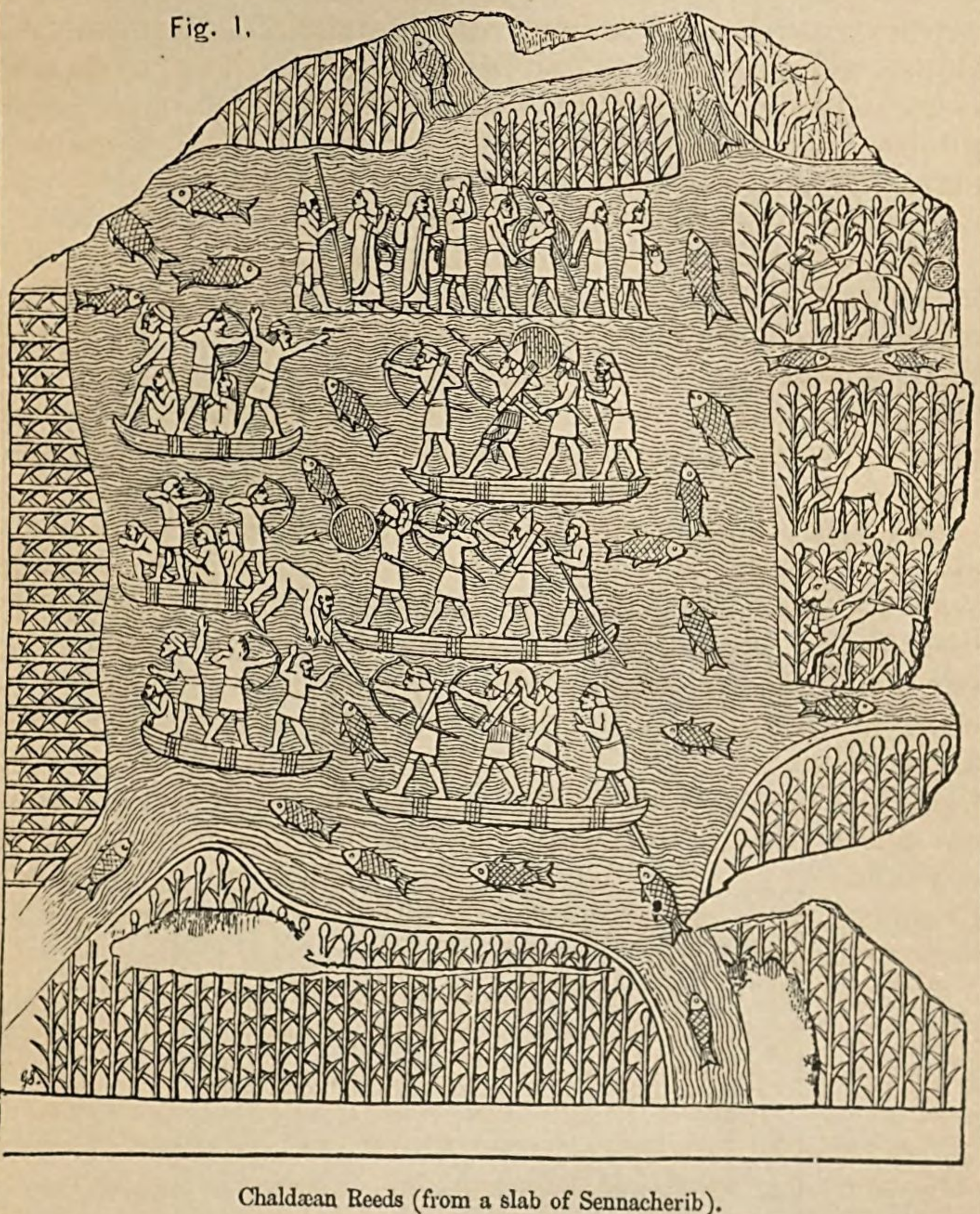
The other cities of ancient Chaldæa which may be located with an approach to certainty, are Cutha, now Ibrahim, fifteen miles north-east by north of Hymar; Sippara or Sepharvaim, which was at Sura, near Mosaib on the Euphrates, about twenty miles above Babylon by the direct route; and Dur-Kurri-galzu, now Akkerkuf, on the Saklawiyeh canal, six miles from Baghdad, and thirty from Mosaib, in a direction a little west of north. [Pl. III., Fig. 1.] Ihi, or Ahava, is probably Hit, ninety miles above Mosaib, on the right bank of the river; Chilmad may be Kalwadha, near Baghdad; and Rubesi is perhaps Zerghul, near the left bank of the Shat-el-Hie, a little above its confluence with the Euphrates. Chaldæan cities appear likewise to have existed at Hymar, ten miles from Babylon towards the east; at Sherifeh and Im Khithr, south and south-east of Hymar; at Zibbliyeh,[70] on the line of the Nil canal, fifteen miles north-west of Niffer; at Delayhim and Bismiya, in the Affej marshes, beyond Niffer, to the south-east; at Phara and Jidr, in the same region, to the south-west and south-east of Bismiya; at Hammam[71] (Pl. III., Fig. 2), sixteen miles south-east of Phara, between the Affej and the Shatra marshes; at Tel-Ede, six miles from Hammam, to the south-south-west (Pl. IV., Fig. 2); at Tel-Medineh and Tel-Sifr, in the Shatra marshes, to the south-east of Tel-Ede and the north-east of Senkereh; at Yokha, east of Hammam, and Nuffdyji, north of Warka; at Lethami, near Niffer; at Iskhuriyeh, north of Zibbliyeh, near the Tigris; at Tel-Kheir and Tel-Dhalab, in the upper part of the alluvium, to the north of Akkerkuf; at Duair, on the right bank of the Euphrates, south of Hilleh and south-east of the Birs-Nimrud; at Jeb Mehari, south of the Bahr-i-Nedjif; at Mal Battush, near Swaje; at Tel-el-Lahm, nine or ten miles south of Suk-es-Sheioukh, and at Abu Shahrein, in the same neighborhood, on the very border of the Arabian Desert.[72] Further investigation will probably add largely to this catalogue, for many parts of Babylonia are still to some extent unexplored. This is especially true of the tract between the Shat-el-Hie and the lower Tigris,[73]

a district which, according to the geographers, abounds with ruins. No doubt the most extensive and most striking of the old cities have been visited; for of these Europeans are sure to hear through the reports of natives. But it is more than probable that a number of the most interesting sites remain unexplored, and even unvisited; for these are not always either very extensive or very conspicuous. The process of gradual disintegration is continually lowering the height of the Chaldæan ruins; and depressed mounds are commonly the sign of an ancient and long-deserted city.[74] Such remains give us an insight into the character of the early people, which it is impossible to obtain from ruins where various populations have raised their fabrics in succession upon the same spot.

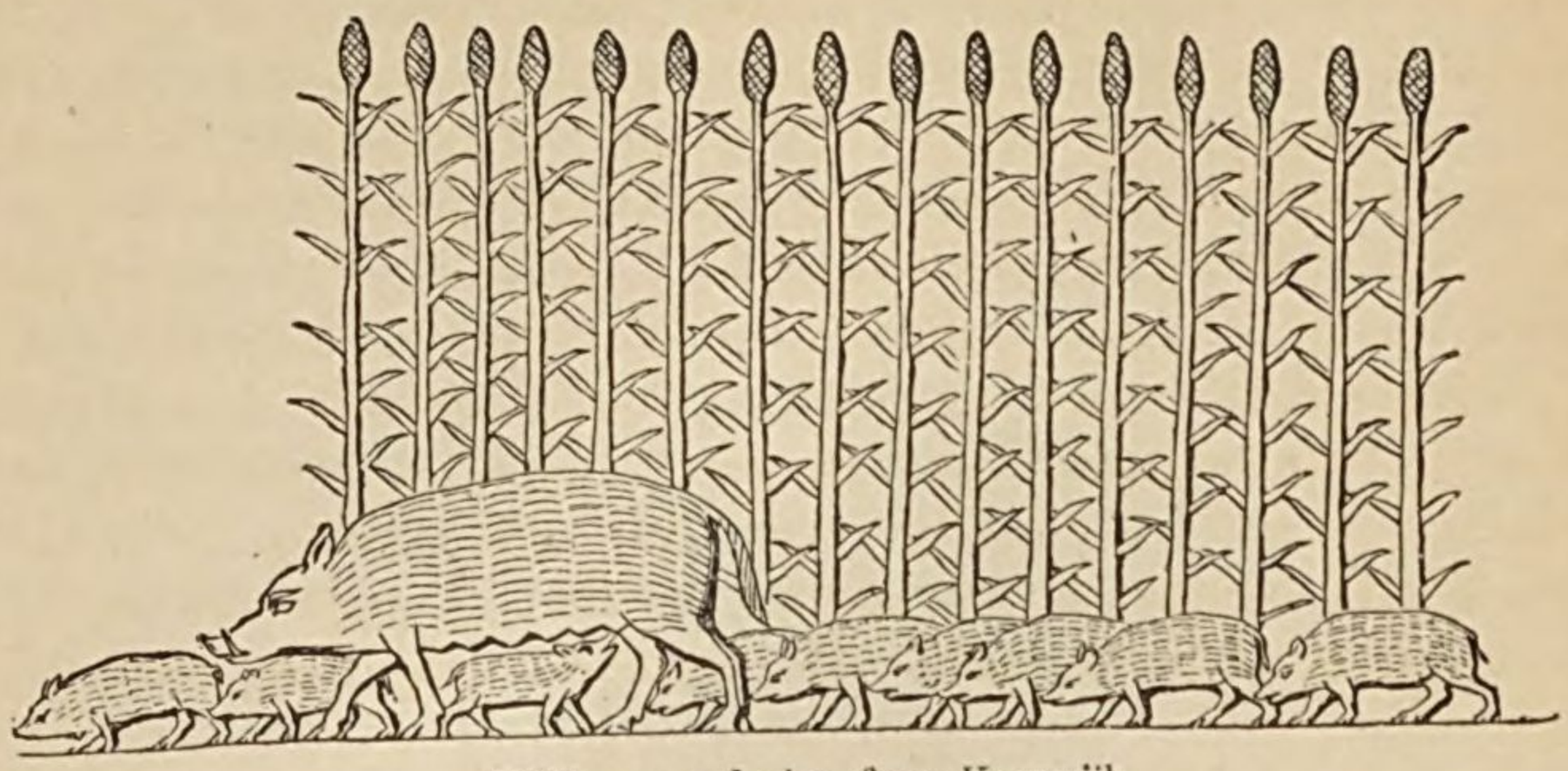
The cities here enumerated may not perhaps, in all cases, have existed in the Chaldæan period. The evidence hitherto obtained connects distinctly with that period only the following—Babylon, Ur or Hur, Larrak or Larsa, Erech or Huruk, Calneh or Nopher, Sippara, Dur-Kurri-galzu, Chilmad, and the places now called Abu Shahrein and Tel-Sifr.[75] These sites, it will be observed, were scattered over the whole territory from the extreme south almost to the extreme north, and show the extent of the kingdom to have been that above assigned to it.[76] They are connected together by a similarity in building arrangements and materials, in language, in form of type and writing, and sometimes in actual names of monarchs. The most ancient, apparently, are those towards the south, at Warka, Senkereh, Mugheir, and Niffer; and here, in the neighborhood of the sea, which then probably reached inland as far as Suk-es-Sheioukh, there is sufficient reason to place the primitive seat of Chaldæan power. The capital of the whole region was at first Ur or Hur, but afterwards became Nipur, and finally Babel or Babylon.

The geography of Chaldæa is scarcely complete without a glance at the countries which adjoin upon it. On the west, approaching generally within twenty or thirty miles of the present course of the Euphrates, is the Arabian Desert, consisting in this place of tertiary sand and gravels, having a general elevation of a few feet above the Mesopotamian plain, and occasionally rising into ridges of no great height, whose direction is parallel to the course of the great stream. Such are the Hazem and the Qassaim, in the country between the Bahr-i-Nedjif and the Persian Gulf, low pebbly ridges which skirt the valley from the Bahr to below Suk-es-Sheioukh. Further west

Fig. 1.

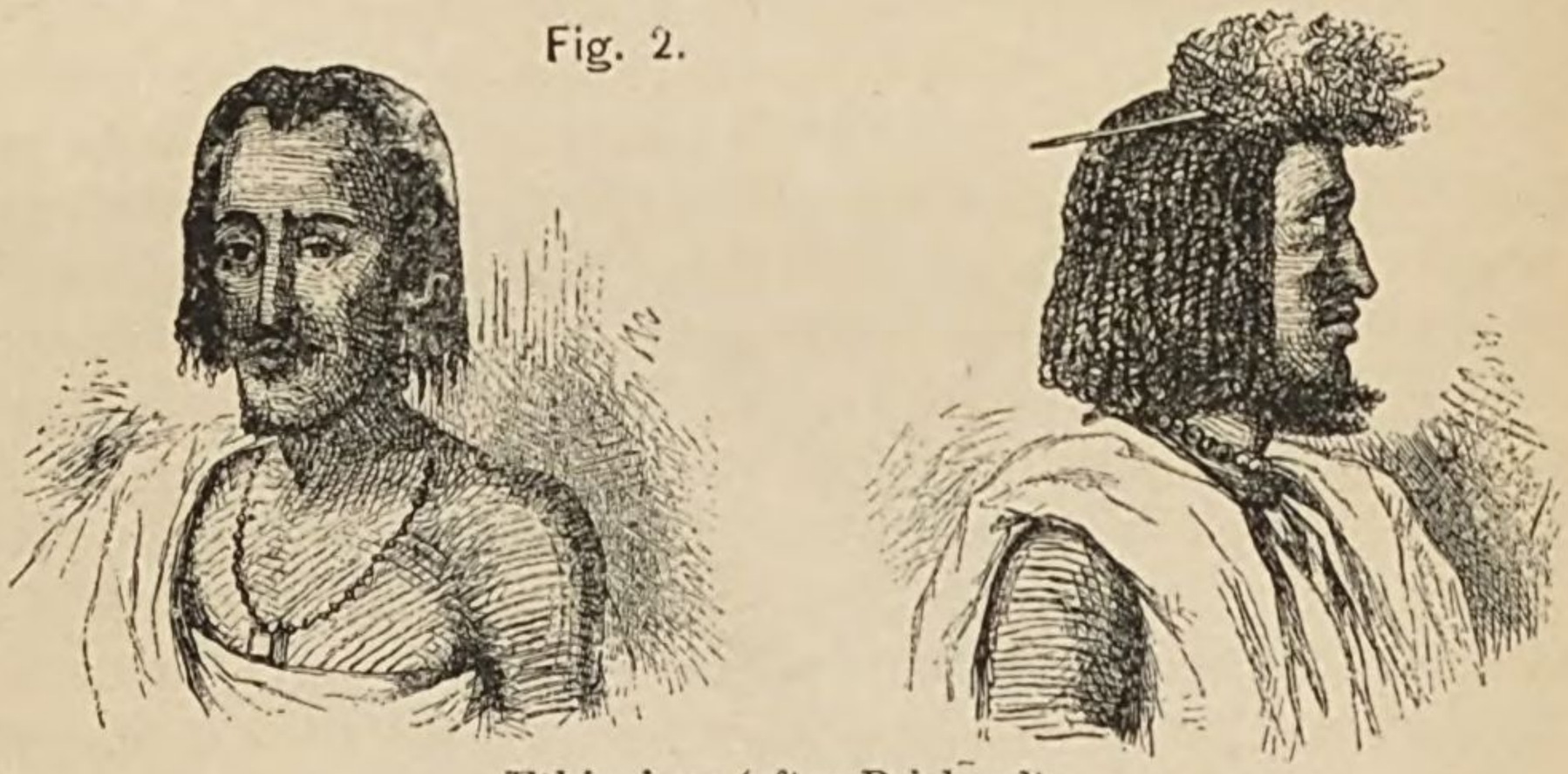


Chaldæan Reeds (from a slab of Sennacherib).



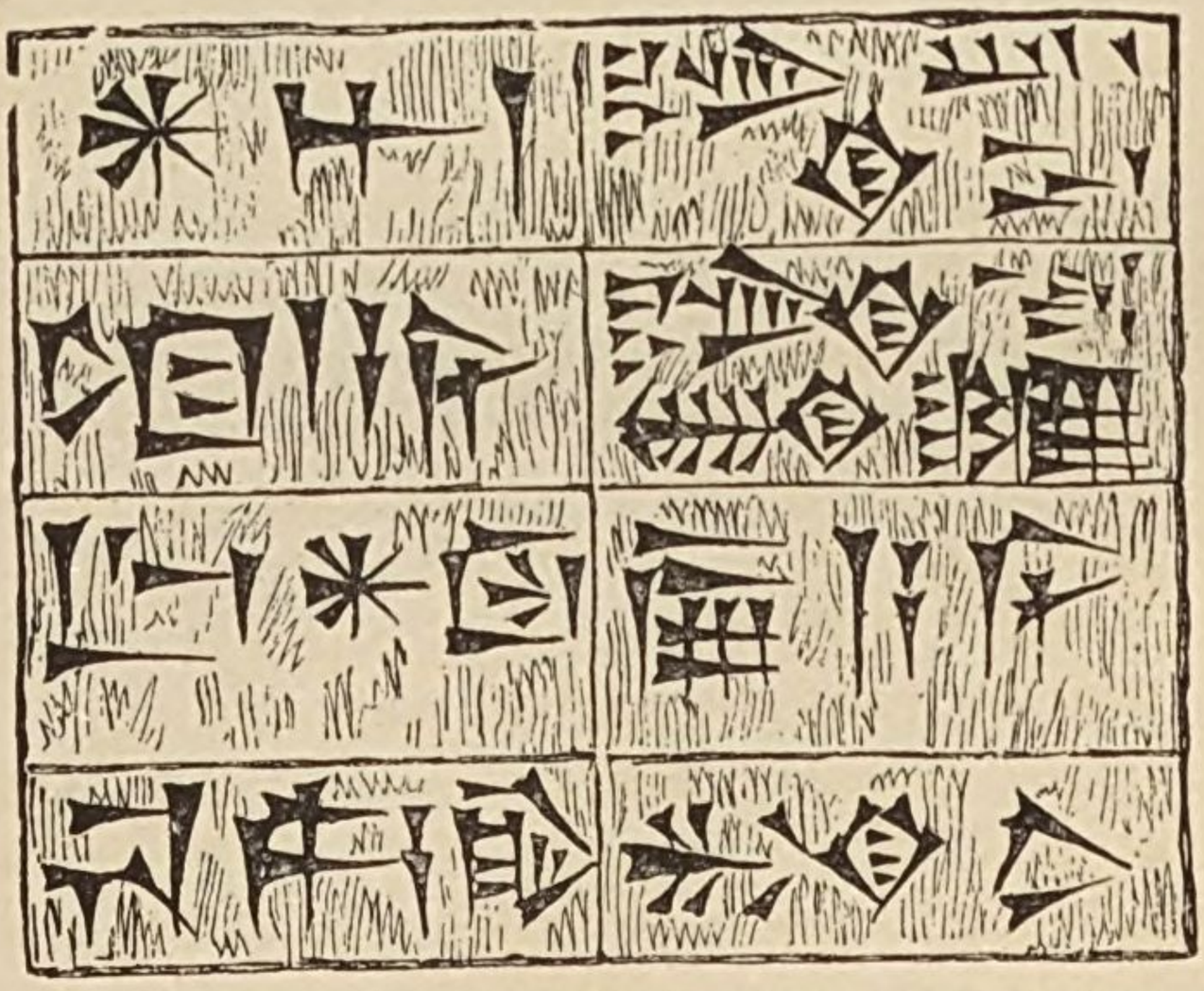
Wild-sow and pigs, from Koyunjik.

Fig. 2.



Ethiopians (after Prichard).

Fig. 3.



the desert becomes more stony, its surface being strewn with numerous blocks of black granite, from which it derives its appellation of Hejerra.[77] No permanent streams water this region ; occasional "wadys" or torrent-courses, only full after heavy rains, are found ; but the scattered inhabitants depend for water chiefly on their wells, which are deep and numerous, but yield only a scanty supply of a brackish and unpalatable fluid. No settled population can at any time have found subsistence in this region, which produces only a few dates, and in places a poor and unsucculent herbage. Sandstorms are frequent, and at times the baleful simoon sweeps across the entire tract, destroying with its pestilential breath both men and animals.[78]

Towards the north Chaldæa adjoined upon Assyria. From the foot of that moderately lofty range already described,[79] which the Greeks call Masius, and the modern Turks know as Jebel Tur and Karajah Dagh, extends, for above 300 miles, a plain of low elevation, slightly undulating in places, and crossed about its centre by an important limestone ridge, known as the Sinjar hills, which have a direction nearly east and west, beginning about Mosul, and terminating a little below Rakkah. This track differs from the Chaldæan lowland, by being at once less flat and more elevated. Geologically it is of secondary formation, while Chaldæa proper is tertiary or post-tertiary. It is fairly watered towards the north, but below the Sinjar is only very scantily supplied. In modern times it is for nine months in the year a desert, but anciently it was well inhabited, means having apparently been found to bring the whole into cultivation. As a complete account of this entire region must be given in another part of the present volume, this outline (it is thought) may suffice for our present purpose.

Eastward of Chaldæa, separated from it by the Tigris, which in its lower course is a stream of more body than the Euphrates, was the country known to the Jews as Elam,[80] to the early Greeks as Cissia,[81] and to the later Greeks as Susis or Susiana.[82] This territory comprised a portion of the mountain country which separates Mesopotamia from Persia ; but it was chiefly composed of the broad and rich flats intervening between the mountains and the Tigris, along the courses of the Kerkhah, Kuran, and Jerahi rivers. It was a rich and fertile tract, resembling Chaldæa in its general character, with the exception that the vicinity of the mountains lent it freshness, giving it cooler streams, more frequent rains, and pleasanter breezes.

Capable of maintaining with ease a dense population, it was likely, in the early times, to be a powerful rival to the Mesopotamian kingdom, over which we shall find that in fact it sometimes exercised supremacy.

On the south Chaldæa had no neighbor. Here a spacious sea, with few shoals, land-locked, and therefore protected from the violent storms of the Indian Ocean, invited to commerce, offering a ready communication with India and Ceylon, as well as with Arabia Felix, Ethiopia, and Egypt. It is perhaps to this circumstance of her geographical position, as much as to any other, that ancient Chaldæa owes her superiority over her neighbors, and her right to be regarded as one of the five great monarchies of the ancient world. Commanding at once the sea, which reaches here deep into the land, and the great rivers by means of which the commodities of the land were most conveniently brought down to the sea, she lay in the highway of trade, and could scarcely fail to profit by her position. There is sufficient reason to believe that Ur, the first capital, was a great maritime emporium ; and if so, it can scarcely be doubted that to commerce and trade, at the least in part, the early development of Chaldæan greatness was owing.

CHAPTER II.

CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS.

"Ager totius Asiæ fertilissimus."— PLIN. *H. N.* vi. 26.

LOWER MESOPOTAMIA, or Chaldæa, which lies in the same latitude with Central China, the Punjab, Palestine, Marocco, Georgia, Texas, and Central California, has a climate the warmth of which is at least equal to that of any of those regions. Even in the more northern part of the country, the district about Baghdad, the thermometer often rises during the summer to 120° of Fahrenheit in the shade;[1] and the inhabitants are forced to retreat to their *serdabs* or cellars,[2] where they remain during the day, in an atmosphere which, by the entire exclusion of the sun's rays, is reduced to about 100°. Lower down the valley, at Zobair, Busrah, and Mohammrah, the summer temperature is still higher ;[3] and, owing to the moisture of the atmosphere, consequent on the vicinity of

the sea, the heat is of that peculiarly oppressive character which prevails on the sea-coast of Hindustan, in Ceylon, in the West Indian Islands, at New Orleans, and in other places whose situation is similar. The vital powers languish under this oppression, which produces in the European a lassitude of body and a prostration of mind that wholly unfit him for active duties. On the Asiatic, however, these influences seem to have little effect. The Cha'b Arabs, who at present inhabit the region, are a tall and warlike race, strong-limbed, and muscular ;[4] they appear to enjoy the climate, and are as active, as healthy, and as long-lived as any tribe of their nation. But if man by long residence becomes thoroughly inured to the intense heat of these regions, it is otherwise with the animal creation. Camels sicken, and birds are so distressed by the high temperature that they sit in the date-trees about Baghdad, with their mouths open, panting for fresh air.[5]

The evils proceeding from a burning temperature are augmented in places under the influence of winds, which, arising suddenly, fill the air with an impalpable sand, sometimes circling about a point, sometimes driving with furious force across a wide extent of country. The heated particles, by their contact with the atmosphere, increase its fervid glow, and, penetrating by the nose and mouth, dry up the moisture of the tongue, parch the throat, and irritate or even choke the lungs.[6] Earth and sky are alike concealed by the dusty storm, through which no object can be distinguished that is removed many yards; a lurid gleam surrounds the traveller, and seems to accompany him as he moves: every landmark is hid from view; and to the danger of suffocation is added that of becoming bewildered and losing all knowledge of the road. Such are the perils encountered in the present condition of the country. It may be doubted, however, if in the times with which we are here concerned the evils just described had an existence. The sands of Chaldæa, which are still progressive and advancing, seem to have reached it from the Arabian Desert, to which they properly belong: year by year the drifts gain upon the alluvium, and threaten to spread over the whole country.[7] If we may calculate the earlier by the present rate of progress, we must conclude that anciently these shifting sands had at any rate not crossed the Euphrates.

If the heat of summer be thus fierce and trying, the cold of winter must be pronounced to be very moderate. Frost, indeed, is not unknown in the country ;[8] but the frosts are only

slight. Keen winds blow from the north, and in the morning the ground is often whitened by the congelation of the dew; the Arabs, impatient of a low temperature, droop and flag; but there is at no time any severity of cold; ice rarely forms in the marshes; snow is unknown; and the thermometer, even on the grass, does not often sink below 30°. The Persian kings passed their winter in Babylon, on account of the mildness of the climate; and Indian princes, expelled from the Peninsula, are wont, from a similar cause, to fix their residence at Busrah or Baghdad. The cold of which travellers speak is relative rather than positive. The range of the thermometer in Lower Chaldæa is perhaps 100°, whereas in England it is scarcely 80°; there is thus a greater difference between the heat of summer and the cold of winter there than here; but the actual greatest cold—that which benumbs the Arabs and makes them fall from their horses[9]—is no more than we often experience in April, or even in May.

The rainy season of Chaldæa is in the winter time. Heavy showers fall in November, and still more in December, which sensibly raise the level of the rivers.[10] As the spring advances the showers become lighter and less frequent; but still they recur from time to time, until the summer sets in, about May. From May to November rain is very rare indeed. The sky continues for weeks or even months without a cloud; and the sun's rays are only tempered for a short time at morning and at evening by a gray mist or haze. It is during these months that the phenomenon of the mirage is most remarkable. The strata of air, unequally heated, and therefore differing in rarity, refract the rays of light, fantastically enlarging and distorting the objects seen through them, which frequently appear raised from the ground and hanging in mid-air, or else, by a repetition of their image, which is reflected in a lower stratum, give the impression that they stand up out of a lake. Hence the delusion which has so often driven the traveller to desperation—the "image of a cool, rippling, watery mirror,"[11] which flies before him as he advances, and at once provokes and mocks his thirst.

The fertility of Chaldæa in ancient times was proverbial. "Of all countries that we know," says Herodotus, "there is none that is so fruitful in grain. It makes no pretension, indeed, of growing the fig, the olive, the vine, or any other tree of the kind; but in grain it is so fruitful as to yield commonly two hundred-fold, and when the production is at the greatest,

even three hundred-fold. The blade of the wheat-plant and of the barley-plant is often four fingers in breadth. As for the millet and the sesame, I shall not say to what height they grow, though within my own knowledge; for I am not ignorant that what I have already written concerning the fruitfulness of Babylonia must seem incredible to those who have not visited the country."[12] Theophrastus, the disciple of Aristotle, remarks—"In Babylon the wheat-fields are regularly mown twice, and then fed off with beasts, to keep down the luxuriance of the leaf; otherwise the plant does not run to ear. When this is done, the return, in lands that are badly cultivated, is fifty-fold; while, in those that are well farmed, it is a hundred-fold."[13] Strabo observes—"The country produces barley on a scale not known elsewhere, for the return is said to be three hundred-fold. All other wants are supplied by the palm, which furnishes not only bread, but wine, vinegar, honey, and meal."[14] Pliny follows Theophrastus, with the exception that he makes the return of the wheat-crop, where the land is well farmed, a hundred and fifty-fold.[15] The wealth of the region was strikingly exhibited by the heavy demands which were made upon it by the Persian kings, as well as by the riches which, notwithstanding these demands, were accumulated in the hands of those who administered its government. The money-tribute paid by Babylonia and Assyria to the Persians was a thousand talents of silver (nearly a quarter of a million of our money) annually;[16] while the tribute in kind was reckoned at one third part of the contributions of the whole empire.[17] Yet, despite this drain on its resources, the government was regarded as the best that the Persian king had to bestow, and the wealth accumulated by Babylonian satraps was extraordinary. Herodotus tells us of a certain Tritantæchmes, a governor, who, to his own knowledge, derived from his province nearly two bushels of silver daily! This fortunate individual had a stud of sixteen thousand mares, with a proportionate number of horses.[18] Another evidence of the fertility of the region may be traced in the fear of Artaxerxes Mnemon, after the battle of Cunaxa, lest the Ten Thousand should determine to settle permanently in the vicinity of Sittace upon the Tigris.[19] Whatever opinion may be held as to the exact position of this place, and of the district intended by Xenophon, it is certain that it was in the alluvial plain,[20] and so contained within the limits of the ancient Chaldæa.

Modern travellers, speaking of Chaldæa in its present condi-

tion, express themselves less enthusiastically than the ancients; but, on the whole, agree with them as to the natural capabilities of the country. "The soil," says one of the most judicious, "is extremely fertile, producing great quantities of rice, dates, and grain of different kinds, though it is not cultivated to above half the degree of which it is susceptible."[21] "The soil is rich," says another, "not less bountiful than that on the banks of the Egyptian Nile."[22] "Although greatly changed by the neglect of man," observes a third, "those portions of Mesopotamia which are still cultivated, as the country about Hillah, show that the region has all the fertility ascribed to it by Herodotus."[23] There is a general recognition of the productive qualities of the district, combined with a general lamentation over the existing neglect and apathy which allow such gifts of Nature to run to waste. Cultivation, we are told, is now the exception, instead of the rule. "Instead of the luxuriant fields, the groves and gardens of former times, nothing now meets the eye but an arid waste."[24] Many parts of Chaldæa, naturally as productive as any others, are at present pictures of desolation. Large tracts are covered by unwholesome marshes, producing nothing but enormous reeds; others lie waste and bare, parched up by the fierce heat of the sun, and utterly destitute of water; in some places, as has been already mentioned, sand-drifts accumulate, and threaten to make the whole region a mere portion of the desert.

The great cause of this difference between ancient and modèrn Chaldæa is the neglect of the water-courses. Left to themselves, the rivers tend to desert some portions of the alluvium wholly, which then become utterly unproductive; while they spread themselves out over others, which are converted thereby into pestilential swamps. A well-arranged system of embankments and irrigating canals is necessary in order to develop the natural capabilities of the country, and to derive from the rich soil of this vast alluvium the valuable and varied products which it can be made to furnish.

Among the natural products of the region two stand out as pre-eminently important—the wheat-plant and the date-palm. [Pl. IV., Fig. 2.] According to the native tradition,[25] wheat was indigenous in Chaldæa; and the first comers thus found themselves provided by the bountiful hand of Nature with the chief necessary of life. The luxuriance of the plant was excessive. Its leaves were as broad as the palm of a man's hand, and its tendency to grow leaves was so great that (as we have

seen[26]) the Babylonians used to mow it twice and then pasture their cattle on it for awhile, to keep down the blade and induce the plant to run to ear. The ultimate return was enormous; on the most moderate computation[27] it amounted to fifty-fold at the least, and often to a hundred-fold. The modern Oriental is content, even in the case of a rich soil, with a ten-fold return.[28]

The date-palm was at once one of the most valuable and one of the most ornamental products of the country. "Of all vegetable forms," says the greatest of modern naturalists, "the palm is that to which the prize of beauty has been assigned by the concurrent voice of nations in all ages."[29] And though the date-palm is in form perhaps less graceful and lovely than some of its sister species, it possesses in the dates themselves a beauty which they lack. These charming yellow clusters, semi-transparent, which the Greeks likened to amber,[30] and moderns compare to gold,[31] contrast, both in shade and tint, with the green feathery branches beneath whose shade they hang, and give a richness to the landscape they adorn which adds greatly to its attractions. And the utility of the palm has been at all times proverbial. A Persian poem celebrated its three hundred and sixty uses.[32] The Greeks, with more moderation, spoke of it as furnishing the Babylonians with bread, wine, vinegar, honey, groats, string and ropes of all kinds, firing, and a mash for fattening cattle.[33] The fruit was excellent, and has formed at all times an important article of nourishment in the country. It was eaten both fresh and dried, forming in the latter case a delicious sweetmeat.[34] The wine, "sweet but headachy,"[35] was probably not the spirit which it is at present customary to distil from the dates, but the slightly intoxicating drink called *lagby* in North Africa, which may be drawn from the tree itself by decapitating it, and suffering the juice to flow.[36] The vinegar was perhaps the same fluid corrupted, or it may have been obtained from the dates. The honey was palm-sugar, likewise procurable from the sap. How the groats were obtained we do not know; but it appears that the pith of the palm was eaten formerly in Babylonia, and was thought to have a very agreeable flavor.[37] Ropes were made from the fibres of the bark; and the wood was employed for building and furniture.[38] It was soft, light and easily worked; but tough, strong and fibrous.[39]

The cultivation of the date-palm was widely extended in Chaldæa, probably from very early times. The combination

of sand, moisture, and a moderately saline soil, in which it delights,[40] was there found in perfection, more especially in the lower country, which had but recently been reclaimed from the sea. Even now, when cultivation is almost wholly laid aside, a thick forest of luxuriant date-trees clothes the banks of the Euphrates on either side, from the vicinity of Mugheir to its embouchure at the head of the Persian Gulf.[41] Anciently the tract was much more generally wooded with them. "Palm-trees grow in numbers over the whole of the flat country," says one of the most observant and truthful of travellers—Herodotus.[42] According to the historians of Julian, a forest of verdure extended from the upper edge of the alluvium, which he crossed, to Mesene, and the shores of the sea.[43] When the Arabian conquerors settled themselves in the lower country, they were so charmed with the luxuriant vegetation and the abundant date-groves, that they compared the region with the country about Damascus, and reckoned it among their four earthly paradises.[44] The propagation of the date-palm was chiefly from seed. In Chaldæa, however, it was increased sometimes from suckers or offshoots thrown up from the stem of the old tree;[45] at other times by a species of cutting, the entire head being struck off with about three feet of stem, notched, and then planted in moist ground.[46] Several varieties of the tree were cultivated; but one was esteemed above all the rest, both for the size and flavor of the fruit. It bore the name of "Royal," and grew only in one place near Babylon.[47]

Beside these two precious products, Chaldæa produced excellent barley, millet, sesame, vetches and fruits of all kinds.[48] It was, however, deficient in variety of trees, possessing scarcely any but the palm and the cypress. Pomegranates, tamarisks, poplars, and acacias are even now almost the only trees besides the two above mentioned, to be found between Samarah and the Persian Gulf. The tamarisk grows chiefly as a shrub along the rivers, but sometimes attains the dimensions of a tree, as in the case of the "solitary tree" still growing upon the ruins of Babylon.[49] The pomegranates with their scarlet flowers, and the acacias with their light and graceful foliage, ornament the banks of the streams, generally intermingled with the far more frequent palm, while oranges, apples, pears, and vines are successfully cultivated in the gardens and orchards.

Among the vegetable products of Chaldæa must be noticed, as almost peculiar to the region, its enormous reeds. [Pl. V.]

These, which are represented with much spirit in the sculptures of Sennacherib, cover the marshes in the summer-time, rising often to the height of fourteen or fifteen feet.[50] The Arabs of the marsh region form their houses of this material, binding the stems of the reeds together, and bending them into arches, to make the skeleton of their buildings; while, to form the walls, they stretch across from arch to arch mats made of the leaves. From the same fragile substance they construct their *terradas* or light boats, which, when rendered waterproof by means of bitumen, will support the weight of three or four men.[51]

In mineral products Chaldæa was very deficient indeed. The alluvium is wholly destitute of metals, and even of stone, which must be obtained, if wanted, from the adjacent countries. The neighboring parts of Arabia could furnish sandstone and the more distant basalt; which appears to have been in fact transported occasionally to the Chaldæan cities.[52] Probably, however, the chief importation of stone was by the rivers, whose waters would readily convey it to almost any part of Chaldæa from the regions above the alluvium. This we know to have been done in some cases,[53] but the evidence of the ruins makes it clear that such importation was very limited. The Chaldæans found, in default of stone, a very tolerable material in their own country; which produced an inexhaustible supply of excellent clay, easily moulded into bricks, and not even requiring to be baked in order to fit it for the builder. Exposure to the heat of the summer sun hardened the clay sufficiently for most purposes, while a few hours in a kiln made it as firm and durable as freestone, or even granite. Chaldæa, again, yielded various substances suitable for mortar. Calcareous earths abound on the western side of the Euphrates towards the Arabian frontier;[54] while everywhere a tenacious slime or mud is easily procurable, which, though imperfect as a cement, can serve the purpose, and has the advantage of being always at hand. Bitumen is also produced largely in some parts, particularly at Hit, where are the inexhaustible springs which have made that spot famous in all ages.[55] Naphtha and bitumen are here given forth separately in equal abundance; and these two substances, boiled together in certain proportions, form a third kind of cement, superior to the slime or mud, but inferior to lime-mortar. Petroleum, called by the Orientals *mumia*, is another product of the bitumen-pits.[56]

The wild animals indigenous in Babylonia appear to be

chiefly the following:—the lion, the leopard, the hyæna, the lynx, the wild-cat, the wolf, the jackal, the wild-boar, the buffalo, the stag, the gazelle, the jerboa, the fox, the hare, the badger, and the porcupine. The Mesopotamian lion is a noble animal. Taller and larger than a Mount St. Bernard dog, he wanders over the plains their undisputed lord, unless when an European ventures to question his pre-eminence. The Arabs tremble at his approach, and willingly surrender to him the choicest of their flocks and herds. Unless urged by hunger, he seldom attacks man, but contents himself with the destruction of buffaloes, camels, dogs, and sheep. When taken young, he is easily tamed, and then manifests considerable attachment to his master.[57] In his wild state he haunts the marshes and the banks of the various streams and canals, concealing himself during the day, and at night wandering abroad in search of his prey, to obtain which he will approach with boldness to the very skirts of an Arab encampment. His roar is not deep or terrible, but like the cry of a child in pain, or the first wail of the jackal after sunset, only louder, clearer and more prolonged. Two varieties of the lion appear to exist: the one is maneless, while the other has a long mane, which is black and shaggy. The former is now the more common in the country; but the latter, which is the fiercer of the two,[58] is the one ordinarily represented upon the sculptures. The lioness is nearly as much feared as the lion; when her young are attacked, or when she has lost them, she is perhaps even more terrible. Her roar is said to be deeper and far more imposing than of the male.[59]

The other animals require but few remarks. Gazelles are plentiful in the more sandy regions; buffaloes abound in the marshes of the south, where they are domesticated, and form the chief wealth of the inhabitants;[60] troops of jackals are common, while the hyæna and wolf are comparatively rare; the wild-boar frequents the river banks and marshes, as depicted in the Assyrian sculptures [Pl. VI., Fig. 1]; hares abound in the country about Baghdad; porcupines and badgers are found in most places; leopards, lynxes, wild-cats, and deer, are somewhat uncommon.

Chaldæa possesses a great variety of birds. Falcons, vultures, kites, owls, hawks and crows of various kinds, francolins or black partridges, pelicans, wild-geese, ducks, teal, cranes, herons, kingfishers, and pigeons, are among the most common. The sand-grouse (*Pterocles arenarius*) is occasionally found, as also are the eagle and the bee-eater. Fish are abundant in the

rivers and marshes, principally barbel and carp, which latter grow to a great size in the Euphrates. Barbel form an important element in the food of the Arabs inhabiting the Affej marshes, who take them commonly by means of a fish-spear.[61] In the Shat-el-Arab, which is wholly within the influence of the tides, there is a species of goby, which is amphibious. This fish lies in myriads on the mud-banks left uncovered by the ebb of the tide, and moves with great agility on the approach of birds. Nature seems to have made the goby in one of her most freakish moods. It is equally at home in the earth, the air, and the water; and at different times in the day may be observed swimming in the stream, basking upon the surface of the tidal banks, and burrowing deep in the mud.[62]

The domestic animals are camels, horses, buffaloes, cows and oxen, goats, sheep, and dogs. The most valuable of the last mentioned are grayhounds, which are employed to course the gazelle and the hare. The camels, horses, and buffaloes are of superior quality; but the cows and oxen seem to be a very inferior breed.[63] The goats and the sheep are small, and yield a scanty supply of a somewhat coarse wool.[64] Still their flocks and herds constitute the chief wealth of the people, who have nearly forsaken the agriculture which anciently gave Chaldæa its pre-eminence, and have relapsed very generally into a nomadic or semi-nomadic condition. The insecurity of property consequent upon bad government has in a great measure caused this change, which renders the bounty of Nature useless, and allows immense capabilities to run to waste. The present condition of Babylonia gives a most imperfect idea of its former state, which must be estimated not from modern statistics, but from the accounts of ancient writers and the evidences which the country itself presents. From them we conclude that this region was among the most productive upon the face of the earth, spontaneously producing some of the best gifts of God to man, and capable, under careful management, of being made one continuous garden.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

"A mighty nation, an ancient nation."—JEREM. v. 15.

THAT the great alluvial plain at the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris was among the countries first occupied by man after the Deluge, is affirmed by Scripture,[1] and generally allowed by writers upon ancient history.[2] Scripture places the original occupation at a time when language had not yet broken up into its different forms, and when, consequently, races, as we now understand the term, can scarcely have existed. It is not, however, into the character of these primeval inhabitants that we have here to inquire, but into the ethnic affinities and characteristics of that race, whatever it was, which first established an important kingdom in the lower part of the plain—a kingdom which eventually became an empire. According to the ordinary theory, this race was Aramaic or Semitic. "The name of Aramæans, Syrians, or Assyrians," says Niebuhr, "comprises the nations extending from the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris to the Euxine, the river Halys, and Palestine. They applied to themselves the name of Aram, and the Greeks called them Assyrians, which is the same as Syrians(?). Within that great extent of country there existed, of course, various dialectic differences of language; and there can be little doubt but that in some places the nation was mixed with other races."[3] The early inhabitants of Lower Mesopotamia, however, he considers to have been pure Aramæans, closely akin to the Assyrians, from whom, indeed, he regards them as only separate politically.[4]

Similar views are entertained by most modern writers.[5] Baron Bunsen, in one of his latest works,[6] regards the fact as completely established by the results of recent researches in Babylonia. Professor M. Müller, though expressing himself with more caution, inclines to the same conclusion.[7] Popular works, in the shape of Cyclopædias and short general histories, diffuse the impression. Hence a difficulty is felt with regard to the Scriptural statement concerning the first kingdom in these parts, which is expressly said to have been Cushite or Ethiopian. "And *Cush begat Nimrod:* (he began to be a mighty

one in the earth; he was a mighty hunter before the Lord; wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord;) and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar."[8] According to this passage the early Chaldæans should be Hamites, not Semites—Ethiopians, not Aramæans; they should present analogies and points of connection with the inhabitants of Egypt and Abyssinia, of Southern Arabia and Mekran, not with those of Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. It will be one of the objects of this chapter to show that the Mosaïcal narrative conveys the exact truth—a truth alike in accordance with the earliest classical traditions, and with the latest results of modern comparative philology.

It will be desirable, however, before proceeding to establish the correctness of these assertions, to examine the grounds on which the opposite belief has been held so long and so confidently. Heeren draws his chief argument from the supposed character of the language. Assuming the form of speech called Chaldee to be the original tongue of the people, he remarks that it is "an Aramæan dialect, differing but slightly from the proper Syriac."[9] Chaldee is known partly from the Jewish Scriptures, in which it is used occasionally,[10] partly from the Targums (or Chaldæan paraphrases of different portions of the Sacred Volume), some of which belong to about the time of the Apostles. and partly from the two Talmuds, or collections of Jewish traditions, made in the third and fifth centuries of our era. It has been commonly regarded as the language of Babylon at the time of the Captivity, which the Jews, as captives, were forced to learn, and which thenceforth took the place of their own tongue. But it is extremely doubtful whether this is a true account of the matter. The Babylonian language of the age of Nebuchadnezzar is found to be far nearer to Hebrew than to Chaldee, which appears therefore to be misnamed, and to represent the western rather than the eastern Aramaic. The Chaldee argument thus falls to the ground; but in refuting it an admission has been made which may be thought to furnish fully as good proof of early Babylonian Semitism as the rejected theory.

It has been said that the Babylonian language in the time of Nebuchadnezzar is found to be far nearer to Hebrew than to Chaldee. It is, in fact, very close indeed to the Hebrew. The Babylonians of that period, although they did not speak the tongue known to modern linguists as Chaldee, did certainly

employ a Semitic or Aramæan dialect, and so far may be set down as Semites. And this is the ground upon which such modern philologists as still maintain the Semitic character of the primitive Chaldæans principally rely.[11] But it can be proved from the inscriptions of the country, that between the date of the first establishment of a Chaldæan kingdom and the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, the language of Lower Mesopotamia underwent an entire change. To whatever causes this may have been owing—a subject which will be hereafter investigated[12]—the fact is certain; and it entirely destroys the force of the argument from the language of the Babylonians at the later period.

Another ground, and that which seems to have had the chief weight with Niebuhr, is the supposed identity or intimate connection of the Babylonians with the Assyrians. That the latter people were Semites has never been denied; and, indeed, it is a point supported by such an amount of evidence as renders it quite unassailable. If, therefore, the primitive Babylonians were once proved to be a mere portion of the far greater Assyrian nation, locally and politically, but not ethnically separate from them, their Semitic character would thereupon be fully established. Now that this was the belief of Herodotus must be at once allowed. Not only does that writer regard the later Babylonians as Assyrians—"Assyrians of Babylon," as he expresses it[13]—and look on Babylonia as a mere "district of Assyria,"[14] but, by adopting the mythic genealogy, which made Ninus the son of Belus,[15] he throws back the connection to the very origin of the two nations, and distinctly pronounces it a connection of race. But Herodotus is a very weak authority on the *antiquities* of any nation, even his own; and it is not surprising that he should have carried back to a remote period a state of things which he saw existing in his own age. If the later Babylonians were, in manners and customs, in religion and in language, a close counterpart of the Assyrians, he would naturally suppose them descended from the same stock. It is his habit to transfer back to former times the condition of things in his own day. Thus he calls the inhabitants of the Peloponnese before the Dorian invasion "Dorians,"[16] regards Athens as the second city in Greece when Crœsus sent his embassies,[17] and describes as the ancient Persian religion that corrupted form which existed under Artaxerxes Longimanus.[18] He is an excellent authority for what he had himself seen, or for what he had laboriously collected by inquiry from eye-

witnesses; but he had neither the critical acumen nor the linguistic knowledge necessary for the formation of a trustworthy opinion on a matter belonging to the remote history of a distant people. And the opinion of Herodotus as to the ethnic identity of the two nations is certainly not confirmed by other ancient writers. Berosus seems to have very carefully distinguished between the Assyrians and the Babylonians or Chaldæans, as may be seen even through the doubly-distorting medium of Polyhistor and the Armenian Eusebius.[19] Diodorus Siculus made the two nations separate and hostile in very early times.[20] Pliny draws a clear line between the "Chaldæan races," of which Babylon was the head, and the Assyrians of the region above them.[21] Even Herodotus in one place admits a certain amount of ethnic difference; for, in his list of the nations forming the army of Xerxes, he mentions the Chaldæans as serving with, but not included among, the Assyrians.[22]

The grounds, then, upon which the supposed Semitic character of the ancient Chaldæans has been based, fail, one and all; and it remains to consider whether we have data sufficient to justify us in determinately assigning them to any other stock.

Now a large amount of tradition—classical and other—brings Ethiopians into these parts, and connects, more or less distinctly, the early dwellers upon the Persian Gulf with the inhabitants of the Nile valley, especially with those upon its upper course. Homer, speaking of the Ethiopians, says that they were "*divided*," and dwelt "at the ends of earth, towards the setting and the *rising sun*."[23] This passage has been variously apprehended. It has been supposed to mean the mere division of the Ethiopians south of Egypt by the river Nile, whereby some inhabited its eastern and some its western bank.[24] Again it has been explained as referring to the east and west coasts of Africa, both found by voyagers to be in the possession of Ethiopians, who were "divided" by the vast extent of continent that lay between them.[25] But the most satisfactory explanation is that which Strabo gives from Ephorus,[26] that the Ethiopians were considered as occupying all the south coast both of Asia and Africa, and as "divided" by the Arabian Gulf (which separated the two continents) into eastern and western—Asiatic and African. This was an "old opinion" of the Greeks, we are told; and, though Strabo thinks it indicated their ignorance, we may perhaps be excused for holding it that it might not improbably have arisen from real, though imperfect, knowledge.

The traditions with respect to Memnon serve very closely to

connect Egypt and Ethiopia with the country at the head of the Persian Gulf. Memnon, King of Ethiopia, according to Hesiod[27] and Pindar,[28] is regarded by Æschylus as the son of a Cissian woman,[29] and by Herodotus and others as the founder of Susa.[30] He leads an army of combined Susianians and Ethiopians to the assistance of Priam, his father's brother, and, after greatly distinguishing himself, perishes in one of the battles before Troy.[31] At the same time he is claimed as one of their monarchs by the Ethiopians upon the Nile,[32] and identified by the Egyptians with their king, Amunoph III.,[33] whose statue became known as "the vocal Memnon." Sometimes his expedition is supposed to have started from the African Ethiopia, and to have proceeded by way of Egypt to its destination.[34] There were palaces, called "Memnonia," and supposed to have been built by him, both in Egypt and at Susa;[35] and there was a tribe, called Memnones, near Meroë.[36] Memnon thus unites the Eastern and the Western Ethiopians; and the less we regard him as an historical personage, the more must we view him as personifying the ethnic identity of the two races.

The ordinary genealogies containing the name of Belus point in the same direction, and serve more definitely to connect the Babylonians with the Cushites of the Nile. Pherecydes, who is an earlier writer than Herodotus, makes Agenor, the son of Neptune, marry Damno, the daughter of Belus, and have issue Phœnix, Isæa, and Melia, of whom Melia marries Danaus, and Isæa Ægyptus.[37] Apollodorus, the disciple of Eratosthenes, expresses the connection thus:—"Neptune took to wife Libya (or Africa), and had issue Belus and Agenor. Belus married Anchinoë, daughter of Nile, who gave birth to Ægyptus, Danaus, Cepheus, and Phineus. Agenor married Telephassa, and had issue Europa, Cadmus, Phœnix, and Cilix."[38] Eupolemus, who professes to record the Babylonian tradition on the subject, tells us that the first Belus, whom he identifies with Saturn, had two sons, Belus and Canaan. Canaan begat the progenitor of the Phœnicians (Phœnix?), who had two sons, Chum and Mestraïm, the ancestors respectively of the Ethiopians and the Egyptians.[39] Charax of Pergamus spoke of Ægyptus as the son of Belus.[40] John of Antioch agrees with Apollodorus, but makes certain additions. According to him, Neptune and Lybia had three children, Agenor, Belus, and Enyalius or Mars. Belus married Sida, and had issue Ægyptus and Danaus; while Agenor married Tyro, and became the father of five children—Cadmus, Phœnix, Syrus, Cilix, and Europa.[41]

Fig 1.

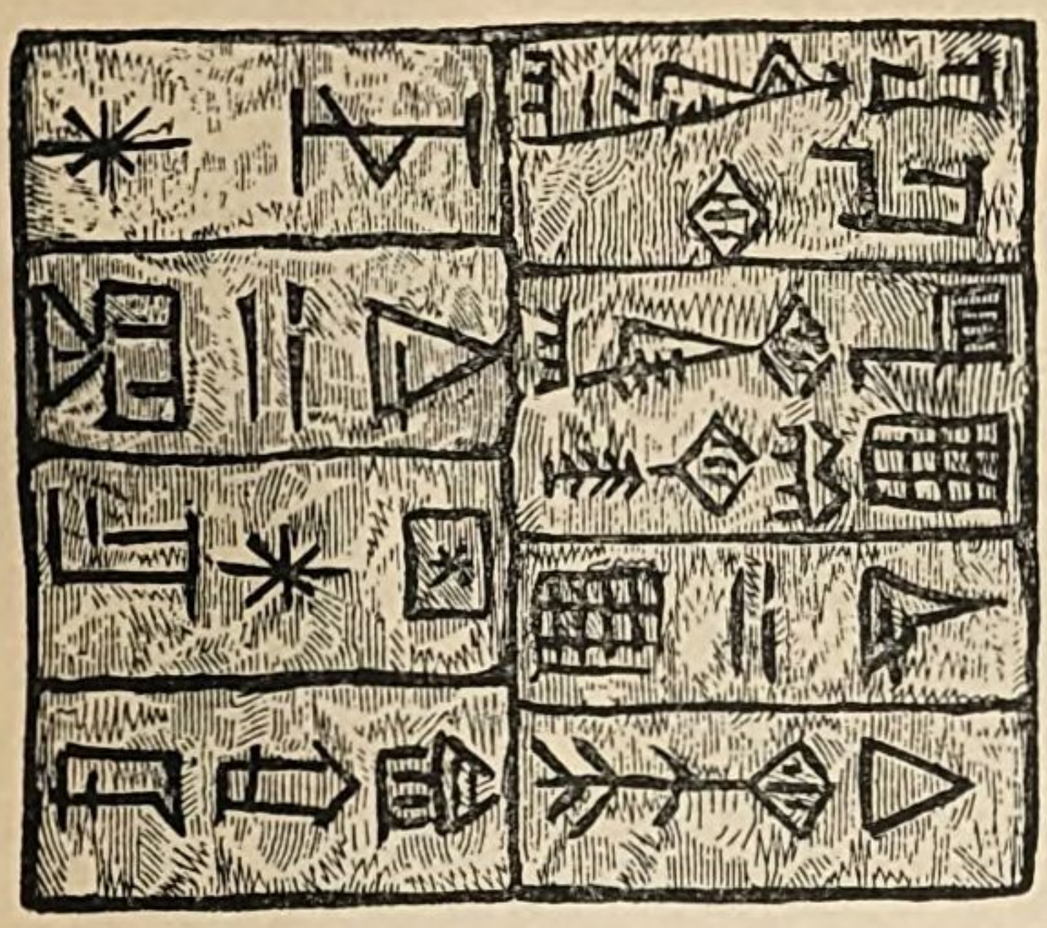
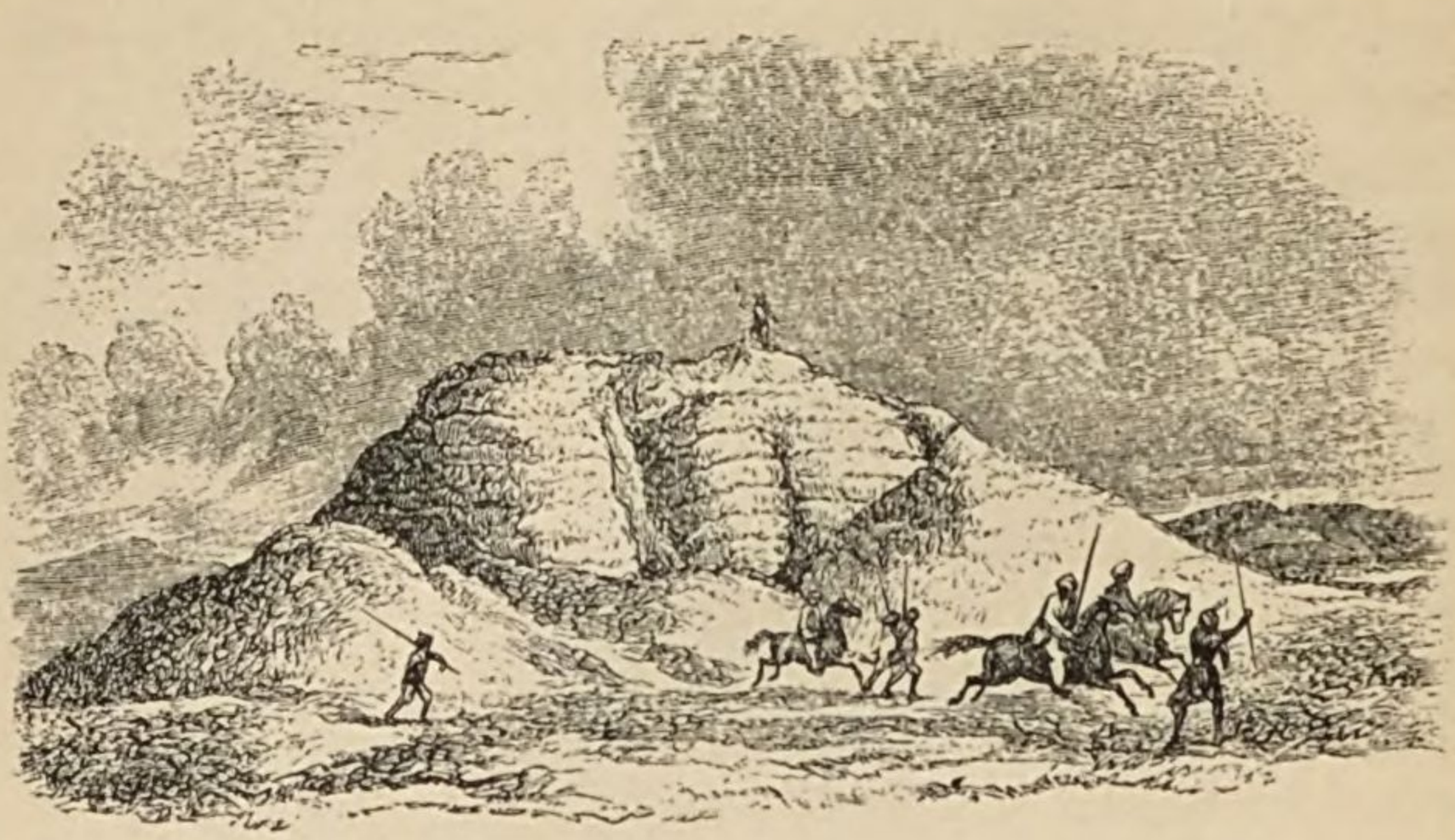


Fig. 3.

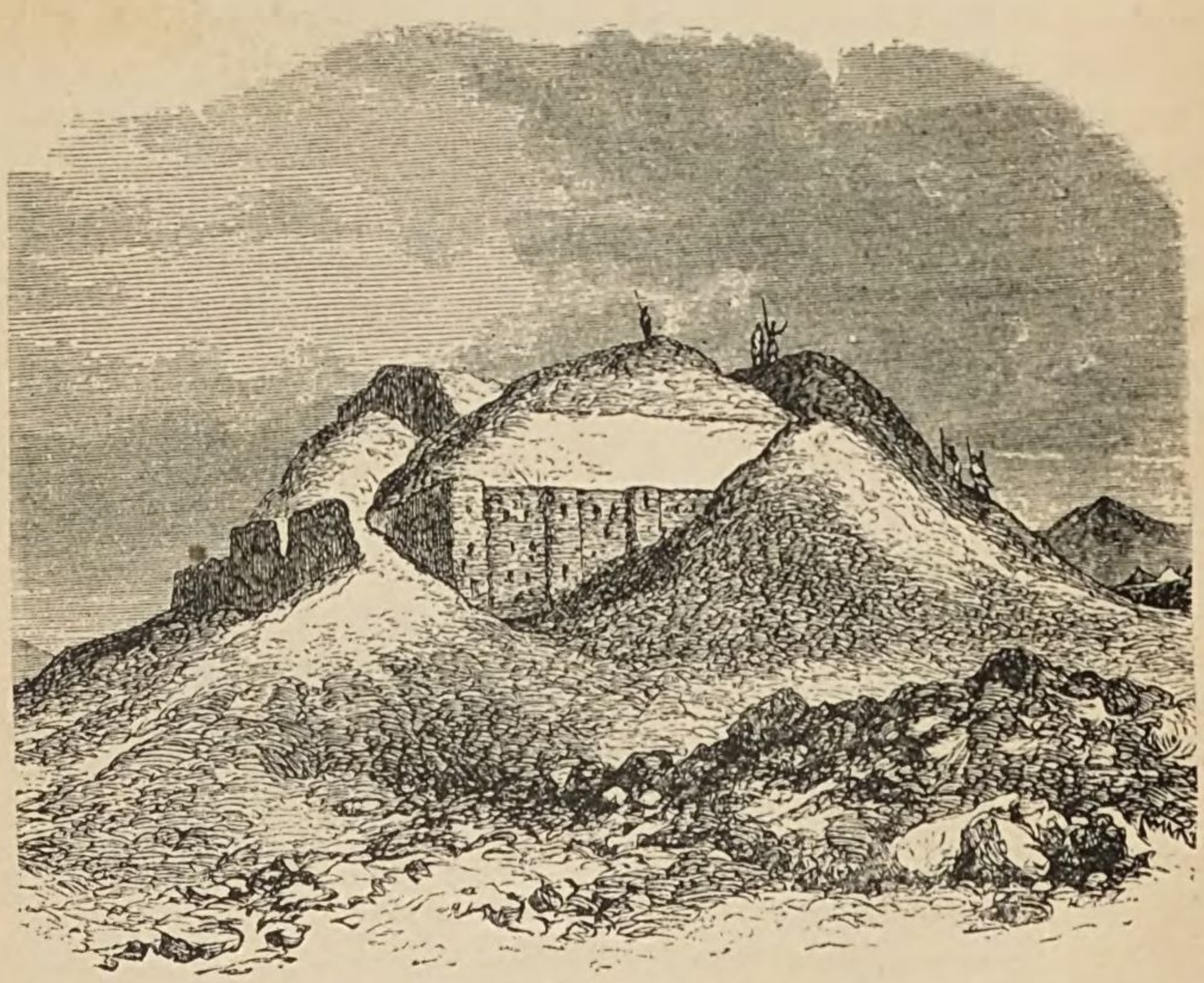
Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.



Bowariyeh.

Fig. 2.



Mugheir Temple.

Many further proofs might be adduced, were they needed, of the Greek belief in an Asiatic Ethiopia, situated somewhere between Arabia and India, on the shores of the Erythræan Sea. Herodotus twice speaks of the Ethiopians of Asia,[42] whom he very carefully distinguishes from those of Africa, and who can only be sought in this position. Ephorus, as we have already seen, extended the Ethiopians along the whole of the coast washed by the Southern Ocean. Eusebius has preserved a tradition that, in the reign of Amenophis III., a body of Ethiopians migrated from the country about the Indus, and settled in the valley of the Nile.[43] Hesiod and Apollodorus, by making Memnon, the Ethiopian king, son of the Dawn (Ἠώς),[44] imply their belief in an Ethiopia situated to the east rather than to the south of Greece. These are a few out of the many similar notices which it would be easy to produce from classical writers, establishing, if not the fact itself, yet at any rate a full belief in the fact on the part of the best informed among the ancient Greeks.

The traditions of the Armenians are in accordance with those of the Greeks. The Armenian Geography applies the name of Cush, or Ethiopia, to the four great regions, Media, Persia, Susiana or Elymaïs, and Aria, or to the whole territory between the Indus and the Tigris.[45] Moses of Chorene, the great Armenian historian, identifies Belus, King of Babylon, with Nimrod;[46] while at the same time he adopts for him a genealogy only slightly different from that in our present copies of Genesis, making Nimrod the grandson of Cush, and the son of Mizraim.[47] He thus connects, in the closest way, Babylonia, Egypt, and Ethiopia Proper, uniting moreover, by his identification of Nimrod with Belus, the Babylonians of later times, who worshipped Belus as their hero-founder, with the primitive population introduced into the country by Nimrod.

The names of Belus and Cush, thus brought into juxtaposition, have remained attached to some portion or other of the region in question from ancient times to the present day. The tract immediately east of the Tigris was known to the Greeks as Cissia (Κισσία) or Cossæa (Κοσσαία), no less than as Elymaïs or Elam. The country east of Kerman was named Kusan throughout the Sassanian period.[48] The same region is now Beloochistan, the country of the Belooches or Belús, while adjoining it on the east is Cutch, or Kooch, a term standing to Cush as Belooch stands to Belus. Again, Cissia or Cossæa is now

Khuzistan, or the land of Khuz (خوز), a name not very remote from Cush ; but perhaps this is only a coincidence.

To the traditions and traces here enumerated must be added, as of primary importance, the Biblical tradition, which is delivered to us very simply and plainly in that precious document the "Toldoth Beni Noah," or "Book of the Generations of the Sons of Noah," which well deserves to be called "the most authentic record that we possess for the affiliation of nations."[49] "The sons of Ham," we are told, "were Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan. . . . . And Cush begat Nimrod. . . . . And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." Here a primitive Babylonian kingdom is assigned to a people distinctly said to have been Cushite by blood,[50] and to have stood in close connection with Mizraim, or the people of Egypt, Phut, or those of Central Africa, and Canaan, or those of Palestine. It is the simplest and the best interpretation of this passage to understand it as asserting that the four races—the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Libyans, and Canaanites—were ethnically connected, being all descended from Ham ; and further, that the primitive people of Babylon were a subdivision of one of these races, namely of the Cushites or Ethiopians, connected in some degree with the Canaanites, Egyptians, and Libyans, but still more closely with the people which dwelt anciently upon the Upper Nile.

The conclusions thus recommended to us by the consentient primitive traditions of so many races, have lately received most important and unexpected confirmation from the results of linguistic research. After the most remarkable of the Mesopotamian mounds had yielded their treasures, and supplied the historical student with numerous and copious documents bearing upon the history of the great Assyrian and Babylonian empires, it was determined to explore Chaldæa Proper, where mounds of less pretension, but still of considerable height, marked the sites of a number of ancient cities. The excavations conducted at these places, especially at Niffer, Senkereh, Warka, and Mugheir, were eminently successful. Among their other unexpected results was the discovery, in the most ancient remains, of a new form of speech, differing greatly from the later Babylonian language and presenting analogies with the early language of Susiana, as well as with that of the second column of the Achæmenian inscriptions. In grammatical structure this ancient tongue resembles dialects

of the Turanian family, but its vocabulary has been pronounced to be "decidedly Cushite or Ethiopian;"[51] and the modern languages to which it approaches the nearest are thought to be the Mahra of Southern Arabia and the Galla of Abyssinia. Thus comparative philology appears to confirm the old traditions. An Eastern Ethiopia instead of being the invention of bewildered ignorance,[52] is rather a reality which henceforth it will require a good deal of scepticism to doubt; and the primitive race which bore sway in Chaldæa Proper is with much probability assigned to this ethnic type.

The most striking physical characteristics of the African Ethiopians were their swart complexions, and their crisp or frizzled hair. According to Herodotus the Asiatic Ethiopians were equally dark, but their hair was straight and not frizzled.[53] Probably in neither case was the complexion what we understand by black, but rather a dark red-brown or copper-color, which is the tint of the modern Gallas and Abyssinians, as well as of the Cha'b and Montefik Arabs and the Belooches. The hair was no doubt abundant; but it was certainly not woolly like that of the negroes. There is a marked distinction between the negro hair and that of the Ethiopian race, which is sometimes straight, sometimes crisp, but never woolly. This distinction is carefully marked in the Egyptian monuments, as is also the distinction between the Ethiopian and negro complexions; whence we may conclude that there was as much difference between the two races in ancient as in modern times. The African races descended from the Ethiopians are on the whole a handsome rather than an ugly people; their figure is slender and well shaped; their features are regular, and have some delicacy; the forehead is straight and fairly high; the nose long, straight, and fine, but scarcely so prominent as that of Europeans; the chin is pointed and good. [Pl. VI., Fig. 2.] The principal defect is in the mouth, which has lips too thick and full for beauty, though they are not turned out like a negro's.[54] We do not possess any representations of the ancient people which can be distinctly assigned to the early Cushite period. Abundant hair has been noticed in an early tomb;[55] and this in the later Babylonians, who must have been descended in great part from the earlier, was very conspicuous;[56] but otherwise we have as yet no direct evidence with respect to the physical characteristics of the primitive race.[57] That they were brave and warlike, ingenious, energetic, and persevering, we have ample evidence, which will appear in later

chapters of this work ; but we can do little more than conjecture their physical appearance, which, however, we may fairly suppose to have resembled that of other Ethiopian nations.

When the early inhabitants of Chaldæa are pronounced to have belonged to the same race with the dwellers upon the Upper Nile, the question naturally arises, which were the primitive people, and which the colonists ? Is the country at the head of the Persian Gulf to be regarded as the original abode of the Cushite race, whence it spread eastward and westward, on the one hand to Susiana, Persia Proper, Carmania, Gedrosia, and India itself ; on the other to Arabia and the east coast of Africa ? Or are we to suppose that the migration proceeded in one direction only—that the Cushites, having occupied the country immediately to the south of Egypt, sent their colonies along the south coast of Arabia, whence they crept on into the Persian Gulf, occupying Chaldæa and Susiana, and thence spreading into Mekran, Kerman, and the regions bordering upon the Indus ? Plausible reasons may be adduced in support of either hypothesis. The situation of Babylonia, and its proximity to that mountain region where man must have first "increased and multiplied" after the Flood, are in favor of its being the original centre from which the other Cushite races were derived. The Biblical genealogy of the sons of Ham points, however, the other way ; for it derives Nimrod from Cush, not Cush from Nimrod. Indeed this document seems to follow the Hamites from Africa—emphatically "the land of Ham"[58]—in one line along Southern Arabia to Shinar or Babylonia, in another from Egypt through Canaan into Syria. The antiquity of civilization in the valley of the Nile, which preceded by many centuries that even of primitive Chaldæa, is another argument in favor of the migration having been from west to east ; and the monuments and traditions of the Chaldæans themselves have been thought to present some curious indications of an East African origin.[59] On the whole, therefore, it seems most probable that the race designated in Scripture by the hero-founder Nimrod, and among the Greeks by the eponym of Belus, passed from East Africa, by way of Arabia, to the valley of the Euphrates, shortly before the opening of the historical period.

Upon the ethnic basis here indicated, there was grafted, it would seem, at a very early period, a second, probably Turanian, element, which very importantly affected the character and composition of the people. The *Burbur* or *Akkad*, who

are found to have been a principal tribe under the early kings, are connected by name, religion, and in some degree by language, with an important people of Armenia, called *Burbur* and *Urarda*, the Alarodians (apparently) of Herodotus.[60] It has been conjectured that this race at a very remote date descended upon the plain country, conquering the original Cushite inhabitants, and by degrees blending with them, though the fusion remained incomplete to the time of Abraham. The language of the early inscriptions, though Cushite in its vocabulary, is Turanian in many points of its grammatical structure, as in its use of post-positions, particles, and pronominal suffixes; and it would seem, therefore, scarcely to admit of a doubt that the Cushites of Lower Babylon must in some way or other have become mixed with a Turanian people. The mode and time of the commixture are matters altogether beyond our knowledge. We can only note the fact as indicated by the phenomena, and form, or abstain from forming, as we please, hypotheses with respect to its accompanying circumstances.

Besides these two main constituents of the Chaldæan race, there is reason to believe that both a Semitic and an Arian element existed in the early population of the country. The subjects of the early kings are continually designated in the inscriptions by the title of *kiprat-arbat*, "the four nations," or *arba lisun*, "the four tongues." In Abraham's time, again, the league of four kings seems correspondent to a fourfold ethnic division, Cushite, Turanian, Semitic, and Arian, the chief authority and ethnic preponderance being with the Cushites.[61] The language also of the early inscriptions is thought to contain traces of Semitic and Arian influence; so that it is at least probable that the "four tongues" intended were not mere local dialects, but distinct languages, the representatives respectively of the four great families of human speech.

It would result from this review of the linguistic facts and other ethnic indications, that the Chaldæans were not a pure, but a very mixed people. Like the Romans in ancient and the English in modern Europe, they were a "colluvio gentium omnium," a union of various races between which there was marked and violent contrast. It is now generally admitted that such races are among those which play the most distinguished part in the world's history, and most vitally affect its progress.

With respect to the name of Chaldæan, under which it has

been customary to designate this mixed people, it is curious to find that in the native documents of the early period it does not occur at all. Indeed it first appears in the Assyrian inscriptions of the ninth century before our era, being then used as the name of the dominant race in the country about Babylon. Still, as Berosus, who cannot easily have been ignorant of the ancient appellation of his race, applies the term Chaldæan to the primitive people,[62] and as Scripture assigns Ur to the Chaldees as early as the time of Abraham, we are entitled to assume that this term, whenever it came historically into use, is in fact no unfit designation for the early inhabitants of the country. Perhaps the most probable account of the origin of the word is that it designates properly the inhabitants of the ancient capital, Ur or Hur—*Khaldi* being in the Burbur dialect the exact equivalent of *Hur*, which was the proper name of the Moon-God, and Chaldæans being thus either "Moon-worshippers," or simply "inhabitants of the town dedicated to, and called after, the Moon." Like the term "Babylonian," it would at first have designated simply the dwellers in the capital, and would subsequently have been extended to the people generally.

A different theory has of late years been usually maintained with respect to the Chaldæans. It has been supposed that they were a race entirely distinct from the early Babylonians—Armenians, Arabs, Kurds, or Sclaves—who came down from the north long after the historical period, and settled as the dominant race in the lower Mesopotamian valley.[63] Philological arguments of the weakest and most unsatisfactory character were confidently adduced in support of these views;[64] but they obtained acceptance chiefly on account of certain passages of Scripture, which were thought to imply that the Chaldæans first colonized Babylonia in the seventh or eighth century before Christ. The most important of these passages is in Isaiah. That prophet, in his denunciation of woe upon Tyre, says, according to our translation,—"Behold the land of the Chaldæans; *this people was not*, till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness; they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof; and he brought it to ruin;"[65] or, according to Bishop Lowth, "Behold the land of the Chaldæans. This people was of no account. (The Assyrians founded it for the inhabitants of the desert, they raised the watch-towers, they set up the palaces thereof.) This people hath reduced her and shall reduce her to ruin." It was argued that we had here

a plain declaration that, till a little before Isaiah's time, the Chaldæans had never existed as a nation. Then, it was said, they obtained for the first time fixed habitations from one of the Assyrian kings, who settled them in a city, probably Babylon. Shortly afterwards, following the analogy of so many Eastern races, they suddenly sprang up to power. Here another passage of Scripture was thought to have an important bearing on their history. "Lo! I *raise up* the Chaldæans," says Habakkuk, "that bitter and hasty nation, which shall march through the breadth of the land to possess the dwelling places that are not theirs. They are terrible and dreadful; their judgment and their dignity shall proceed of themselves; their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves: and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as an eagle that hasteth to eat; they shall come all for violence; their faces shall nip as the east wind, and they shall gather the captivity as the sand. And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn unto them; they shall deride every stronghold; they shall heap dust and take it."[66] The Chaldæans, recent occupants of Lower Mesopotamia, and there only a dominant race, like the Normans in England or the Lombards in North Italy, were, on a sudden, "raised up" —elevated from their low estate of Assyrian colonists to the conquering people which they became under Nebuchadnezzar.

Such was the theory, originally advanced by Gesenius, which, variously modified by other writers, held its ground on the whole as the established view, until the recent cuneiform discoveries. It was, from the first, a theory full of difficulty. The mention of the Chaldæans in Job,[67] and even in Genesis,[68] as a well-known people, was in contradiction to the supposed recent origin of the race. The explanation of the obscure passage in the 23d chapter of Isaiah, on which the theory was mainly based, was at variance with other clearer passages of the same prophet. Babylon is called by Isaiah the "*daughter* of the Chaldæans,"[69] and is spoken of as an ancient city, long "the glory of kingdoms,"[70] the oppressor of nations, the power that "smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke."[71] She is "the lady of kingdoms,"[72] and "the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency."[73] The Chaldæans are thus in Isaiah, as elsewhere generally in Scripture, the people of Babylonia, the term "Babylonians" not being used by him; Babylon is their chief city, not one which they have conquered and occupied,

but their "daughter"—"the beauty of their excellency;" and so all the antiquity and glory which is assigned to Babylon belong necessarily in Isaiah's mind to the Chaldæans. The verse, therefore, in the 23d chapter, on which so much has been built, can at most refer to some temporary depression of the Chaldæans, which made it a greater disgrace to Tyre that she should be conquered by them. Again, the theory of Gesenius took no account of the native historian, who is (next to Scripture) the best literary authority for the facts of Babylonian history. Berosus not only said nothing of any influx of an alien race into Babylonia shortly before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, but pointedly identified the Chaldæans of that period with the primitive people of the country. Nor can it be said that he would do this from national vanity, to avoid the confession of a conquest, for he admits no fewer than three conquests of Babylon, a Midian, an Arabian, and an Assyrian.[74] Thus, even apart from the monuments, the theory in question would be untenable. It really originated in linguistic speculations,[75] which turn out to have been altogether mistaken.

The joint authority of Scripture and of Berosus will probably be accepted as sufficient to justify the adoption of a term which, if not strictly correct, is yet familiar to us, and which will conveniently serve to distinguish the primitive monarchy, whose chief seats were in Chaldæa Proper (or the tract immediately bordering upon the Persian Gulf), from the later Babylonian Empire, which had its head-quarters further to the north. The people of this first kingdom will therefore be called Chaldæans, although there is no evidence that they applied the name to themselves, or that it was even known to them in primitive times.

The general character of this remarkable people will best appear from the account, presently to be given, of their manners, their mode of life, their arts, their science, their religion, and their history. It is not convenient to forestall in this place the results of almost all our coming inquiries. Suffice it to observe that, though possessed of not many natural advantages, the Chaldæan people exhibited a fertility of invention, a genius, and an energy which place them high in the scale of nations, and more especially in the list of those descended from a Hamitic stock. For the last 3000 years the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races; but it was otherwise in the first ages. Egypt and Babylon—Mizraim and Nimrod—both descendants of Ham—led the

way, and acted as the pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature, and science. Alphabetic writing, astronomy, history, chronology, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, textile industry, seem, all of them, to have had their origin in one or other of these two countries. The beginnings may have been often humble enough. We may laugh at the rude picture-writing, the uncouth brick pyramid, the coarse fabric, the homely and ill-shapen instruments, as they present themselves to our notice in the remains of these ancient nations; but they are really worthier of our admiration than of our ridicule. The first inventors of any art are among the greatest benefactors of their race; and the bold step which they take from the unknown to the known, from blank ignorance to discovery, is equal to many steps of subsequent progress. "The commencement," says Aristotle, "is more than half of the whole."[76] This is a sound judgment; and it will be well that we should bear it in mind during the review, on which we are about to enter, of the language, writing, useful and ornamental art, science, and literature of the Chaldæans. "The child is father of the man," both in the individual and the species; and the human race at the present day lies under infinite obligations to the genius and industry of early ages.

CHAPTER IV.

LANGUAGE AND WRITING.

"Γράμματα καὶ γλῶσσα Χαλδαίων."—DAN. i. 4 (Sept. vers.).

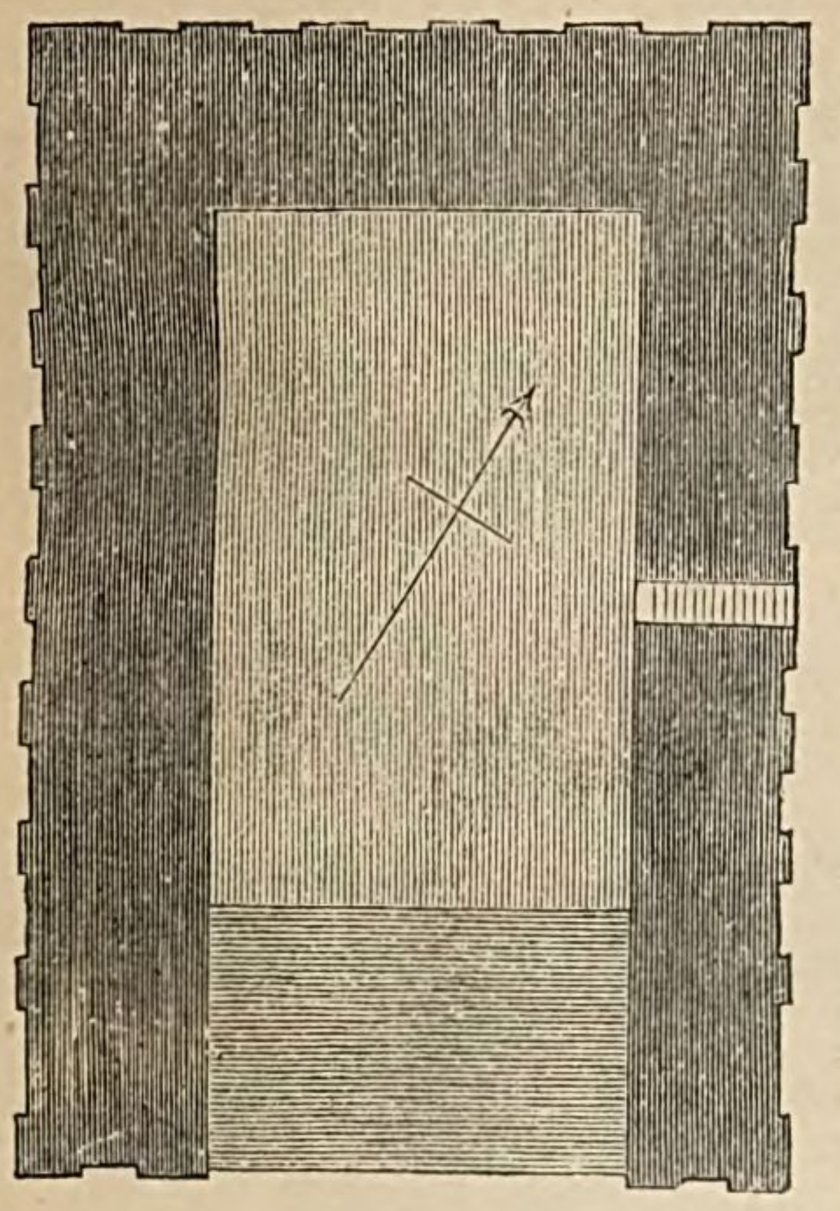
IT was noted in the preceding chapter that Chaldæa, in the earliest times to which we can go back, seems to have been inhabited by four principal tribes. The early kings are continually represented on the monuments as sovereigns over the *Kiprat-arbat*, or, "Four Races." These "Four Races" are called sometimes the *Arba Lisun*, or "Four Tongues," whence we may conclude that they were distinguished from one another, among other differences, by a variety in their forms of speech. The extent and nature of the variety could not, of course, be determined merely from this expression; but the opinion of those who have most closely studied the subject appears to be that the differences were great and marked—the languages in fact belonging to the four great varieties of human speech—the Hamitic, Semitic, Arian, and Turanian.

The language which the early inscriptions have revealed to us is not, of course, composed equally of these four elements. It does, however, contain strong marks of admixture. It is predominantly Cushite in its vocabulary, Turanian in its structure. Its closest analogies are with such dialects as the *Mahra* of Arabia, the *Galla* and *Wolaitsa* of Abyssinia, and the ancient language of Egypt, but in certain cases it more resembles the Turkish, Tatar, and Magyar (Turanian) dialects; while in some it presents Semitic and in others Arian affinities. This will appear sufficiently from the following list:—

Dingir or *Dimir*, "God." Compare Turkish *Tengri.*
Atta, "father." Compare Turkish *atta.* *Etea* is "father" in the Wolaitsa (Abyssinian) dialect.
Sis, "brother." Compare Wolaitsa and Woratta *isha.*
Tur, "a youth," "a son," Compare the *tur-khan* of the Parthians (Turanians), who was the Crown Prince.
E, "a house." Compare ancient Egyptian *ê*, and Turkish *ev.*
Ka, "a gate." Compare Turkish *kapi.*
Kharran, "a road." Compare Galla *kara.*
Huru, "a town." Compare Heb. עיר.
Ar, "a river." Compare Heb. נהר, Arab. *nahr.*
Gabri, "a mountain." Compare Arabic *jabal.*
Ki, "the earth."
Kingi, "a country."
San, "the sun."
Kha, "a fish" (?).
Kurra, "a horse." Compare Arabic *gurra.*
Guski, "gold." Compare Galla *werke. Guski* means also "red" and "the evening."
Babar, "silver," "white," "the morning." Compare Agau *ber*, Tigre *burrur.*
Zabar, "copper." Compare Arabic *sifr.*
Hurud, "iron." Compare Arabic *hadid.*
Zakad, "the head." Compare Gonga *toko.*
Kat, "the hand." Compare Gonga *kiso.*
Si, "the eye."
Pi, "the ear." Compare Magyar *fül.*
Gula, "great." Compare Galla *guda.*
Tura, "little." Compare Gonga *tu* and Galla *tina.*
Kelga, "powerful."
Ginn, "first."
Mis, "many." Compare Agau *mineh* or *meneh.*
Gar, "to do."
Egir, "after." Compare Hhamara (Abyssinian) *igria.*

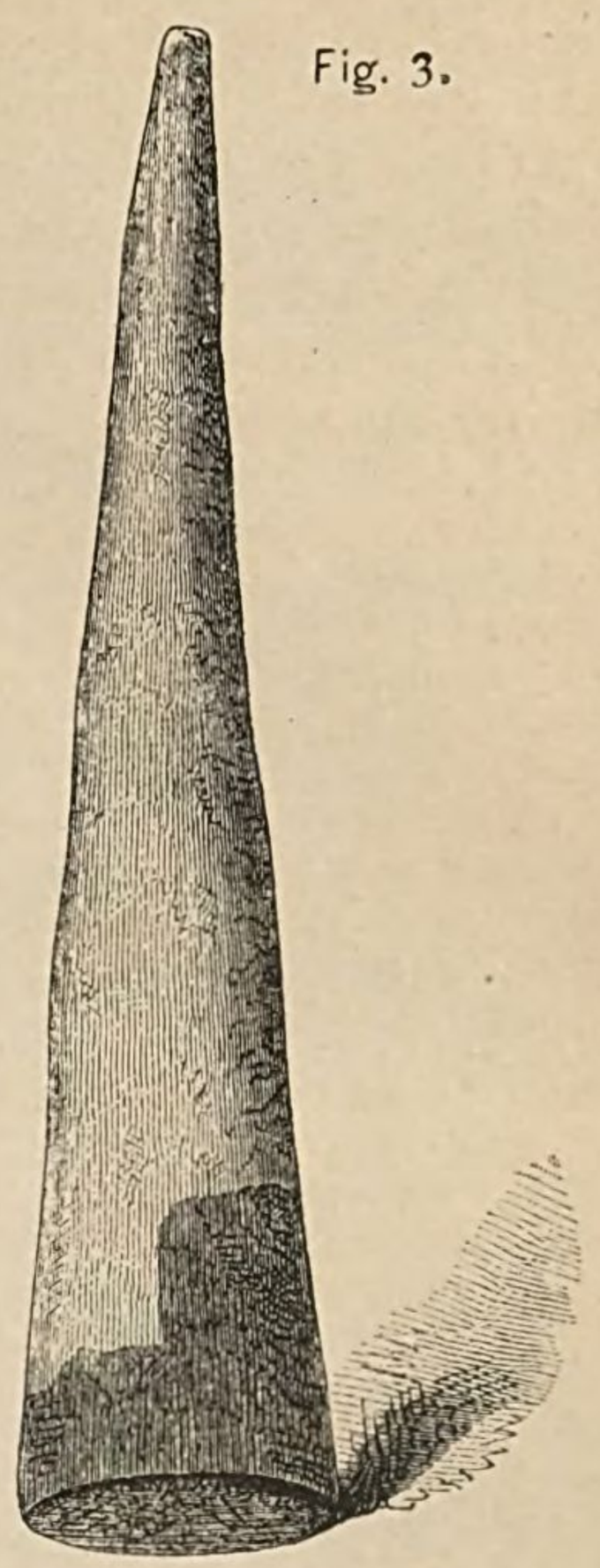
The grammar of this language is still but very little known. The conjugations of verbs are said to be very intricate and difficult, a great variety of verbal forms being from the same root, as in Hebrew, by means of preformatives. Number and person in the verbs are marked by suffixes—the third person singular (masculine) by *bi* (compare Gonga *bi*, "he"), or *ani* (compare Galla *enni*, "he"), the third person plural by *bi-nini.*

Fig. 1.



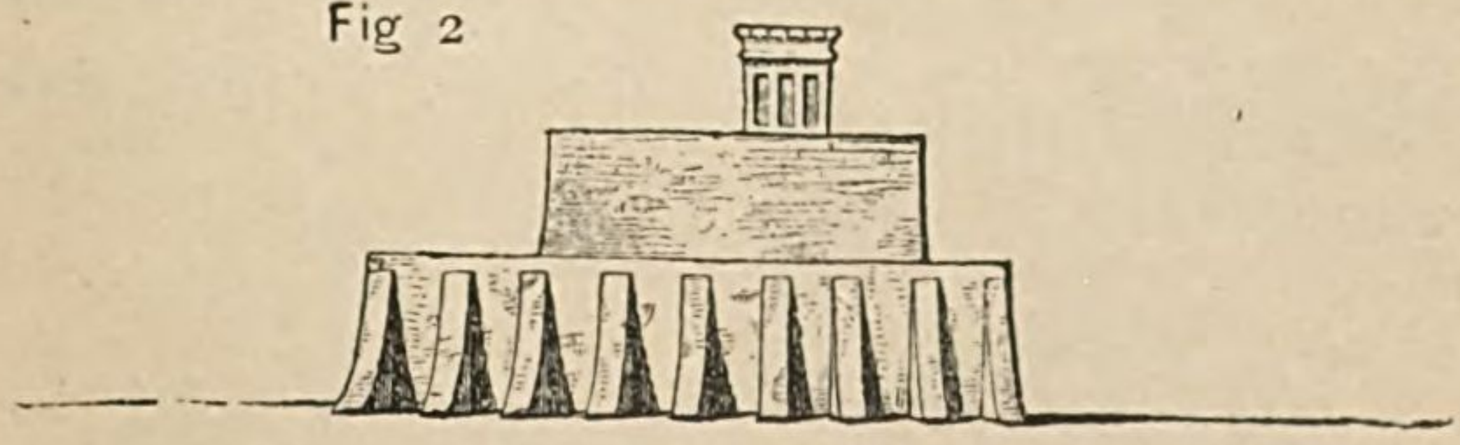
Ground-plan of Mugheir Temple.

Fig. 3.



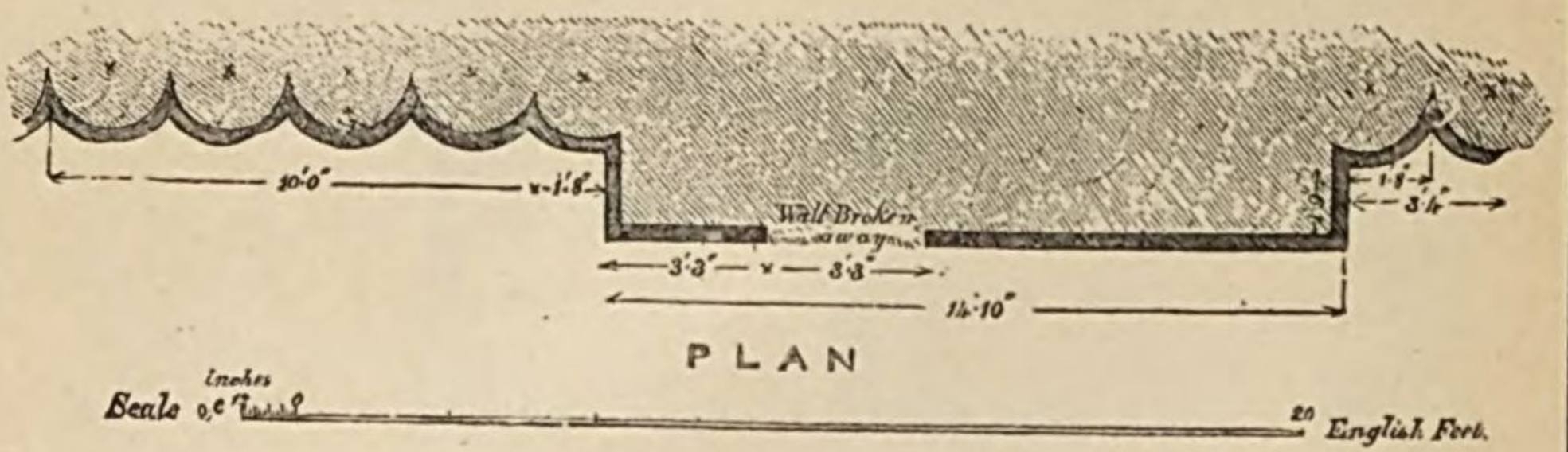
Terra cotta cone. Actual size.

Fig 2



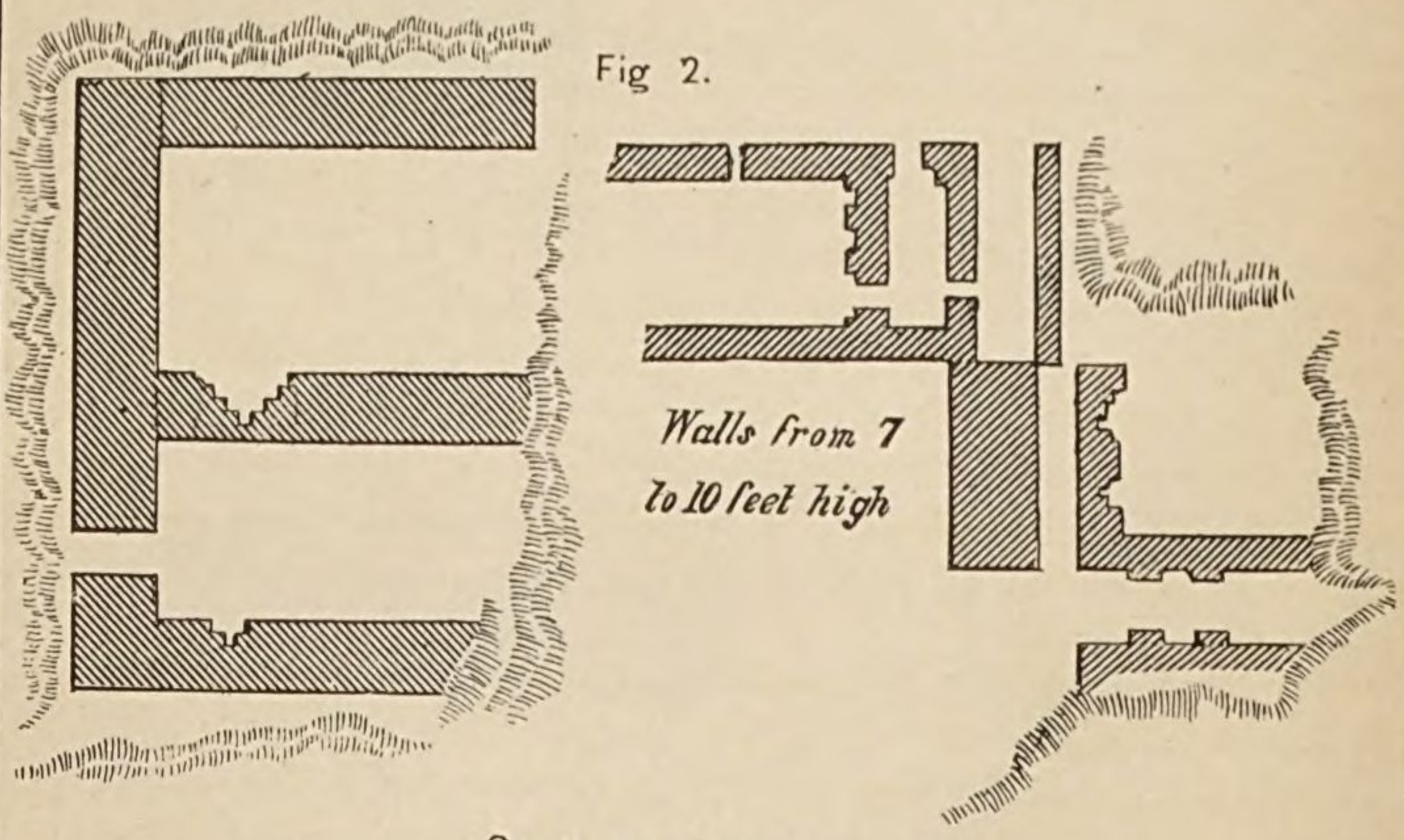
Mugheir Temple restored.

Fig. 1.



1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8. Half-columns, patterned with coloured cones.
6, 7. Flat wall, projecting in front of the half-columns.

Fig 2.



Ground-plan of chambers excavated at Abu-Shahrein.

The accusative case in nouns is marked by a postposition, *ku*, as in Hindustani. The plural of pronouns and substantives is formed sometimes by reduplication. Thus *nï* is "him," while *nini* is "them;" and *Chanaan*, *Yavnan*, *Libnan* seem to be plural forms from *Chna*, *Yavan* and *Liban*.

A curious anomaly occurs in the declension of pronouns.[1] When accompanied by the preposition *kita*, "with," there is a *tmesis* of the preposition, and the pronouns are placed between its first and second syllable; e.g. *ni*, "him"—*ki-ni-ta*, "with him." This takes place in every number and person, as the following scheme will show:—

	1st person.	2d person.	3d person.
Sing.	*ki-mu-ta*	*ki-zu-ta*	*ki-ni-ta*
	(with me)	(with thee)	(with him)
Plur.	*ki-mi-ta*	*ki-zu-nini-ta*	*ki-nini-ta*
	(with us)	(with you)	(with them)

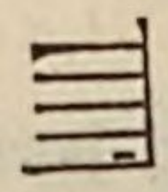
N. B.—The formation of the second person plural deserves attention. The word *zu-nini* is, clearly, composed of the two elements, *zu*, "thee," and *nini*, "them"—so that instead of having a word for "you," the Chaldæans employed for it the periphrasis "thee-them"! There is, I believe, no known language which presents a parallel anomaly.

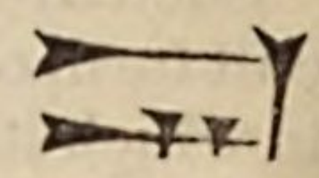
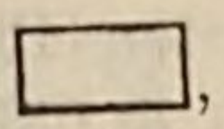
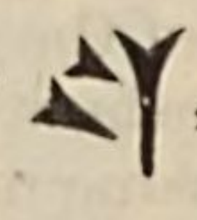
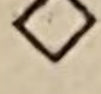
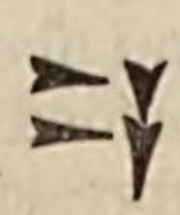
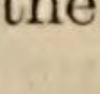
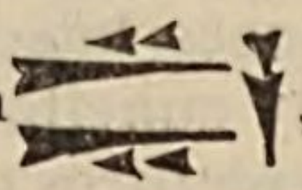
Such are the chief known features of this interesting but difficult form of speech. A specimen may now be given of the mode in which it was written. Among the earliests of the monuments hitherto discovered are a set of bricks bearing the following cuneiform inscription [Pl. VI., Fig. 3]:—

This inscription is explained to mean:—"Beltis, his lady, has caused Urukh (?), the pious chief, King of Hur, and King of the land (?) of the Akkad, to build a temple to her." In the same locality where it occurs,[2] bricks are also found bearing evidently the same inscription, but written in a different manner. Instead of the wedge and arrow-head being the elements of the writing, the whole is formed by straight lines of almost uniform thickness, and the impression seems to have been made by a single stamp. [Pl. VII., Fig. 1.]

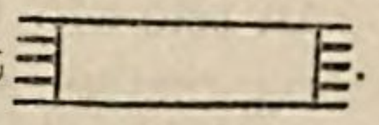
This mode of writing, which has been called without much reason "the hieratic,"[3] and of which we have but a small number of instances, has confirmed a conjecture, originally suggested by the early cuneiform writing itself, that the characters were at first the pictures of objects. In some cases the pictorial representation is very plain and palpable. For instance, the "determinative" of a god—the sign, that is, which marks that the

name of a god is about to follow, in this early rectilinear writing is , an eight-rayed star. The archaic cuneiform keeps closely to this type, merely changing the lines into wedges, thus , while the later cuneiform first unites the oblique wedges in one , and then omits them as unnecessary, retaining only the perpendicular and the horizontal ones .

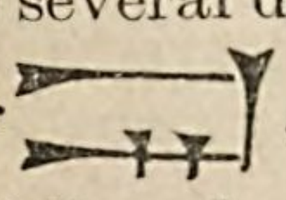
Again, the character representing the word "hand" is, in the rectilinear writing  , in the archaic cuneiform , in the later cuneiform . The five lines (afterwards reduced to four) clearly represent the thumb and the four fingers.

So the character ordinarily representing "a house"  is evidently formed from the original  , the ground-plan of a house; and that denoting "the sun"  , comes from  , through , and  , the original  being the best representation that straight lines could give of the sun. In the case of *ka*, "a gate," we have not the original design; but we may see posts, bars, and hinges in  , the ordinary character.[4]

Another curious example of the pictorial origin of the letters

is furnished by the character , which is the French *une*, the feminine of "one." This character may be traced up through several known forms to an original picture, which is thus given on a Koyunjik tablet  . It has been conjectured that the object here represented is "a sarcophagus."[5] But the true account seems to be that it is a *double-toothed comb*, a toilet article peculiar to women, and therefore one which might well be taken to express "a woman," or more generally the feminine gender. It is worth notice that the emblem is the very one still in use among the Lurs, in the mountains overhanging Babylonia.[6] And it is further remarkable that the phonetic power of the character here spoken of is *it* (or *yat*)—the ordinary Semitic feminine ending.

The original writing, it would therefore seem, was a picture-writing as rude as that of the Mexicans. Objects were themselves represented, but coarsely and grotesquely—and, which is especially remarkable, without any curved lines. This would seem to indicate that the system grew up where a hard material, probably stone, was alone used. The cuneiform writing arose when clay took the place of stone as a material. A small tool with a square or triangular point,[7] impressed, by a series of distinct touches, the outline of the old pictured objects on the soft clay of tablets and bricks. In course of time simplifications took place. The less important wedges were omitted. One stroke took the place of two, or sometimes of three. In this way the old form of objects became, in all but a few cases, very indistinct; while generally it was lost altogether.

Originally each character had, it would seem, the phonetic power of the name borne by the object which it represented. But, as this name was different in the languages of the different tribes inhabiting the country, the same character came often to have several distinct phonetic values. For instance, the character  , representing "a house," had the phonetic values of *ê*, *bit*, and *mal*, because those were the words expressive of "a house," among the Hamitic, Semitic, and Arian populations respectively. Again, characters did not always retain their original phonetic powers, but abbreviated them. Thus the character which originally stood for *Assur*, "Assyria," came to

have the sound of *as*, that denoting *bil*, "a lord," had in addition the sound of *bi*, and so on. Under these circumstances it is almost impossible to feel any certainty in regard to the phonetic representation of a single line of these old inscriptions. The meaning of each word may be well known; but the articulate sounds which were in the old times attached to them may be matter almost of conjecture.

The Chaldæan characters are of three kinds—letters proper, monograms, and determinatives. With regard to the letters proper, there is nothing particular to remark, except that they have almost always a syllabic force. The monograms represent in a brief way, by a wedge or a group of wedges, an entire word, often of two or three syllables, as Nebo, Babil, Merodach, etc. The determinatives mark that the word which they accompany is a word of a certain class, as a god, a man, a country, a town, etc. These last, it is probable, were not sounded at all when the word was read. They served, in some degree, the purpose of our capital letters, in the middle of sentences, but gave more exact notice of the nature of the coming word. Curiously enough, they are retained sometimes, where the word which they accompany has merely its phonetic power, as (generally) when the names of gods form a part of the names of monarchs.

It has been noticed already that the chief material on which the ancient Chaldæans wrote was moist clay, in the two forms of tablets and bricks. On bricks are found only royal inscriptions, having reference to the building in which the bricks were used, commonly designating its purpose, and giving the name and titles of the monarch who erected it.[8] The inscription does not occupy the whole brick, but a square or rectangular space towards its centre. It is in some cases stamped, in some impressed with a tool. The writing—as in all cuneiform inscriptions, excepting those upon seals—is from left to right, and the lines are carefully separated from one another. Some specimens have been already given.[9]

The tablets of the Chaldæans are among the most remarkable of their remains, and will probably one day throw great additional light on the manners and customs, the religion, and even, perhaps, the science and learning, of the people. They are small pieces of clay,[10] somewhat rudely shaped into a form resembling a pillow, and thickly inscribed with cuneiform characters, which are sometimes accompanied by impressions of the cylindrical seals so common in the museums of Europe. The

seals are rolled across the body of the document, as in the accompanying figure. [Pl. VII., Fig. 2.] Except where these impressions occur, the clay is commonly covered on both sides with minute writing. What is most curious, however, is that the documents thus duly attested have in general been enveloped, after they were baked, in a cover of moist clay, upon which their contents have been again inscribed, so as to present externally a duplicate of the writing within; and the tablet in its cover has then been baked afresh. That this was the process employed is evident from the fact that the inner side of the envelope bears a cast, in relief, of the inscription beneath it. Probably the object in view was greater security—that if the external cover became illegible, or was tampered with, there might be a means of proving beyond a doubt what the document actually contained. The tablets in question have in a considerable number of cases been deciphered; they are for the most part deeds, contracts, or engagements, entered into by private persons and preserved among the archives of families.

Besides their writings on clay, the Chaldæans were in the habit, from very early times, of engraving inscriptions on gems. The signet cylinder of a very ancient king exhibits that archaic formation of letters which has been already noted as appearing upon some of the earliest bricks. [Pl. VII., Fig. 3.] That it belongs to the same period is evident, not only from the resemblance of the literal type,[11] but from the fact that the same king's name appears upon both. This signet inscription —so far as it has been hitherto deciphered—is read as follows: —"The signet of Urukh, the pious chief, king of Ur, ... High-Priest (?) of . . . . Niffer." Another similar relic, belonging to a son of this monarch, has the inscription, "To the manifestation of Nergal, king of Bit-Zida, of Zurgulla, for the saving of the life of Ilgi, the powerful hero, the king of Ur, ... , son of Urukh. . . . . May his name be preserved."[12] A third signet, which belongs to a later king in the series, bears the following legend: "—— sin, the powerful chief, the king of Ur, the king of the Kiprat-arbat (or four races) . . . . . his seal." The cylinders, however, of this period are more usually without inscriptions, being often plain,[13] and often engraved with figures, but without a legend.

CHAPTER V.

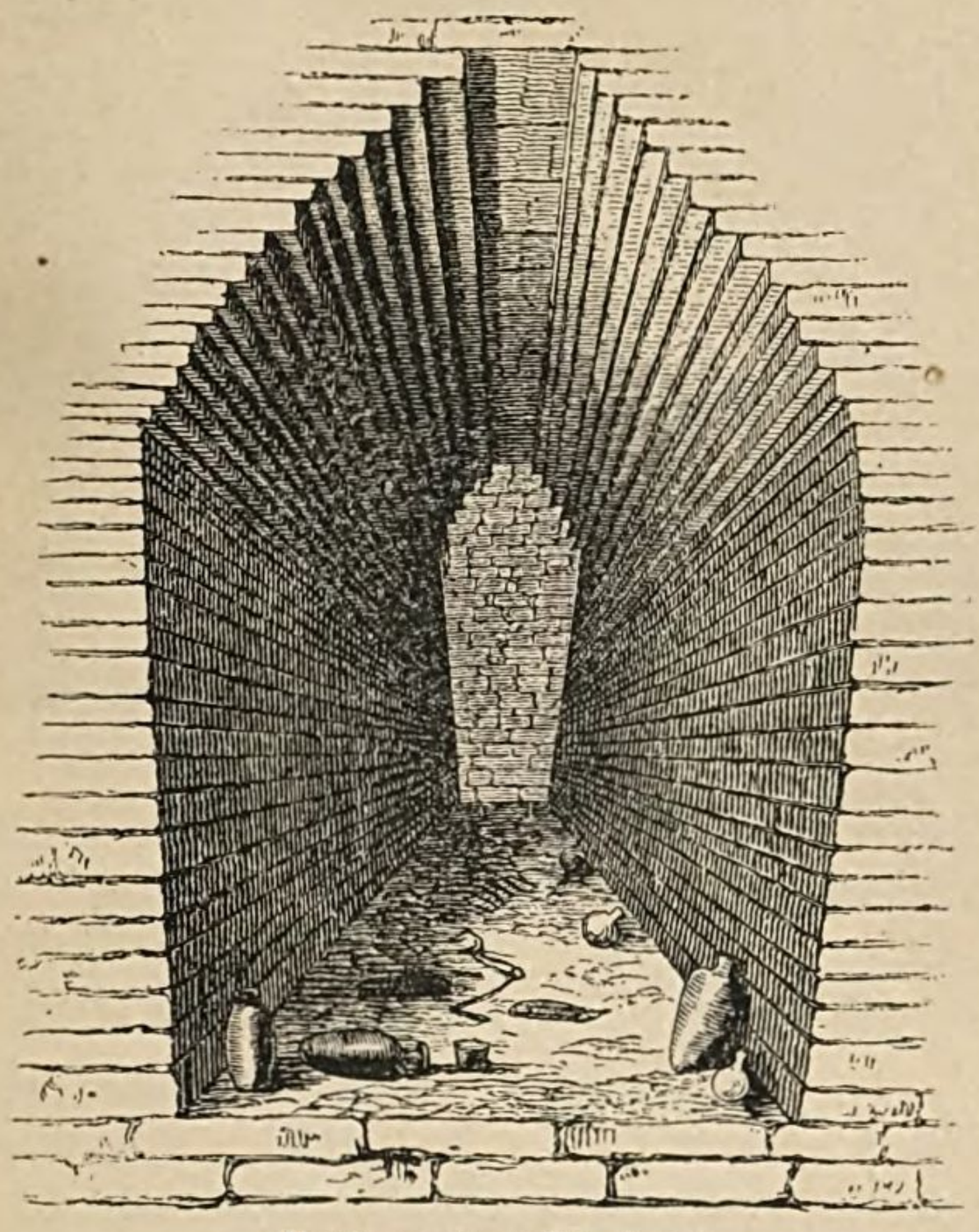
ARTS AND SCIENCES.

"Chaldæi cognitione astrorum sollertiaque ingeniorum antecellunt."
CIC. *de Div.* i. 41.

AMONG the arts which the first Ethiopic settlers on the shores of the Persian Gulf either brought with them from their former homes, or very early invented in their new abode, must undoubtedly have been the two whereby they were especially characterized in the time of their greatest power—architecture and agriculture. Chaldæa is not a country disposing men to nomadic habits. The productive powers of the soil would at once obtrude themselves on the notice of the new comers, and would tempt to cultivation and permanency of residence. If the immigrants came by sea, and settled first in the tract immediately bordering upon the gulf, as seems to have been the notion of Berosus,[1] their earliest abodes may have been of that simple character which can even now be witnessed in the Affej and Montefik marshes—that is to say, reed cabins, supported by the tall stems of the growing plants bent into arches, and walled with mats composed of flags or sedge.[2] Houses of this description last for forty or fifty years.[3] and would satisfy the ideas of a primitive race. When greater permanency began to be required, palm-beams might take the place of the reed supports, and wattles plastered with mud that of the rush mats; in this way habitations would soon be produced quite equal to those in which the bulk of mankind reside, even at the present day.

In process of time, however, a fresh want would be felt. Architecture, as has been well observed, has its origin, not in nature only, but in religion.[4] The common worship of God requires temples; and it is soon desired to give to these sacred edifices a grandeur, a dignity, and a permanency corresponding to the nature of the Being worshipped in them. Hence in most countries recourse is had to stone, as the material of greatest strength and durability; and by its means buildings are raised which seem almost to reach the heaven whereof they witness. In Babylonia, as it has been already observed,[5] this material was entirely wanting. Nowhere within the limits of

Fig. 1.



Brick vault at Mugheir.

Fig. 2.

No. 1.

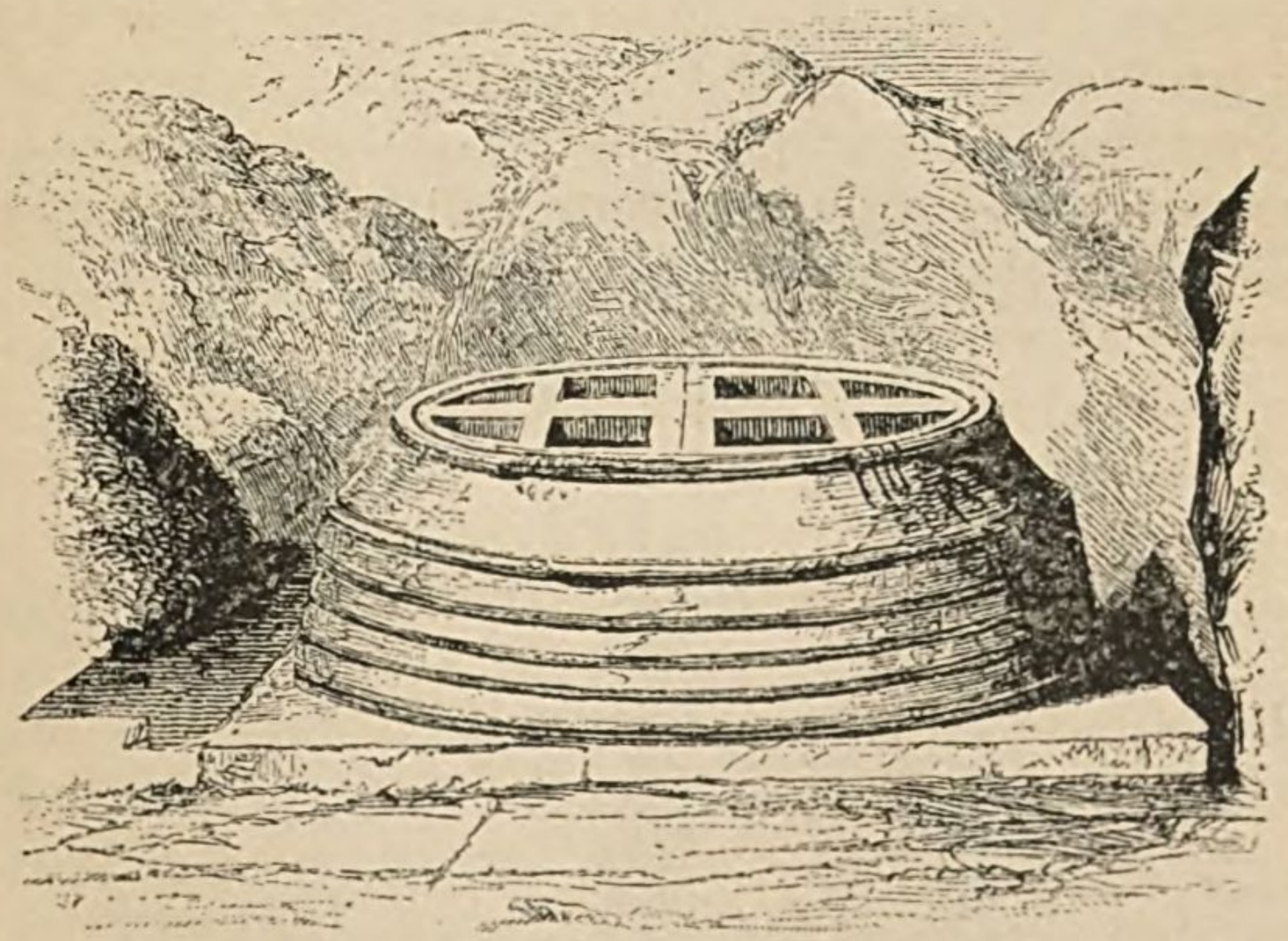
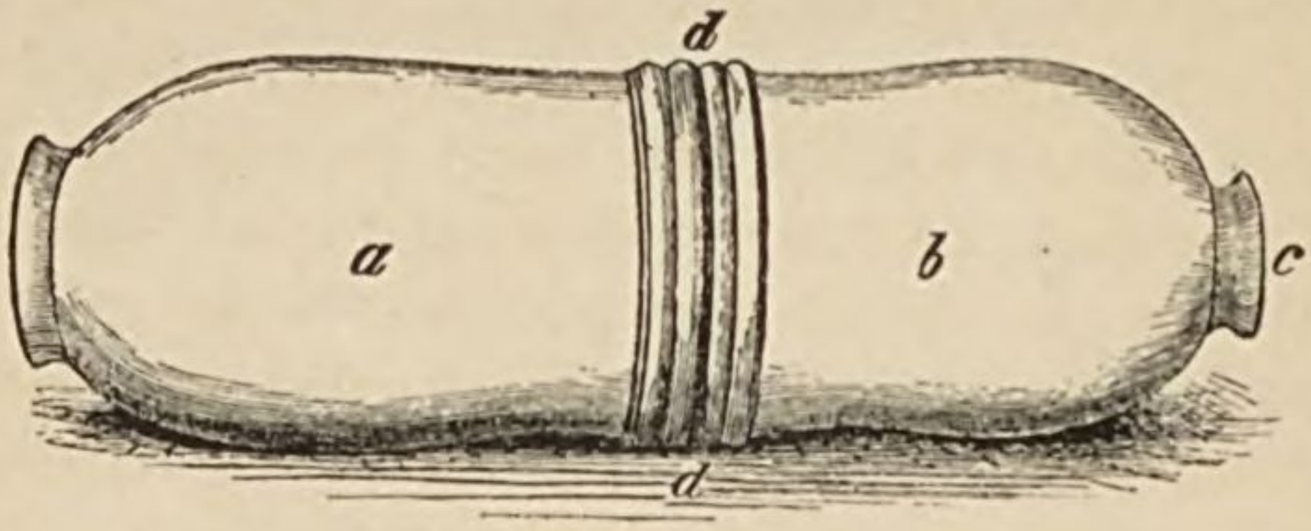


Fig. 1.

Chaldæan disu-cover tombs.

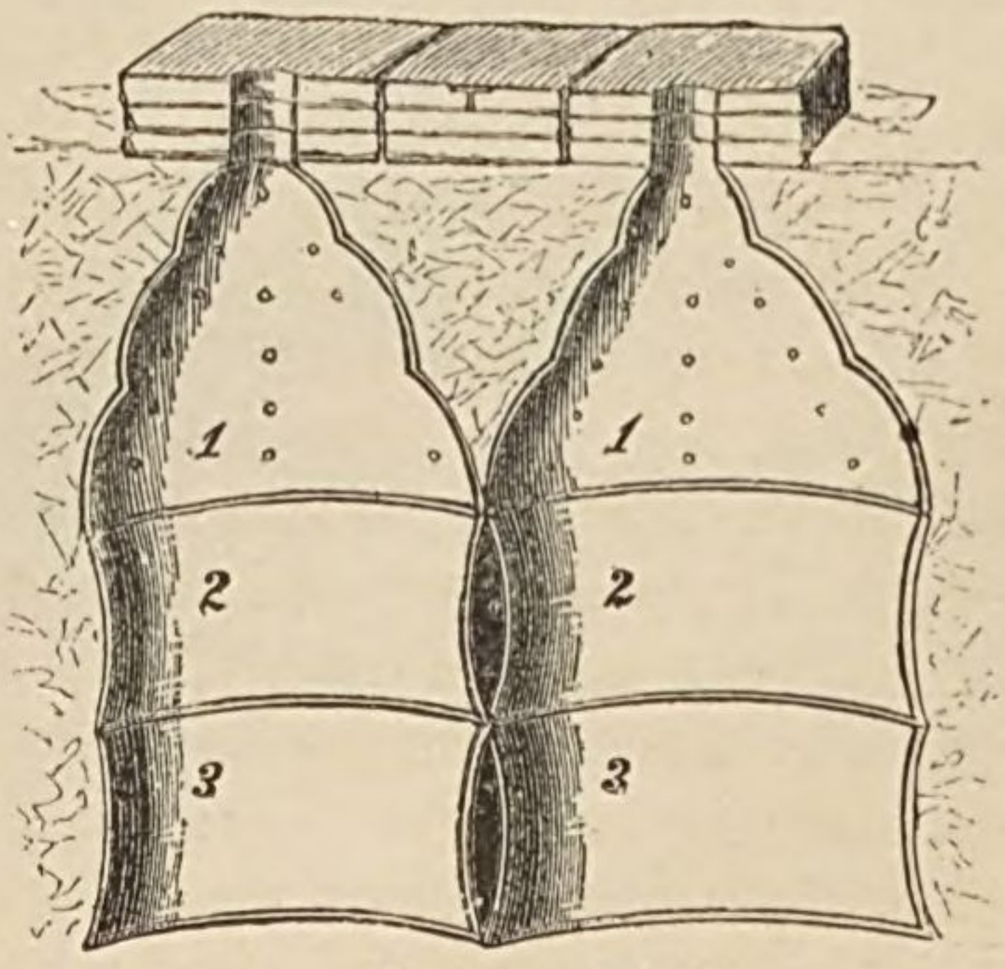
a. Sun-dried brick under head.
b. Copper bowl.
c. Small cylinder of meteoric stone; remains of thread going round arm-bone.
d. Pieces of cylindrical meteoric stone.
e. Pieces of bamboo.
f. Jars and utensils for food and water, made of baked clay; remains of date-stones in the shallow dish.

Fig. 2.



Chaluæan jar-coffin.

Fig. 3.



Section of drain.

the alluvium was a quarry to be found; and though at no very great distance, on the Arabian border, a coarse sandstone might have been obtained, yet in primitive times, before many canals were made, the difficulty of transporting this weighty substance across the soft and oozy soil of the plain would necessarily have prevented its adoption generally, or, indeed, anywhere, except in the immediate vicinity of the rocky region. Accordingly we find that stone was never adopted in Babylonia as a building material, except to an extremely small extent; and that the natives were forced, in its default, to seek for the grand edifices, which they desired to build, a different substance.

The earliest traditions,[6] and the existing remains of the earliest buildings, alike inform us that the material adopted was brick. An excellent clay is readily procurable in all parts of the alluvium; and this, when merely exposed to the intense heat of an Eastern sun for a sufficient period, or still more when kiln-dried, constitutes a very tolerable substitute for the stone employed by most nations. The baked bricks, even of the earliest times, are still sound and hard; while the sun-dried bricks, though they have often crumbled to dust or blended together in one solid earthen mass, yet sometimes retain their shape and original character almost unchanged, and offer a stubborn resistance to the excavator.[7] In the most ancient of the Chaldæan edifices we occasionally find, as in the Bowariyeh ruin at Warka,[8] the entire structure composed of the inferior material; but the more ordinary practice is to construct the mass of the building in this way, and then to cover it completely with a facing of burnt brick, which sometimes extends to as much as ten feet in thickness. The burnt brick was thus made to protect the unburnt from the influence of the weather, while labor and fuel were greatly economized by the employment to so large an extent of the natural substance. The size and color of the bricks vary. The general shape is square, or nearly so, while the thickness is, to modern ideas, disproportionately small; it is not, however, so small as in the bricks of the Romans. The earliest of the baked bricks hitherto discovered in Chaldæa are 11¼ inches square, and 2¼ inches thick,[9] while the Roman are often 15 inches square, and only an inch and a quarter thick.[10] The baked bricks of later date are of larger size than the earlier; they are commonly about 13 inches square, with a thickness of three inches.[11] The best quality of baked brick is of a yellowish-white tint, and very much resembles our Stourbridge or fire brick; another kind, extremely hard, bu

brittle, is of a blackish blue; a third, the coarsest of all, is slack-dried, and of a pale red. The earliest baked bricks are of this last color.[12] The sun-dried bricks have even more variety of size than the baked ones. They are sometimes as large as 16 inches square and seven inches thick, sometimes as small as six inches square by two thick.[13] Occasionally, though not very often, bricks are found differing altogether in shape from those above described, being formed for special purposes. Of this kind are the triangular bricks used at the corners of walls, intended to give greater regularity to the angles than would otherwise be attained;[14] and the wedge-shaped bricks, formed to be employed in arches, which were known and used by this primitive people.[15]

The modes of applying these materials to building purposes were various. Sometimes the crude and the burnt brick were used in alternate layers, each layer being several feet in thickness;[16] more commonly the crude brick was used (as already noticed) for the internal parts of the building, and a facing of burnt brick protected the whole from the weather. Occasionally the mass of an edifice was composed entirely of crude brick; but in such cases special precautions had to be taken to secure the stability of this comparatively frail material. In the first place, at intervals of four or five feet, a thick layer of reed matting was interposed along the whole extent of the building, which appears to have been intended to protect the earthy mass from disintegration, by its protection beyond the rest of the external surface. The readers of Herodotus are familiar with this feature, which (according to him) occurred in the massive walls whereby Babylon was surrounded.[17] If this was really the case, we may conclude that those walls were not composed of burnt brick, as he imagined, but of the sun-dried material. Reeds were never employed in buildings composed of burnt brick, being useless in such cases; where their impression is found, as not unfrequently happens, on bricks of this kind, the brick has been laid upon reed matting when in a soft state, and afterwards submitted to the action of fire. In edifices of crude brick, the reeds were no doubt of great service, and have enabled some buildings of the kind to endure to the present day. They are very strikingly conspicuous where they occur, since they stripe the whole building with continuous horizontal lines, having at a distance somewhat the effect of the courses of dark marble in an Italian structure of the Byzantine period.

Another characteristic of the edifices in which crude brick is thus largely employed, is the addition externally of solid and massive buttresses of the burnt material. These buttresses have sometimes a very considerable projection; they are broad, but not high, extending less than half way up the walls against which they are placed.

Two kinds of cement are used in the early structures. One is a coarse clay or mud, which is sometimes mixed with chopped straw; the other is bitumen. This last is of an excellent quality, and the bricks which it unites adhere often so firmly together that they can with difficulty be separated.[18] As a general rule, in the early buildings, the crude brick is laid in mud, while the bitumen is used to cement together the burnt bricks.

These general remarks will receive their best illustration from a detailed description of the principal early edifices which recent researches in Lower Mesopotamia have revealed to us. These are for the most part temples; but in one or two cases the edifice explored is thought to have been a residence, so that the domestic architecture of the period may be regarded as known to us, at least in some degree. The temples most carefully examined hitherto are those at Warka, Mugheir, and Abu-Shahrein, the first of which was explored by Mr. Loftus in 1854, the second by Mr. Taylor in the same year, and the third by the same traveller in 1855.

The Warka ruin is called by the natives Bowariyeh, which signifies "reed mats," in allusion to a peculiarity, already noticed, in its construction. [Pl. VIII., Fig. 1.] It is at once the most central and the loftiest ruin in the place. At first sight it appears to have been a cone or pyramid; but further examination proves that it was in reality a tower, 200 feet square at the base, built in two stories, the lower story being composed entirely of sun-dried bricks laid in mud, and protected at intervals of four or five feet by layers of reeds, while the upper one was composed of the same material, faced with burnt brick. Of the upper stage very little remains; and this little is of a later date than the inferior story, which bears marks of a very high antiquity. The sun-dried bricks whereof the lower story is composed, are "rudely moulded of very incoherent earth, mixed with fragments of pottery and fresh-water shells," and vary in size and shape, being sometimes square, seven inches each way; sometimes oblong, nine inches by seven, and from three to three and a half inches thick.[19] The whole present height of the building is estimated at 100 feet above the level of the plain. Its summit, except

where some slight remains of the second story constitute an interruption, is "perfectly flat," and probably continues very much in the condition in which it was when the lower stage was first built. This stage, being built of crude brick, was necessarily weak; it is therefore supported by four massive buttresses of baked brick, each placed exactly in the centre of one of the sides, and carried to about one-third of the height. Each buttress is nineteen feet high, six feet one inch wide, and seven and a half feet in depth; and each is divided down the middle by a receding space, one foot nine inches in width. All the bricks composing the buttresses are inscribed, and are very firmly cemented together with bitumen, in thick layers. The buttresses were entirely hidden under the mass of rubbish which had fallen from the building, chiefly from the upper story, and only became apparent when Mr. Loftus made his excavations.[20]

It is impossible to reconstruct the Bowariyeh ruin from the facts and measurements hitherto supplied to us; even the height of the first story is at present uncertain;[21] and we have no means of so much as conjecturing the height of the second. The exact emplacement of the second upon the first is also doubtful, while the original mode of access is undiscovered; and thus the plan of the building is in many respects still defective. We only know that it was a square; that it had two stories at the least; and that its entire height above the plain considerably exceeded 100 feet. The temple at Mugheir has been more accurately examined. [Pl. VIII., Fig. 2.] On a mound or platform of some size, raised about twenty feet above the level of the plain, there stands a rectangular edifice, consisting at present of two stories, both of them ruined in parts, and buried to a considerable extent in piles of rubbish composed of their *débris*. The angles of the building exactly face the four cardinal points.[22] It is not a square, but a parallelogram, having two longer and two shorter sides. [Pl. IX., Fig. 1.] The longer sides front to the north-east and south-west respectively, and measure 198 feet; while the shorter sides, which face the north-west and south-east, measure 133 feet. The present height of the basement story is 27 feet; but, allowing for the concealment of the lower part by the rubbish, and the destruction of the upper part by the hand of time, we may presume that the original height was little, if at all, short of 40 feet. The interior of this story is built of crude or sun-dried bricks of small size, laid in bitumen; but it is faced through-

out with a wall, ten feet in thickness, composed of red kiln-dried bricks, likewise cemented with bitumen. This external wall is at once strengthened and diversified to the eye by a number of shallow buttresses or pilasters in the same material; of these there are nine, including the corner ones, on the longer, and six on the shorter sides. The width of the buttresses is eight feet, and their projection a little more than a foot. The walls and buttresses alike slope inwards at an angle of nine degrees. On the north-eastern side of the building there is a staircase nine feet wide, with sides or balustrades three feet wide, which leads up from the platform to the top of the first story. It has also been conjectured that there was a second or grand staircase on the south-east face, equal in width to the second story of the building, and thus occupying nearly the whole breadth of the structure on that side.[23] A number of narrow slits or air-holes are carried through the building from side to side; they penetrate alike the walls and buttresses, and must have tended to preserve the dryness of the structure.

The second story is, like the first, a parallelogram, and not of very different proportions.[24] Its longer sides measure 119 feet, and its shorter ones 75 feet at the base. Its emplacement upon the first story is exact as respects the angles, but not central as regards the four sides. While it is removed from the south-eastern edge a distance of 47 feet, from the north-western it is distant only 30 feet. From the two remaining sides its distance is apparently about 28 feet. The present height of the second story, including the rubbish upon its top, is 19 feet; but we may reasonably suppose that the original height was much greater. The material of which its inner structure is composed, seems to be chiefly (or wholly) partially-burnt brick, of a light red color, laid in a cement composed of lime and ashes. This central mass is faced with kiln-dried bricks of large size and excellent quality, also laid, except on the north-west face,[25] in lime mortar. No buttresses and no staircase are traceable on this story; though it is possible that on the south-east side the grand staircase may have run the whole height of both stories.

According to information received by Mr. Taylor from the Arabs of the vicinity,[26] there existed, less than half a century ago, some remains of a third story, on the summit of the rubbish which now crowns the second. This building is described as a room or chamber, and was probably the actual shrine of the god in whose honor the whole structure was

erected. Mr. Taylor discovered a number of bricks or tiles glazed with a blue enamel, and also a number of large copper nails, at such a height in the rubbish which covers up much of the second story, that he thinks they could only have come from this upper chamber. The analogy of later Babylonian buildings, as of the Birs-Nimrud and the temple of Belus at Babylon,[27] confirms this view, and makes it probable that the early Chaldæan temple was a building in three stages, of which the first and second were solid masses of brickwork, ascended by steps on the outside, while the third was a small house or chamber highly ornamented, containing the image and shrine of the god. [Pl. IX., Fig. 2.]

In conclusion, it must be observed that only the lower story of the Mugheir temple exhibits the workmanship of the old or Chaldæan period. Clay cylinders found in the upper story inform us that in its present condition this story is the work of Nabonidus, the last of the Babylonian kings; and most of its bricks bear his stamp. Some, however, have the stamp of the same monarch who built the lower story;[28] and this is sufficient to show that the two stories are a part of the original design, and therefore that the idea of building in stages belongs to the first kingdom and to primitive times. There is no evidence to prove whether the original edifice had, or had not, a third story; since the chamber seen by the Arabs was no doubt a late Babylonian work. The third story of the accompanying sketch must therefore be regarded as conjectural.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to detain the reader with a minute description of the ancient temple at Abu-Shahrein. The general character of this building seems to have very closely resembled that of the Mugheir temple. Its angles fronted the cardinal points; it had two stories, and an ornamented chamber at the top; it was faced with burnt brick, and strengthened by buttresses; and in most other respects followed the type of the Mugheir edifice.[29] Its only very notable peculiarities are the partial use of stone in the construction, and the occurrence of a species of pillar, very curiously composed. The artificial platform on which the temple stands is made of beaten clay, cased with a massive wall of sandstone and limestone, in some places twenty feet thick. There is also a stone, or rather marble, staircase which leads up from the platform to the summit of the first story, composed of small polished blocks, twenty-two inches long, thirteen broad, and four and a half thick. The bed of the staircase is made of sun-

dried brick, and the marble was fastened to this substratum by copper bolts, some portion of which was found by Mr. Taylor still adhering to the blocks.[30] At the foot of the staircase there appear to have stood two columns, one on either side of it. The construction of these columns is very singular. A circular nucleus composed of sandstone slabs and small cylindrical pieces of marble disposed in alternate layers, was coated externally with coarse lime, mixed with small stones and pebbles, until by means of many successive layers the pillar had attained the desired bulk and thickness. Thus the stone and marble were entirely concealed under a thick coating of plaster; and a smoothness was given to the outer surface which it would have otherwise been difficult to obtain.

The date of the Abu-Shahrein temple is thought to be considerably later than that of the other buildings above described;[31] and the pillars would seem to be a refinement on the simplicity of the earlier times. The use of stone is to be accounted for, not so much by the advance of architectural science, as by the near vicinity of the Arabian hills, from which that material could be readily derived.[32]

It is evident, that if the Chaldæan temples were of the character and construction which we have gathered from their remains, they could have possessed no great architectural beauty, though they may not have lacked a certain grandeur. In the dead level of Babylonia, an elevation even of 100 or 150 feet must have been impressive;[33] and the plain massiveness of the structures no doubt added to their grand effect on the beholder. But there was singularly little in the buildings, architecturally viewed, to please the eye or gratify the sense of beauty. No edifices in the world—not even the Pyramids—are more deficient in external ornament. The buttresses and the air-holes, which alone break the flat uniformity of the walls, are intended simply for utility, and can scarcely be said to be much embellishment. If any efforts were made to delight by the ordinary resources of ornamental art, it seems clear that such efforts did not extend to the whole edifice, but were confined to the shrine itself—the actual abode of the god—the chamber which crowned the whole, and was alone, strictly speaking, "the temple."[34] Even here there is no reason to believe that the building had externally much beauty. No fragments of architraves or capitals, no sculptured ornaments of any kind, have been found among the heaps of rubbish in which Chaldæan monuments are three-parts buried.

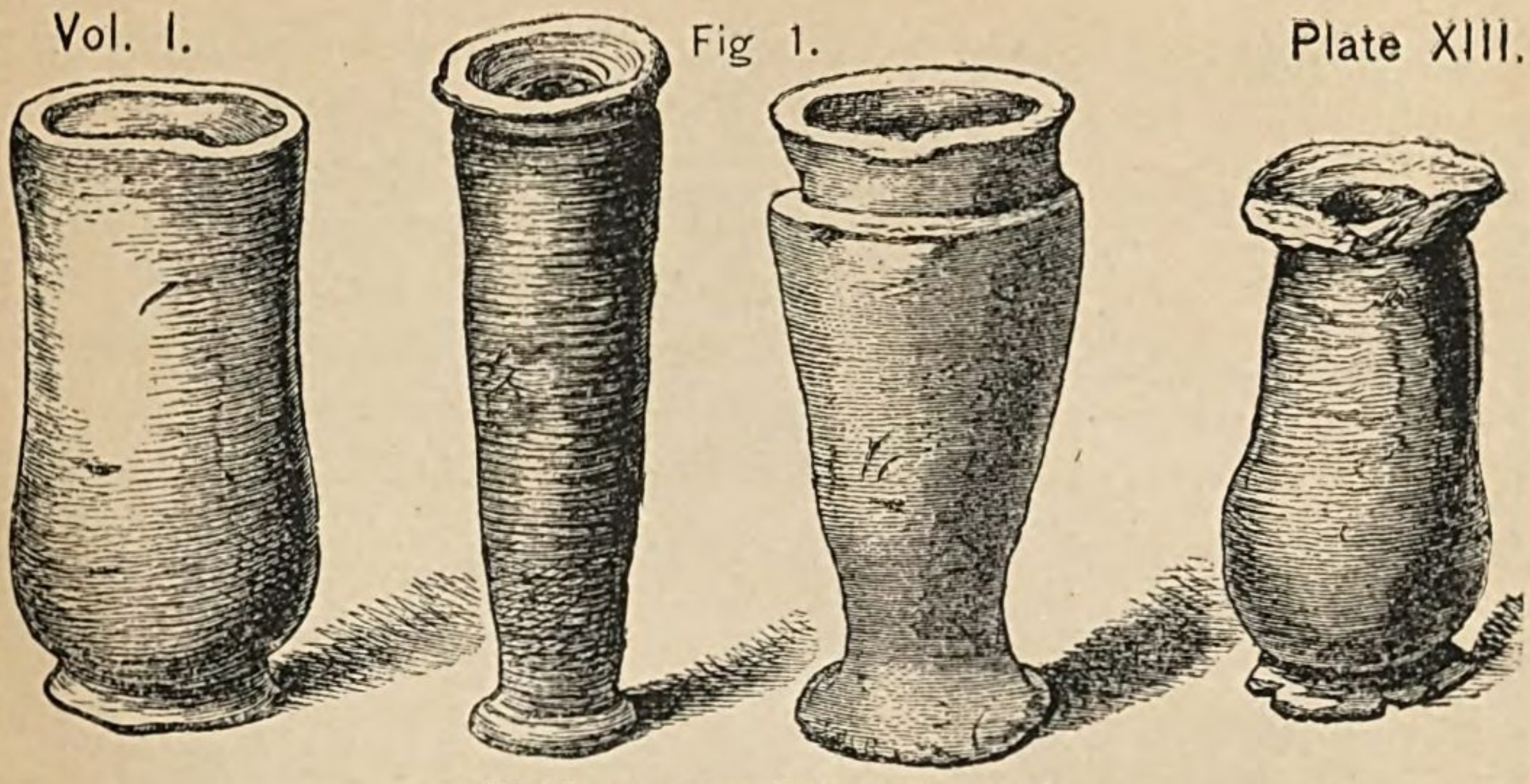
The ornaments which have been actually discovered, are such as suggest the idea of internal rather than external decoration; and they render it probable that such decoration was, at least in some cases, extremely rich. The copper nails and blue enamelled tiles found high up in the Mugheir mound, have been already noticed.[35] At Abu-Shahrein the ground about the basement of the second story was covered with small pieces of agate, alabaster, and marble, finely cut and polished, from half an inch to two inches long, and half an inch (or somewhat less) in breadth, each with a hole drilled through its back, containing often a fragment of a copper bolt. It was strewn less

thickly with small plates of pure gold, and with a number of gold-headed or gilt-headed nails,[36] used apparently to attach the gold plates to the internal plaster or wood-work. These fragments seem to attest the high ornamentation of the shrine in this instance, which we have no reason to regard as singular or in any way exceptional.

The Chaldæan remains which throw light upon the domestic architecture of the people are few and scanty. A small house was disinterred by Mr. Taylor at Mugheir, and the plan of some chambers was made out at Abu-Shahrein; but these are hitherto the only specimens which can be confidently assigned to the Chaldæan period. The house stood on a platform of sun-dried bricks, paved on the top with burnt bricks. It was built in the form of a cross, but with a good deal of irregularity, every wall being somewhat longer or shorter than the others. The material used in its construction was burnt brick, the outer layer imbedded in bitumen, and the remainder in a cement of mud. Externally the house was ornamented with perpendicular stepped recesses,[37] while internally the bricks had often a thin coating of gypsum or enamel, upon which characters were inscribed. The floors of the chambers were paved with burnt brick, laid in bitumen. Two of the doorways were arched, the arch extending through the whole thickness of the walls; it was semicircular, and was constructed with bricks made wedge-shaped for the purpose. A good deal of charred date-wood was found in the house, probably the remains of rafters which had supported the roof.[38]

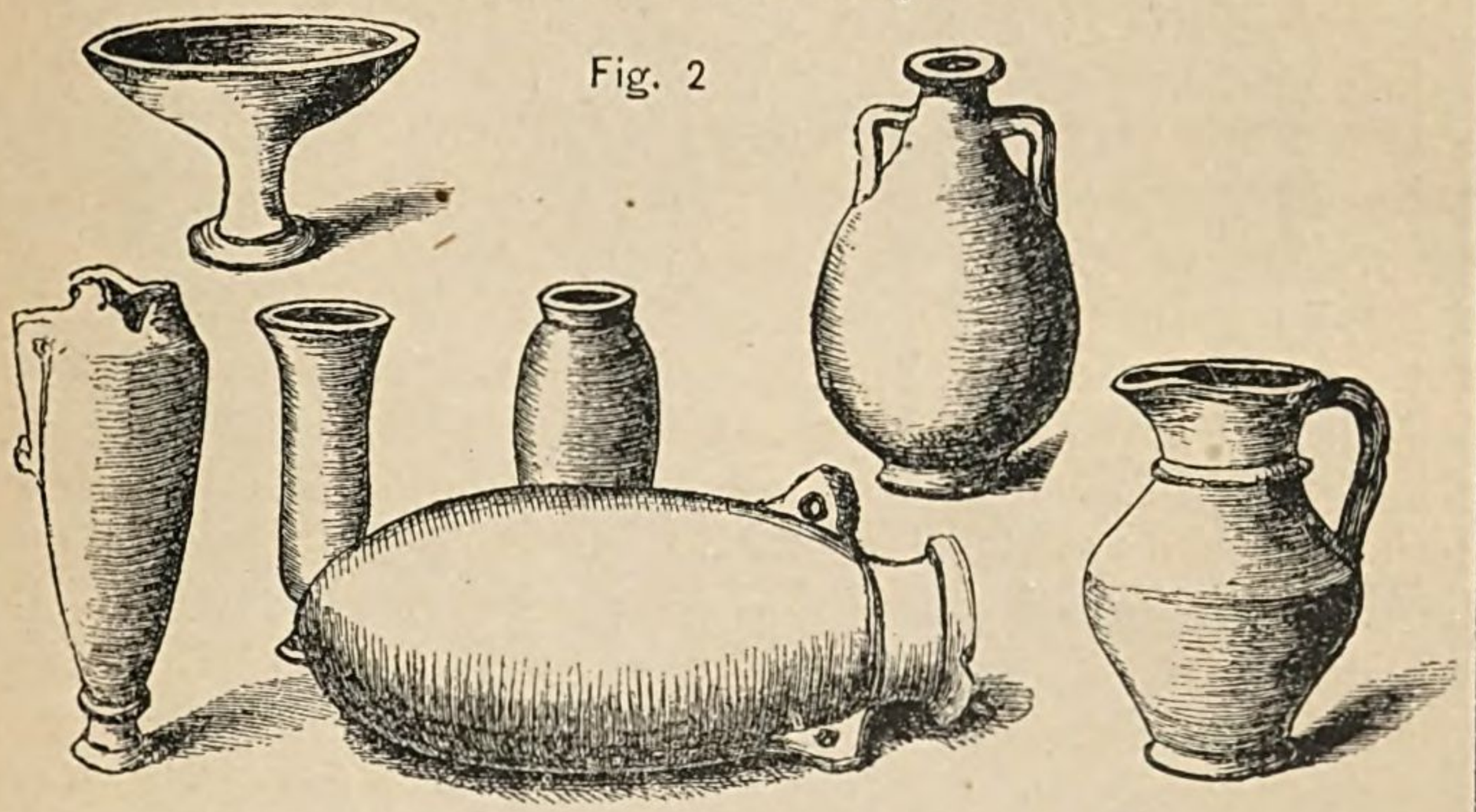
The chambers at Abu-Shahrein were of sun-dried brick, with an internal covering of fine plaster, ornamented with paint. In one the ornamentation consisted of a series of red, black, and white bands, three inches in breadth; in another was represented, but very rudely, the figure of a man holding a

Fig 1.



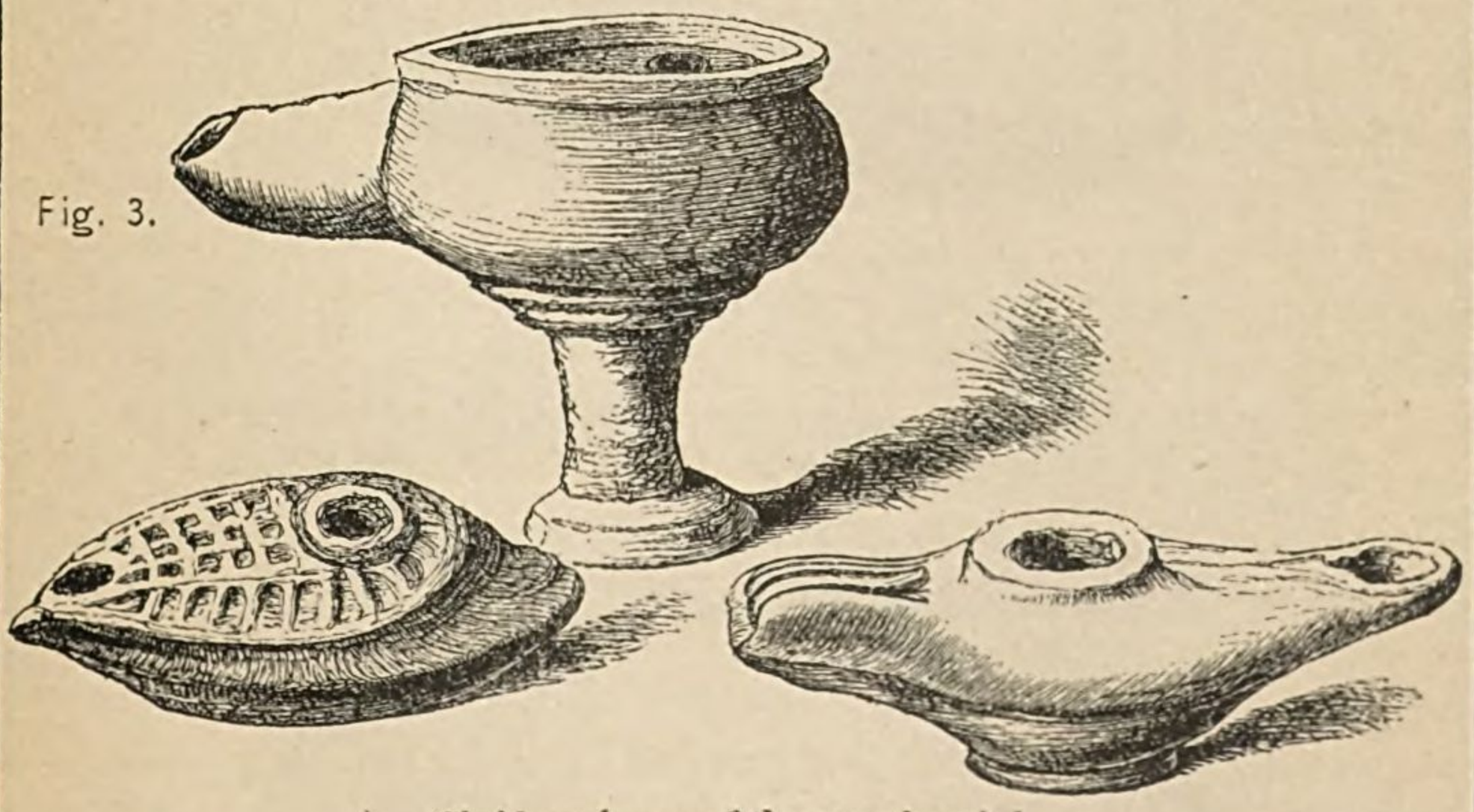
Chaldæan vases of the first period.

Fig. 2



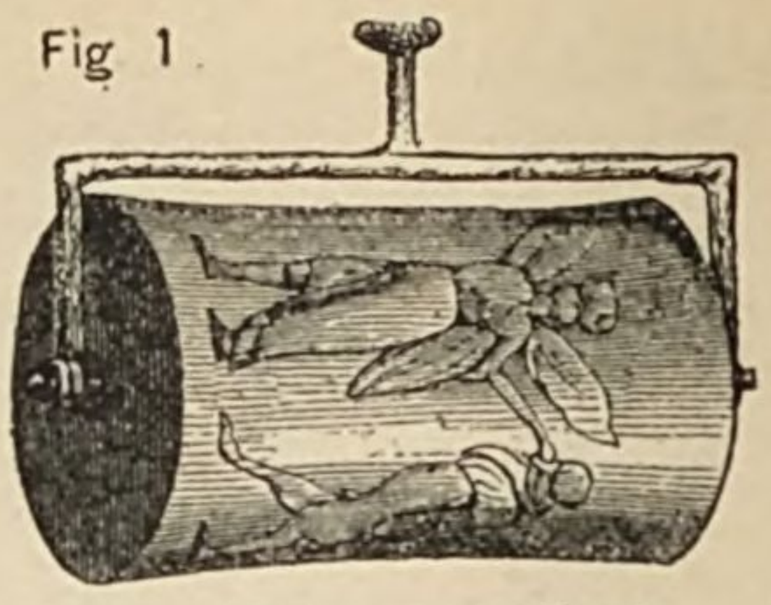
Chaldæan vases, drinking-vessels, and amphora of the second period.

Fig. 3.



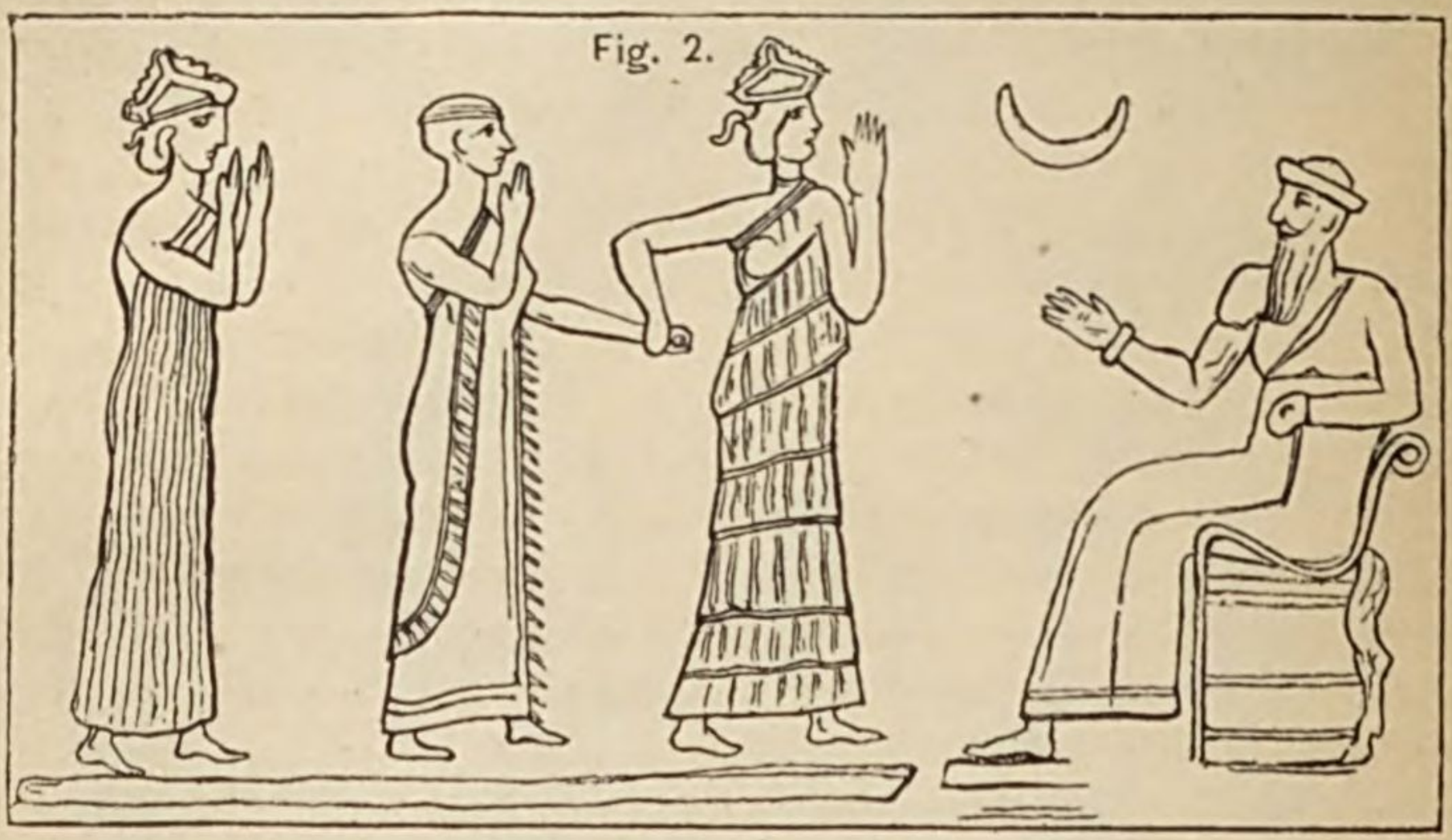
Chaldæan lamps of the second period.

Fig 1



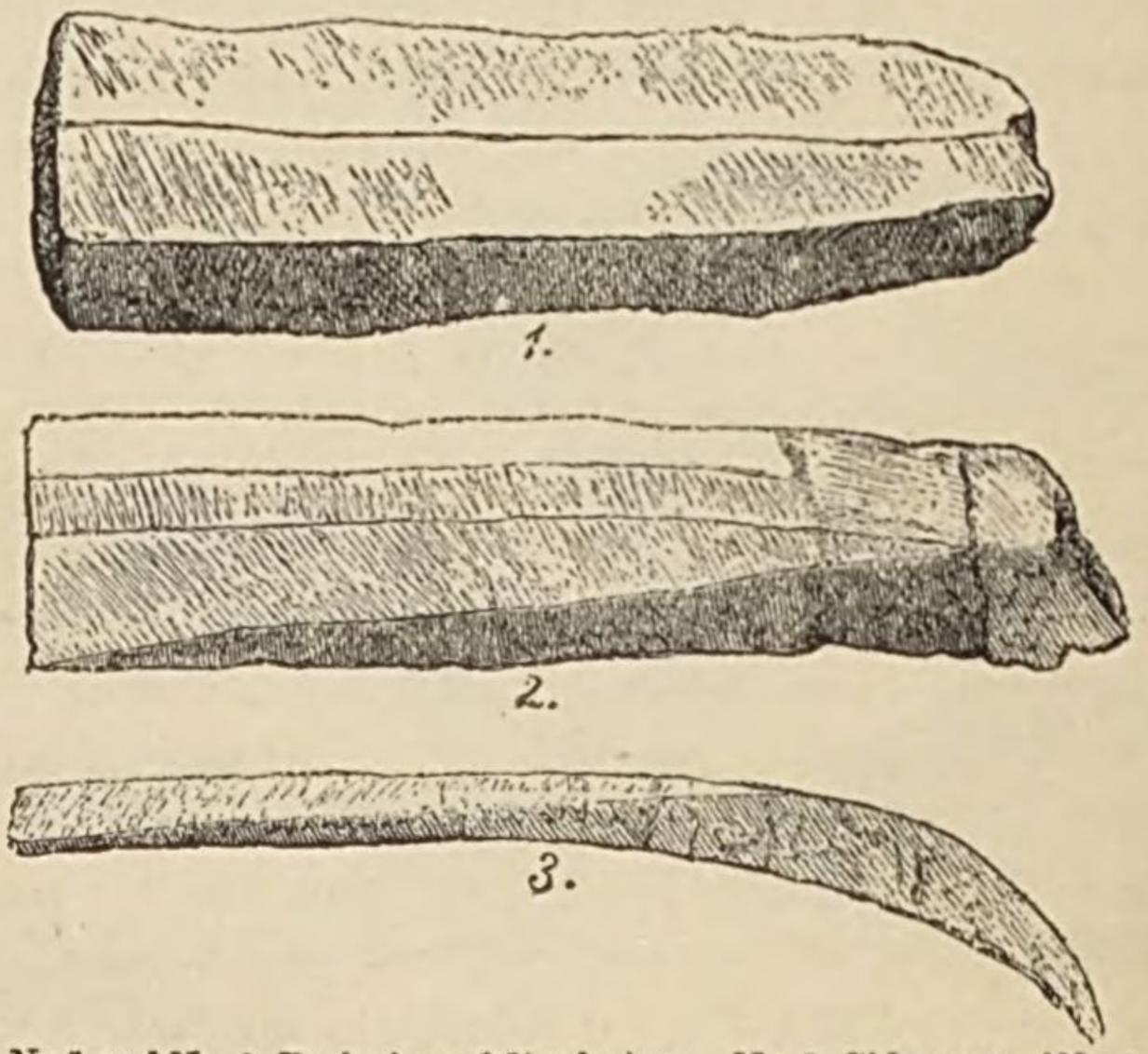
Seal cylinder on metal axis.

Fig. 2.



Signet-cylinder of King Urukh.

Fig. 3.



No. 1 and No. 2. Back view of flint knives. No. 3. Side view of No. 2.

bird on his wrist, with a smaller figure near him, in red paint.[39] The favorite external ornamentation for houses seems to have been by means of colored cones in terra cotta, which were imbedded in moist mud or plaster, and arranged into a variety of patterns.[40] [Pl. IX., Fig. 3.]

But little can be said as to the plan on which houses were built. [Pl. X., Fig. 2.] The walls were generally of vast thickness, the chambers long and narrow, with the outer doors opening directly into them. The rooms ordinarily led into one another, passages being rarely found. Squared recesses, sometimes stepped or dentated, were common in the rooms; and in the arrangement of these something of symmetry is observable, as they frequently correspond to or face each other. The roofs were probably either flat—beams of palm-wood being stretched across from wall to wall[41]—or else arched with brick.[42] No indication of windows has been found as yet; but still it is thought that the chambers were lighted by them,[43] only they were placed high, near the ceiling or roof, and thus do not appear in the existing ruins, which consists merely of the lower portion of walls, seldom exceeding the height of seven or eight feet. The doorways, both outer and inner, are towards the sides rather than in the centre of the apartments—a feature common to Chaldæan with Assyrian buildings.

Next to their edifices, the most remarkable of the remains which the Chaldæans have left to after-ages, are their burial-places. While ancient tombs are of very rare occurrence in Assyria and Upper Babylonia, Chaldæa Proper abounds with them. It has been conjectured, with some show of reason, that the Assyrians, in the time of their power, may have made the sacred land of Chaldæa the general depository of their dead,[44] much in the same way as the Persians even now use Kerbela and Nedjif or Meshed Ali as special cemetery cities, to which thousands of corpses are brought annually.[45] At any rate, the quantity of human relics accumulated upon certain Chaldæan sites is enormous, and seems to be quite beyond what the mere population of the surrounding district could furnish. At Warka, for instance, excepting the triangular space between the three principal ruins, the whole remainder of the platform, the whole space within the walls, and an unknown extent of desert beyond them, are everywhere filled with human bones and sepulchres.[46] In places coffins are piled upon coffins, certainly to the depth of 30, probably to the depth of 60 feet; and for miles on every side of the ruins the traveller walks upon a

soil teeming with the relics of ancient, and now probably extinct, races. Sometimes these relics manifestly belong to a number of distinct and widely separate eras; but there are places where it is otherwise. However we may account for it —and no account has been yet given which is altogether satisfactory—it seems clear, from the comparative homogeneousness of the remains in some places, that they belong to a single race, and if not to a single period, at any rate to only two, or, at the most, three distinct periods, so that it is no longer very difficult to distinguish the more ancient from the later relics.[47] Such is the character of the remains at Mugheir, which are thought to contain nothing of later date than the close of the Babylonian period, B.C. 538;[48] and such is, still more remarkably, the character of the ruins at Abu-Shahrein and Tel-el-Lahm, which seem to be entirely, or almost entirely, Chaldæan. In the following account of the coffins and mode of burial employed by the early Chaldæans, examples will be drawn from these places only; since otherwise we should be liable to confound together the productions of very different ages and peoples.

The tombs to which an archaic character most certainly attaches are of three kinds—brick vaults, clay coffins shaped like a dish-cover, and coffins in the same material, formed of two large jars placed mouth to mouth, and cemented together with bitumen. The brick vaults are found chiefly at Mugheir. [Pl. XI., Fig. 1.] They are seven feet long, three feet seven inches broad, and five feet high, composed of sun-dried bricks imbedded in mud, and exhibit a very remarkable form and construction of the arch. The side walls of the vaults slope outwards as they ascend; and the arch is formed, like those in Egyptian buildings and Scythian tombs,[49] by each successive layer of bricks, from the point where the arch begins, a little overlapping the last, till the two sides of the roof are brought so near together that the aperture may be closed by a single brick. The floor of the vaults was paved with brick similar to that used for the roof and sides; on this floor was commonly spread a matting of reeds, and the body was laid upon the matting. It was commonly turned on its left side, the right arm falling towards the left, and the fingers resting on the edge of a copper bowl, usually placed on the palm of the left hand. The head was pillowed on a single sun-dried brick. Various articles of ornament and use were interred with each body, which will be more particularly described hereafter. Food seems often to have been placed in the tombs, and jars or other drinking vessels are

universal. The brick vaults appear to have been family sepulchres; they have often received three or four bodies, and in one case a single vault contained eleven skeletons.[50]

The clay coffins, shaped like a dish-cover, are among the most curious of the sepulchral remains of antiquity. [Pl. XI., Fig. 2; XII., Fig. 1.] On a platform of sun-dried brick is laid a mat exactly similar to those in common use among the Arabs of the country at the present day; and hereon lies the skeleton disposed as in the brick vaults, and surrounded by utensils and ornaments. Mat, skeleton, and utensils are then concealed by a huge cover in burnt clay, formed of a single piece, which is commonly seven feet long, two or three feet high, and two feet and a half broad at the bottom. It is rarely that modern potters produce articles of half the size. Externally the covers have commonly some slight ornament, such as rims and shallow indentations, as represented in the sketch (No. 1). Internally they are plain. Not more than two skeletons have ever been found under a single cover; and in these cases they were the skeletons of a male and a female. Children were interred separately, under covers about half the size of those for adults. Tombs of this kind commonly occur at some considerable depth. None were discovered at Mugheir nearer the surface than seven or eight feet.[51]

The third kind of tomb, common both at Mugheir and at Tel-el-Lahm,[52] is almost as eccentric as the preceding. Two large open-mouthed jars (*a* and *b*), shaped like the largest of the water-jars at present in use at Baghdad, are taken, and the body is disposed inside them with the usual accompaniments of dishes, vases, and ornaments. [Pl. XII., Fig. 2.] The jars average from two and a half feet to three feet in depth, and have a diameter of about two feet; so that they would readily contain a full-sized corpse if it was slightly bent at the knees. Sometimes the two jars are of equal size, and are simply united at their mouths by a layer of bitumen (*dd*); but more commonly one is slightly larger than the other, and the smaller mouth is inserted into the larger one for a depth of three or four inches, while a coating of bitumen is still applied externally at the juncture. In each coffin there is an air-hole at one extremity (*c*) to allow the escape of the gases generated during decomposition.

Besides the coffins themselves, some other curious features are found in the burial-places. The dead are commonly buried, not underneath the natural surface of the ground, but in ex-

tensive artificial mounds, each mound containing a vast number of coffins. The coffins are arranged side by side, often in several layers; and occasionally strips of masonry, crossing each other at right angles, separate the sets of coffins from their neighbors. The surface of the mounds is sometimes paved with brick; and a similar pavement often separates the layers of coffins one from another. But the most remarkable feature in the tomb-mounds is their system of drainage. Long shafts of baked clay extend from the surface of the mound to its base, composed of a succession of rings two feet in diameter, and about a foot and a half in breadth, joined together by thin layers of bitumen. [Pl. XII., Fig. 3.] To give the rings additional strength, the sides have a slight concave curve and, still further to resist external pressure, the shafts are filled from bottom to top with a loose mass of broken pottery. At the top the shaft contracts rapidly by means of a ring of a peculiar shape, and above this ring are a series of perforated bricks leading up to the top of the mound, the surface of which is so arranged as to conduct the rain-water into these orifices. For the still more effectual drainage of the mound, the top-piece of the shaft immediately below the perforated bricks, and also the first rings, are full of small holes to admit any stray moisture; and besides this, for the space of a foot every way, the shafts are surrounded with broken pottery, so that the real diameter of each drain is as much as four feet.[53] By these arrangements the piles have been kept perfectly dry; and the consequence is the preservation, to the present day, not only of the utensils and ornaments placed in the tombs, but of the very skeletons themselves, which are seen perfect on opening a tomb, though they generally crumble to dust at the first touch.[54]

The skill of the Chaldæans as potters has received considerable illustration in the foregoing pages. No ordinary ingenuity was needed to model and bake the large vases, and still larger covers, which were the ordinary receptacles of the Chaldæan dead. The rings and top-pieces of the drainage-shafts also exhibit much skill and knowledge of principles. Hitherto, however, the reader has not been brought into contact with any specimens of Chaldæan fictile art which can be regarded as exhibiting elegance of form, or, indeed, any sense of beauty as distinguished from utility. Such specimens are, in fact, somewhat scarce, but they are not wholly wanting. Among the vases and drinking vessels with which the Chaldæan

tombs abound, while the majority are characterized by a certain rudeness both of shape and material,[55] we occasionally meet with specimens of a higher character, which would not shrink from a comparison with the ordinary productions of Greek fictile art. A number of these are represented in the second figure [Pl. XIII., Fig. 2], which exhibits several forms not hitherto published—some taken from drawings by Mr. Churchill, the artist who accompanied Mr. Loftus on his first journey ; others drawn for the present work from vases now in the British Museum.

It is evident that, while the vases of the first group are roughly moulded by the hand, the vases and lamps of the second have been carefully shaped by the aid of the potter's wheel. These last are formed of a far finer clay than the early specimens, and have sometimes a slight glaze upon them, which adds much to their beauty.

In a few instances the works of the Chaldæans in this material belong to mimetic art, of which they are rude but interesting specimens. Some of the primitive graves at Senkareh yielded tablets of baked clay, on which were represented, in low relief, sometimes single figures of men, sometimes groups, sometimes men in combination with animals. A scene in which a lion is disturbed in its feast off a bullock, by a man armed with a club and a mace or hatchet, possesses remarkable spirit, and, were it not for the strange drawing of the lion's unlifted leg, might be regarded as a very creditable performance.[56] In another, a lion is represented devouring a prostrate human being; while a third exhibits a pugilistic encounter after the most approved fashion of modern England.[57] It is perhaps uncertain whether these tablets belong to the Chaldæan or to the Babylonian period, but on the whole their rudeness and simplicity favor the earlier rather than the later date.

The only other works having anything of an artistic character, that can be distinctly assigned to the primitive period, are a certain number of engraved cylinders, some of which are very curious. [Pl. XIV., Fig. 1.] It is clearly established that the cylinders in question, which are generally of serpentine, meteoric stone, jasper, chalcedony, or other similar substance, were the seals or signets of their possessors, who impressed them upon the moist clay which formed the ordinary material for writing.[58] They are round, or nearly so,[59] and measure from half an inch to three inches in length; ordinarily they are about one-third of

their length in diameter. A hole is bored through the stone from end to end, so that it could be worn upon a string; and cylinders are found in some of the earliest tombs which have been worn round the wrist in this way.[60] In early times they may have been impressed by the hand; but afterwards it was common to place them upon a bronze or copper axis attached to a handle, by means of which they were rolled across the clay from one end to the other.[61] The cylinders are frequently unengraved, and this is most commonly their condition in the primitive tombs; but there is some very curious evidence, from which it appears that the art of engraving them was really known and practised (though doubtless in rare instances) at a very early date. The signet cylinder of the monarch who founded the most ancient of the buildings at Mugheir, Warka, Senkareh, and Niffer, and who thus stands at the head of the monumental kings, was in the possession of Sir R. Porter; and though it is now lost, an engraving made from it is preserved in his "Travels."[62] [Pl. XIV., Fig. 2.] The signet cylinder of this monarch's son has been recently recovered, and is now in the British Museum. We are entitled to conclude from the data thus in our possession that the art of cylinder-engraving had, even at this early period, made considerable progress. The letters of the inscriptions, which give the names of the kings and their titles, are indeed somewhat rudely formed, as they are on the stamped bricks of the period;[63] but the figures have been as well cut, and as flowingly traced, as those of a later date. It was thought possible that the artist employed by Sir R. Porter had given a flattering representation of his original, but the newly recovered relic, known as the "cylinder of Ilgi," bears upon it figures of quite as great excellence; and we are thus led to the conclusion that both mechanical and artistic skill had reached a very surprising degree of excellence at the most remote period to which the Chaldæan records carry us back.

It increases the surprise which we naturally feel at the discovery of these relics to reflect upon the rudeness of the implements with which such results would seem to have been accomplished. In the primitive Chaldæan ruins, the implements which have been discovered are either in stone or bronze. Iron in the early times is seemingly unknown, and when it first appears is wrought into ornaments for the person.[64] Knives of flint or chert [Pl. XIV., Fig. 3], stone hatchets, hammers, adzes, and nails, are common in the most ancient mounds, which con-

tain also a number of clay models, the centres, as it is thought,[65] of moulds into which molten bronze was run, and also occasionally the bronze instruments themselves, as (in addition to spear-heads and arrow-heads) hammers, adzes, hatchets, knives, and sickles. It will be seen by the engraved representations that these instruments are one and all of a rude and coarse character. [Pls. XV., XVI.] The flint and stone knives, axes, and hammers, which abound in all the true Chaldæan mounds, are somewhat more advanced indeed than those very primitive implements which have been found in a drift; but they are of a workmanship at least as unskilled as that of the ordinary stone celts of Western and Northern Europe, which till the discoveries of M. Perthes were regarded as the most ancient human remains in our quarter of the globe. They indicate some practical knowledge of the cleavage of silicious rocks, but they show no power of producing even such finish as the celts frequently exhibit. In one case only has a flint instrument been discovered perfectly regular in form, and presenting a sharp angular exactness. The instrument, which is figured [Pl. XVI., Fig. 2], is a sort of long parallelogram, round at the back, and with a deep impression down its face. Its use is uncertain; but, according to a reasonable conjecture, it may have been designed for impressing characters upon the moist clay of tablets and cylinders—a purpose for which it is said to be excellently fitted.[66]

The metallurgy of the Chaldæans, though indicative of a higher state of civilization and a greater knowledge of the useful arts than their stone weapons, is still of a somewhat rude character, and indicates a nation but just emerging out of an almost barbaric simplicity. Metal seems to be scarce, and not many kinds are found. There is no silver, zinc, or platinum; but only gold, copper, tin, lead, and iron. Gold is found in beads, ear-rings, and other ornaments,[67] which are in some instances of a fashion that is not inelegant.[68] [Pl. XVI., Fig. 3.] Copper occurs pure, but is more often hardened by means of an alloy of tin, whereby it becomes bronze, and is rendered suitable for implements and weapons.[69] Lead is rare, occurring only in a very few specimens, as in one jar or bottle, and in what seems to be a portion of a pipe, brought by Mr. Loftus from Mugheir. [Pl. XVII., Fig. 1.] Iron, as already observed, is extremely uncommon; and when it occurs, is chiefly used for the rings and bangles which seem to have been among the favorite adornments of the people. Bronze is, however, even

for these, the more common material. [Pl. XVII., Fig. 2.] It is sometimes wrought into thin and elegant shapes, tapering to a point at either extremity; sometimes the form into which it is cast is coarse and massive, resembling a solid bar twisted into a rude circle. For all ordinary purposes of utility it is the common metal used. A bronze or copper bowl is found in almost every tomb; bronze bolts remain in the pieces of marble used for tesselating;[70] bronze rings sometimes strengthen the cones used for ornamenting walls;[71] bronze weapons and instruments are, as we have seen, common, and in the same material have been found chains, nails, toe and finger rings, armlets, bracelets, and fish-hooks.

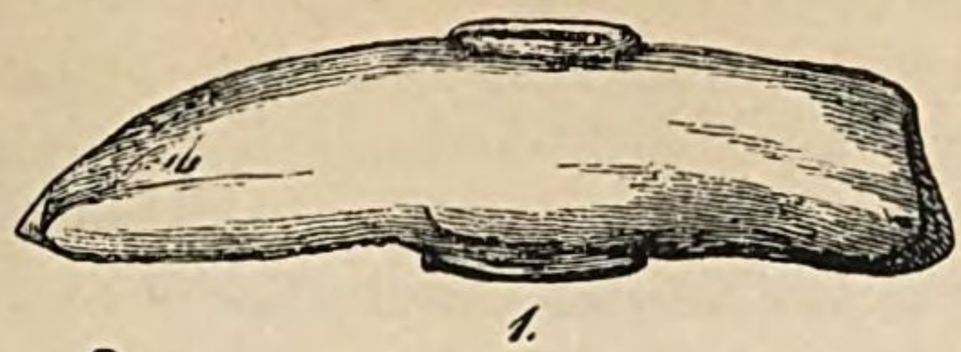
No long or detailed account can be given of the textile fabrics of the ancient Chaldæans; but there is reason to believe that this was a branch of industry in which they particularly excelled. We know that as early as the time of Joshua a Babylonian garment had been imported into Palestine, and was of so rare a beauty as to attract the covetous regards of Achan, in common with certain large masses of the precious metals.[72] The very ancient cylinder figured above[73] must belong to a time at least five or six centuries earlier; upon it we observe flounced and fringed garments, delicately striped, and indicative apparently of an advanced state of textile manufacture. Recent researches do not throw much light on this subject. The frail materials of which human apparel is composed can only under peculiar circumstances resist the destructive power of thirty or forty centuries; and consequently we have but few traces of the actual fabrics in use among the primitive people. Pieces of *linen* are said to have been found attaching to some of the skeletons in the tombs;[74] and the sun-dried brick which supports the head is sometimes covered with the remains of a "tasselled cushion of tapestry;"[75] but otherwise we are without direct evidence either as to the material in use, or as to the character of the fabric. In later times Babylon was especially celebrated for its robes and its carpets.[76] Such evidence as we have would seem to make it probable that both manufactures had attained to considerable excellence in Chaldæan times.

The only sciences in which the early Chaldæans can at present be proved to have excelled are the cognate ones of arithmetic and astronomy. On the broad and monotonous plains of Lower Mesopotamia, where the earth has little upon it to suggest thought or please by variety, the "variegated heaven," ever changing with the hours and with the seasons,

Vol. I.

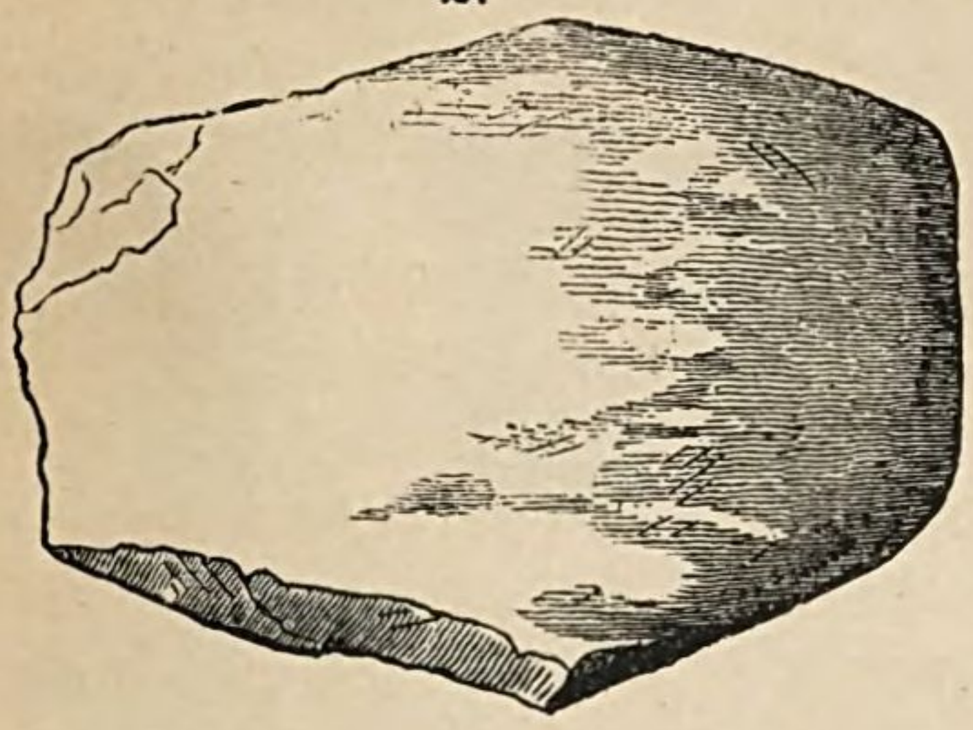
Plate XV.

Fig. 1.

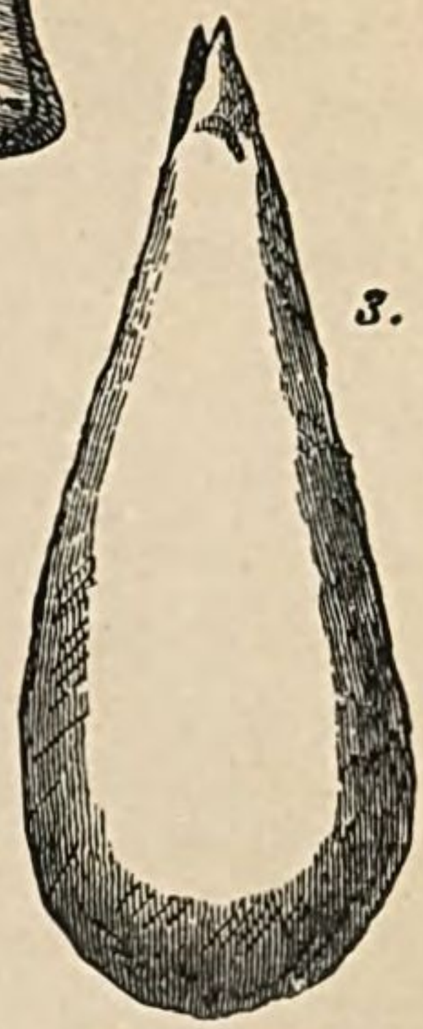


1.

2.

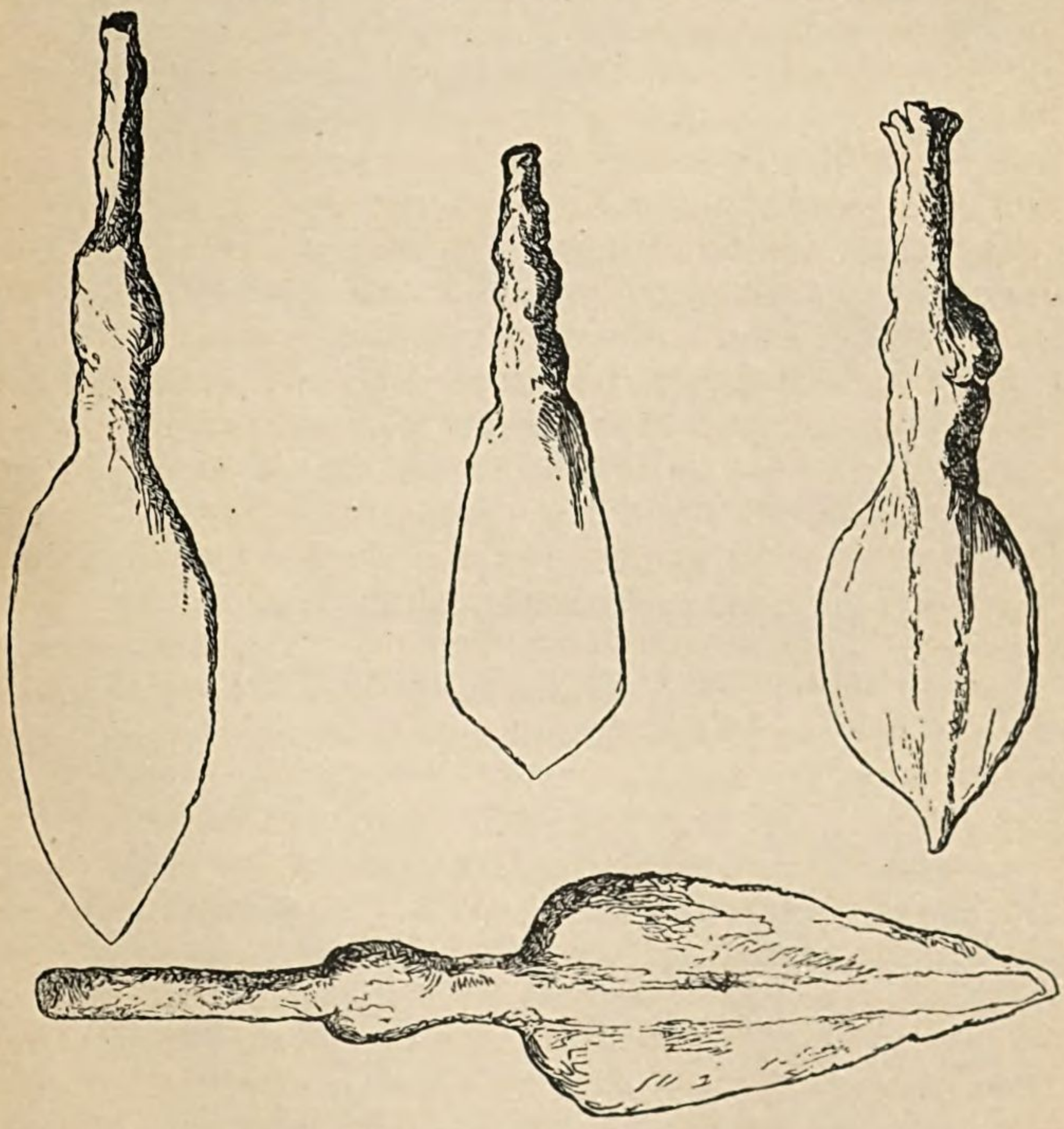


3.



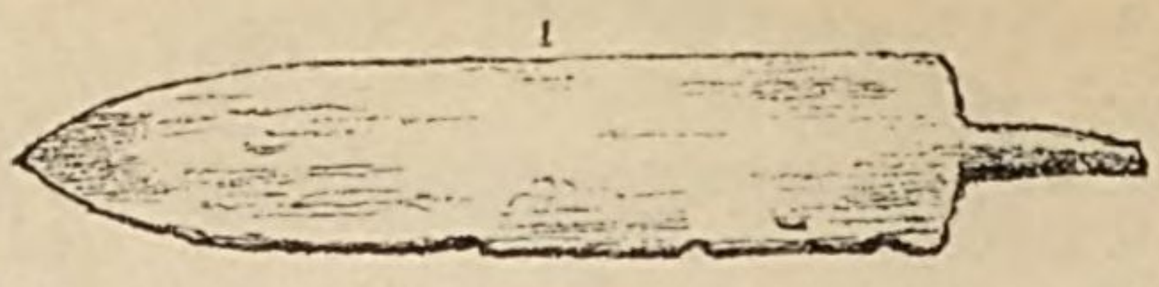
4.

1. Stone hammer. 2. Stone hatchet. 3. Stone adzo. 4. Stone nail.



Chaldæan spear and arrow heads.

Fig. 1.



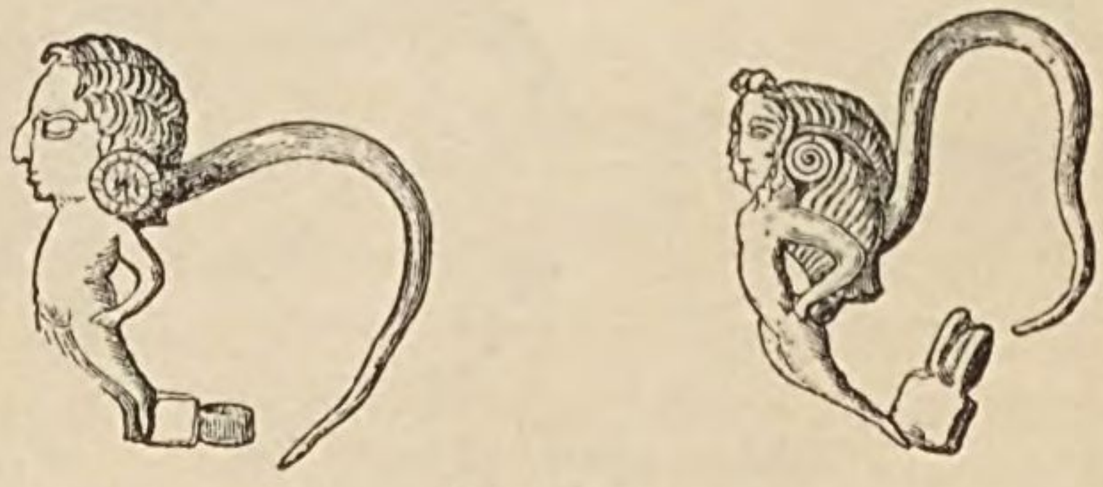
Bronze Implements.

1. Knife 2. Hatchet. 3. Hammer. 4. Adze. 5. Sickle.

Fig 2.

Flint Implement.

Fig. 3.



Ear-rings.

would early attract attention, while the clear sky, dry atmosphere, and level horizon would afford facilities for observations, so soon as the idea of them suggested itself to the minds of the inhabitants. The "Chaldæan learning" of a later age [77] appears to have been originated, in all its branches, by the primitive people; in whose language it continued to be written even in Semitic times.

We are informed by Simplicius that Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander to Babylon, sent to Aristotle from that capital a series of astronomical observations, which he had found preserved there, extending back to a period of 1903 years from Alexander's conquest of the city.[78] Epigenes related that these observations were recorded upon tablets of baked clay,[79] which is quite in accordance with all that we know of the literary habits of the people. They must have extended, according to Simplicius, as far back as B.C. 2234, and would therefore seem to have been commenced and carried on for many centuries by the primitive Chaldæan people. We have no means of determining their exact nature or value, as none of them have been preserved to us: no doubt they were at first extremely simple; but we have every reason to conclude that they were of a real and substantial character. There is nothing fanciful, or (so to speak) astrological, in the early astronomy of the Babylonians. Their careful emplacement of their chief buildings,[80] which were probably used from the earliest times for astronomical purposes,[81] their invention of different kinds of dials,[82] and their division of the day into those hours which we still use,[83] are all solid, though not perhaps very brilliant, achievements. It was only in later times that the Chaldæans were fairly taxed with imposture and charlatanism; in early ages they seem to have really deserved the eulogy bestowed on them by Cicero.[84]

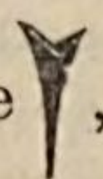
It may have been the astronomical knowledge of the Chaldæans which gave them the confidence to adventure on important voyages. Scripture tells us of the later people, that "their cry was in the ships;" [85] and the early inscriptions not only make frequent mention of the "ships of Ur," but by connecting these vessels with those of Ethiopia [86] seem to imply that they were navigated to considerable distances. Unfortunately we possess no materials from which to form any idea either of the make and character of the Chaldæan vessels, or of the nature of the trade in which they were employed. We may perhaps assume that at first they were either canoes

hollowed out of a palm-trunk, or reed fabrics made water-tight by a coating of bitumen. The Chaldee trading operations lay, no doubt, chiefly in the Persian Gulf;[87] but it is quite possible that even in very early times they were not confined to this sheltered basin. The gold, which was so lavishly used in decoration,[88] could only have been obtained in the necessary quantities from Africa or India; and it is therefore probable that one, if not both, of these countries was visited by the Chaldæan traders.

Astronomical investigations could not be conducted without a fair proficiency in the science of numbers. It would be reasonable to conclude, from the admitted character of the Chaldæans as astronomers, that they were familiar with most arithmetical processes, even had we no evidence upon the subject. Evidence, however, to a certain extent, does exist. On a tablet found at Senkareh, and belonging *probably* to an early period, a table of squares is given, correctly calculated from one to sixty.[89] The system of notation, which is here used, is very curious. Berosus[90] informs us that, in their computations of time, the Chaldæans employed an alternate sexagesimal and decimal notation, reckoning the years by the *soss*, the *ner*, and the *sar*—the *soss* being a term of 60 years, the *ner* one of 600, and the *sar* one of 3600 (or 60 *sosses*). It appears from the Senkareh monument, that they occasionally pursued the same practice in mere numerical calculations, as will be evident from the illustration. [Pl. XVIII., Figs. 1, 2.]

In Arabic numerals this table may be expressed as follows:—

Soss.	Units.			Soss.	Units.		
43	21	=	51^2	52	16	=	56^2
45	4	=	52^2	54	9	=	57^2
46	49	=	53^2	56	4	=	58^2
48	36	=	54^2	58	1	=	59^2
50	25	=	55^2	60	0	=	60^2

The calculation is in every case correct; and the notation is by means of two signs—the simple wedge  , and the arrowhead ; the wedge representing the unit, the soss (60), and the sar (3600), while the arrowhead expresses the decades of each series, or the numbers 10 and 600.[91] The notation is cumbrous,

but scarcely more so than that of the Romans. It would be awkward to use, from the paucity in the number of signs, which could scarcely fail to give rise to confusion,—more especially as it does not appear that there was any way of expressing a cipher. It is not probable that at any time it was the notation in ordinary use. Numbers were commonly expressed in a manner not unlike the Roman, as will be seen by the subjoined table. [Pl. XVIII., Fig. 3.] One, ten, a hundred, and a thousand, had distinct signs. Fifty had the same sign as the unit—a simple wedge. The other numbers were composed from these elements.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

CHALDÆA, unlike Egypt, has preserved to our day but few records of the private or domestic life of its inhabitants. Beyond the funereal customs, to which reference was made in the last chapter,[1] we can obtain from the monuments but a very scanty account of their general mode of life, manners, and usages. Some attempt, however, must be made to throw together the few points of this nature on which we have obtained any light from recent researches in Mesopotamia.

The ordinary dress of the common people among the Chaldæans seems to have consisted of a single garment, a short tunic, tied round the waist, and reaching thence to the knees, a costume very similar to that worn by the Madan Arabs at the present day.[2] To this may sometimes have been added an *abba*, or cloak, thrown over the shoulders, and falling below the tunic, about half-way down the calf of the leg.[3] The material of the former we may perhaps presume to have been linen, which best suits the climate, and is a fabric found in the ancient tombs.[4] The outer cloak was most likely of woollen, and served to protect hunters and others against the occasional inclemency of the air. The feet were unprotected by either shoes or sandals; on the head was worn a skull-cap, or else a band of camel's hair[5]—the germ of the turban which has now become universal throughout the East.

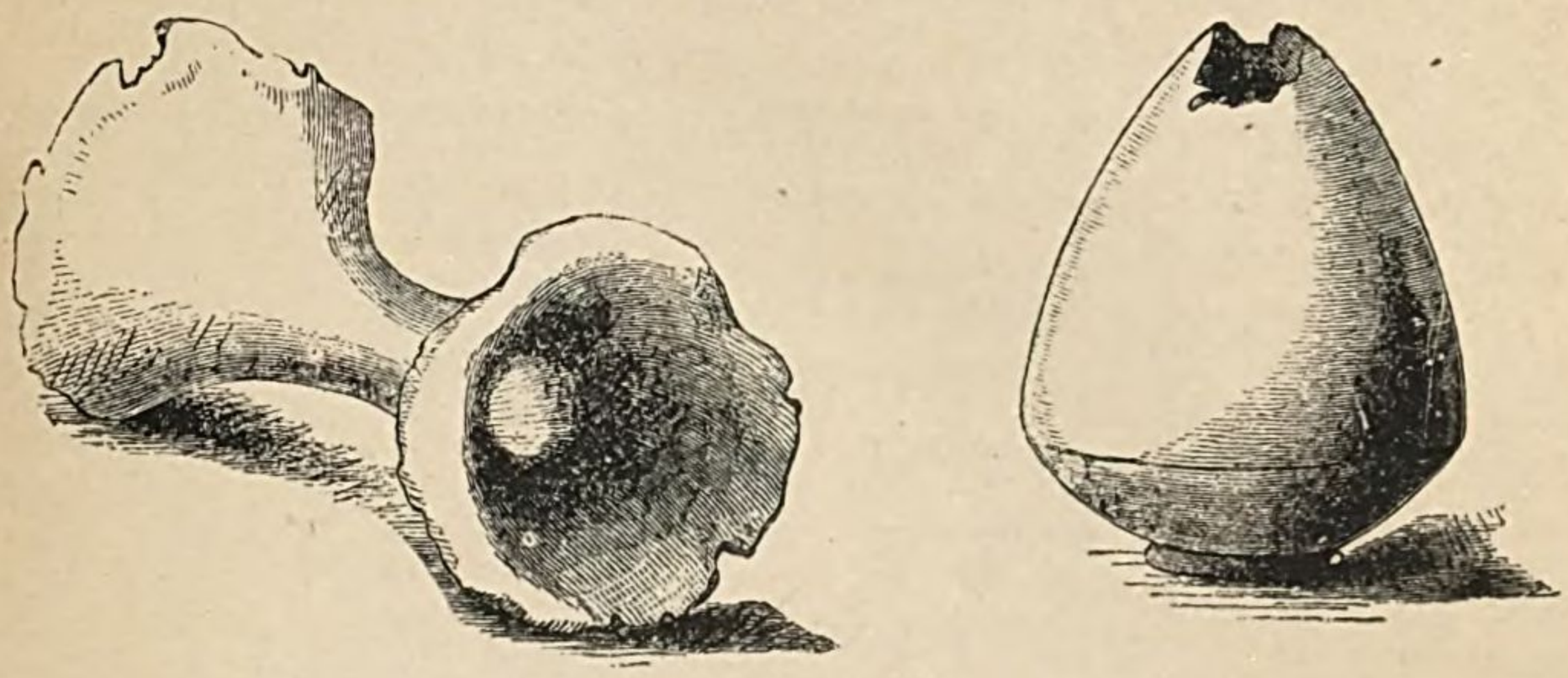
The costume of the richer class was more elaborate. A high mitre, of a very peculiar appearance,[6] or else a low cap ornamented with two curved horns, covered the head. [Pl. XIX.,

Fig. 1.] The neck and arms were bare. The chief garment was a long gown or robe, extending from the neck to the feet, commonly either striped or flounced, or both; and sometimes also adorned with fringe. This robe, which was scanty according to modern notions, appears not to have been fastened by any girdle or cincture round the waist, but to have been kept in place by passing over one shoulder, a slit or hole being made for the arm on one side of the dress only. In some cases the upper part of the dress seems to have been detached from the lower, and to have formed a sort of jacket, which reached about to the hips.

The beard was commonly worn straight and long, not in crisp curls, as by the Assyrians. [Pl. XIX., Fig. 2.] The hair was also worn long, either gathered together into a club behind the head, or depending in long spiral curls on either side the face and down the back. Ornaments were much affected, especially by the women. Bronze and iron bangles and armlets, and bracelets of rings or beads, ear-rings, and rings for the toes, are common in the tombs, and few female skeletons are without them. The material of the ornaments is generally of small value. Many of the rings are formed by grinding down a small kind of shell;[7] the others are of bronze or iron. Agate beads, however, are not uncommon, and gold beads have been found in a few tombs, as well as some other small ornaments in the same material. The men seem to have carried generally an engraved cylinder in agate or other hard stone, which was used as a seal or signet, and was probably worn round the wrist.[8] Sometimes rings,[9] and even bracelets,[10] formed also a part of their adornment. The latter were occasionally in gold—they consisted of bands or fillets of the pure beaten metal, and were as much as an inch in breadth.

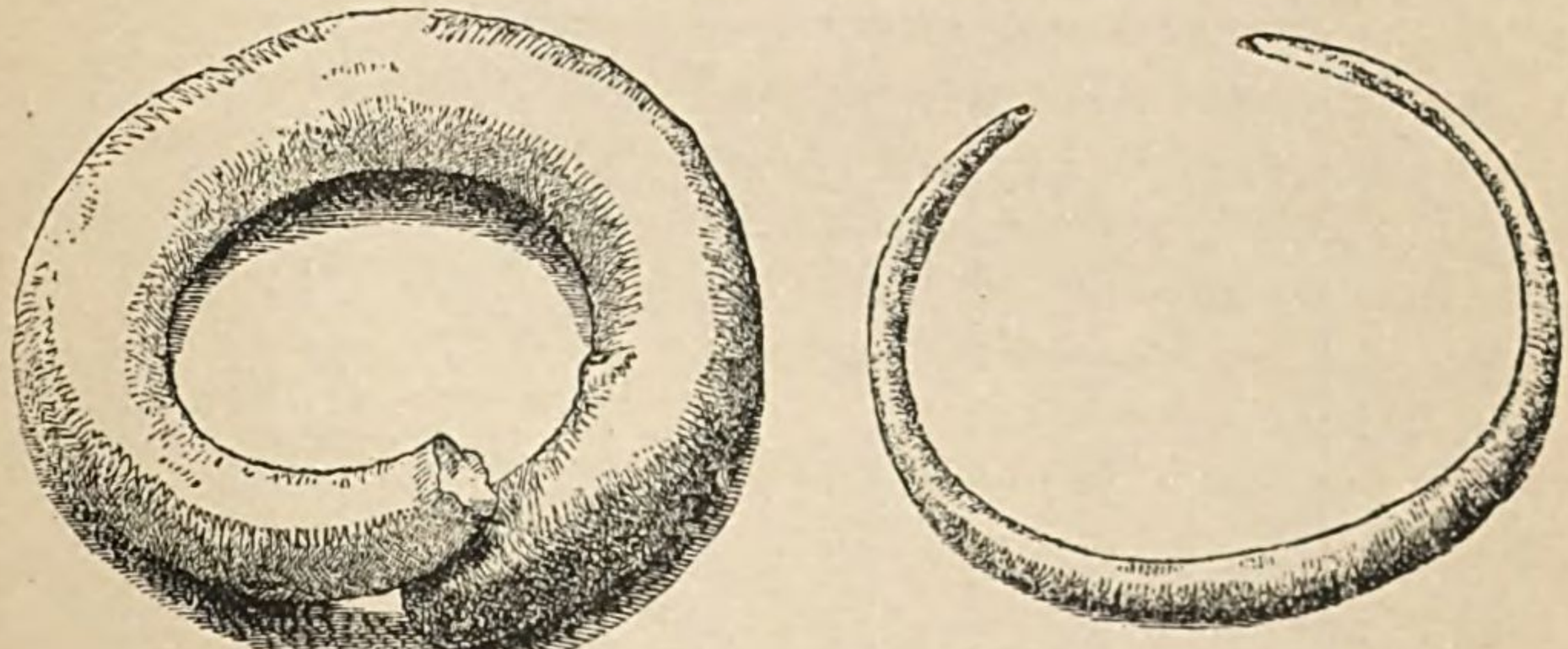
The food of the early Chaldæans consisted probably of the various esculents which have already been mentioned as products of the territory.[11] The chief support, however, of the mass of the population was, beyond a doubt, the dates, which still form the main sustenance of those who inhabit the country. It is clear that in Babylonia, as in Scythia,[12] the practice existed of burying with a man a quantity of the food to which he had been accustomed during life. In the Chaldæan sepulchres a number of dishes are always ranged round the skeleton, containing the *viaticum* of the deceased person, and in these dishes are almost invariably found a number of date-stones. They are most commonly unaccompanied by any traces of other kinds of

Fig. 1



Leaden pipe and jar.

Fig. 2.



Bronze bangles.

Fig. 1 EXTRACT from SENKAREH TABLE of SQUARES.

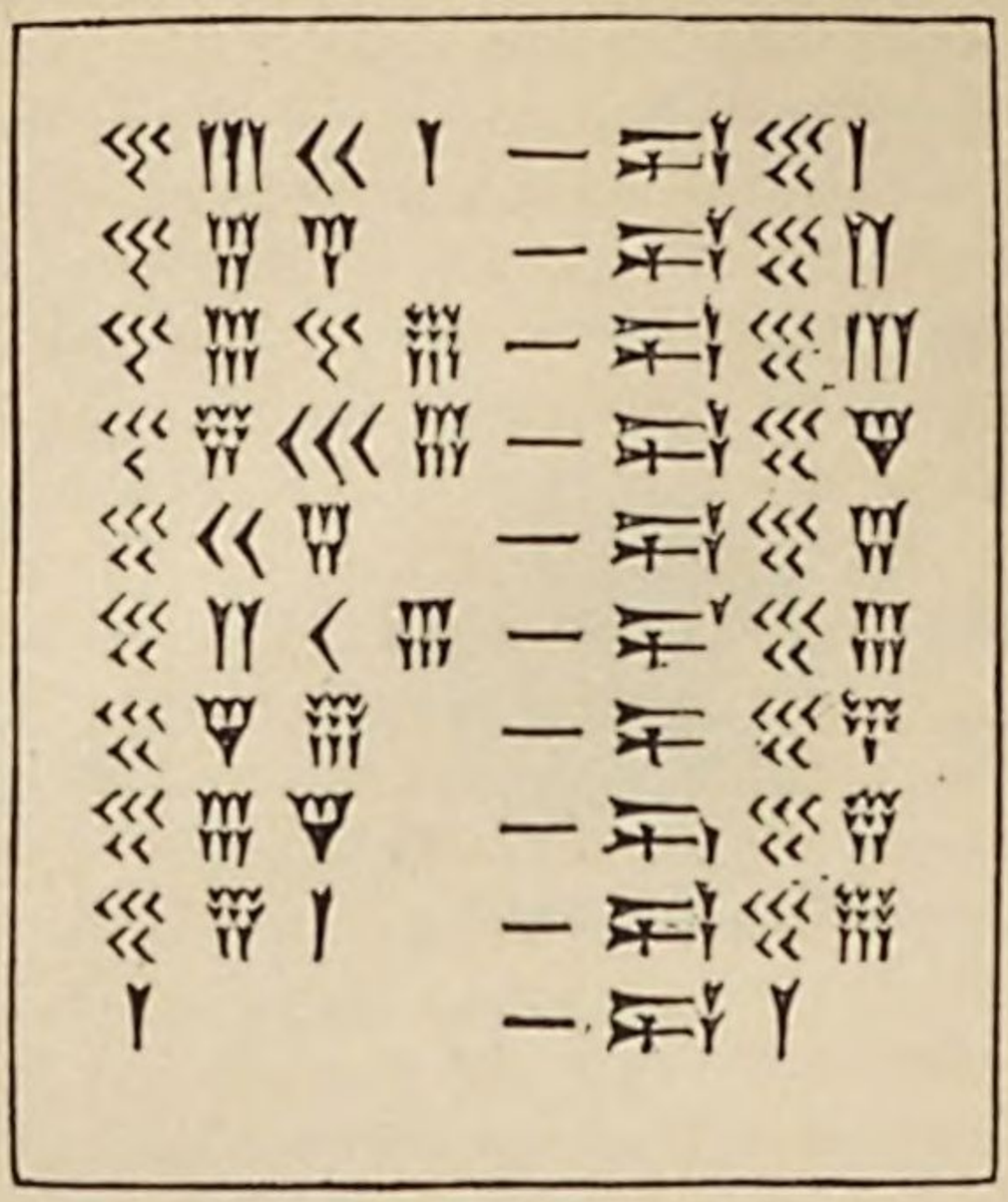
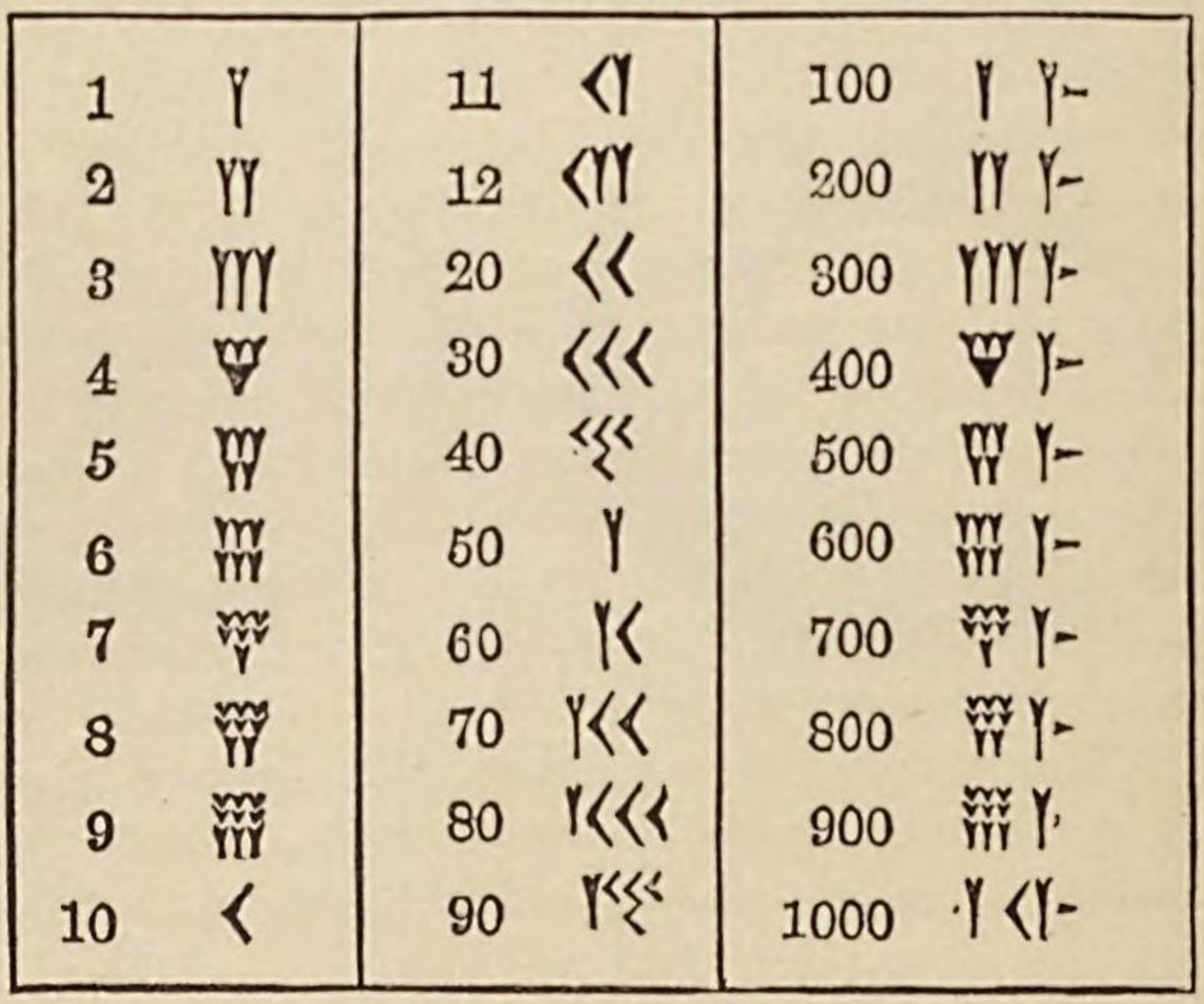


Fig. 2

In Arabic numerals this table may be expressed as follows: –

Sosa.	Units.			Sosa.	Units.		
43	21	=	51^2	52	16	=	56^2
45	4	=	52^2	54	9	=	57^2
46	49	=	53^2	56	4	=	58^2
48	36	=	54^2	58	1	=	59^2
50	25	=	55^2	60	0	=	60^2

Fig. 3.



food; occasionally, however, besides date-stones, the bones of fish and of chickens have been discovered, from which we may conclude that those animals were eaten, at any rate by the upper classes. Herodotus[13] tells us that in his day three tribes of Babylonians subsisted on fish alone; and the present inhabitants of Lower Mesopotamia make it a principal article of their diet.[14] The rivers and the marshes produce it in great abundance, while the sea is also at hand, if the fresh-water supply should fail. Carp and barbel are the principal fresh-water sorts, and of these the former grows to a very great size in the Euphrates. An early tablet, now in the British Museum, represents a man carrying a large fish by the head, which may be a carp, though the species can scarcely be identified. There is evidence that the wild-boar was also eaten by the primitive people; for Mr. Loftus found a jaw of this animal, with the tusk still remaining, lying in a shallow clay dish in one of the tombs.[15] Perhaps we may be justified in concluding, from the comparative rarity of any remains of animal food in the early sepulchres, that the primitive Chaldæans subsisted *chiefly* on vegetable productions. The variety and excellence of such esculents are prominently put forward by Berosus in his account of the original condition of the country;[16] and they still form the principal support of those who now inhabit it.

We are told that Nimrod was "a mighty hunter before the Lord;"[17] and it is evident, from the account already given of the animals indigenous in Lower Mesopotamia,[18] that there was abundant room for the display of a sportsman's skill and daring when men first settled in that region. The Senkareh tablets show the boldness and voracity of the Chaldæan lion, which not only levied contributions on the settlers' cattle,[19] but occasionally ventured to attack man himself. We have not as yet any hunting scenes belonging to these early times; but there can be little doubt that the bow was the chief weapon used against the king of beasts, whose assailants commonly prefer remaining at a respectful distance from him.[20] The wild-boar may have been hunted in the same way, or he may have been attacked with a spear—a weapon equally well known with the bow to the early settlers.[21] Fish were certainly taken with the hook; for fish-hooks have been found in the tombs;[22] but probably they were also captured in nets, which are among the earliest of human inventions.[23]

A considerable portion of the primitive population must

have been engaged in maritime pursuits. In the earliest inscriptions we find constant mention of the "ships of Ur," which appear to have traded with Ethiopia—a country whence may have been derived the gold, which—as has been already shown—was so largely used by the Chaldæans in ornamentation.[24] It would be interesting could we regard it as proved that they traded also with the Indian peninsula; but the "rough logs of wood, *apparently teak*," which Mr. Taylor discovered in the great temple at Mugheir,[25] belong more probably to the time of its repair by Nabonidus than to that of its original construction by a Chaldæan monarch. The Sea-God was one of the chief objects of veneration at Ur and elsewhere; and Berosus appears to have preserved an authentic tradition, where he makes the primitive people of the country derive their arts and civilization from "the Red Sea."[26] Even if their commercial dealings did not bring them into contact with any more advanced people, they must have increased the intelligence, as well as the material resources, of those employed in them, and so have advanced their civilization.

Such are the few conclusions concerning the manners of the Chaldæans which alone we seem to have any right to form with our present means of information.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION.

Ἀποτελέσαι δὲ τὸν Βῆλον καί ἄστρα, και ἥλιον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τοὺς πέντε πλανήτας.—BEROS. ap. Syncell. p. 53.

THE religion of the Chaldæans, from the very earliest times to which the monuments carry us back, was, in its outward aspect, a polytheism of a very elaborate character. It is quite possible that there may have been esoteric explanations, known to the priests and the more learned, which, resolving the personages of the Pantheon into the powers of nature, reconciled the apparent multiplicity of gods with monotheism, or even with atheism.[1] So far, however, as outward appearances were concerned, the worship was grossly polytheistic. Various deities, whom it was not considered at all necessary to trace to a single stock, divided the allegiance of the people, and even of the kings, who regarded with equal respect, and glorified with equally exalted epithets, some fifteen or sixteen

personages. Next to these principal gods were a far more numerous assemblage of inferior or secondary divinities, less often mentioned, and regarded as less worthy of honor, but still recognized generally through the country. Finally, the Pantheon contained a host of mere local gods or genii, every town and almost every village in Babylonia being under the protection of its own particular divinity.

It will be impossible to give a complete account of this vast and complicated system. The subject is still but partially worked out by cuneiform scholars; the difficulties in the way of understanding it are great; and in many portions to which special attention has been paid it is strangely perplexing and bewildering.[2] All that will be attempted in the present place is to convey an idea of the general character of the Chaldæan religion, and to give some information with regard to the principal deities.

In the first place, it must be noticed that the religion was to a certain extent *astral*. The heaven itself, the sun, the moon, and the five planets, have each their representative in the Chaldæan Pantheon among the chief objects of worship. At the same time it is to be observed that the astral element is not universal, but partial; and that, even where it has place, it is but one aspect of the mythology, not by any means its full and complete exposition. The Chaldæan religion even here is far from being mere Sabæanism—the simple worship of the "host of heaven." The æther, the sun, the moon, and still more the five planetary gods, are something above and beyond those parts of nature. Like the classical Apollo and Diana, Mars and Venus, they are real persons, with a life and a history, a power and an influence, which no ingenuity can translate into a metaphorical representation of phenomena attaching to the air and to the heavenly bodies. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the gods of this class are really of astronomical origin, and not rather primitive deities, whose character and attributes were, to a great extent, fixed and settled before the notion arose of connecting them with certain parts of nature. Occasionally they seem to represent heroes rather than celestial bodies; and they have all attributes quite distinct from their physical or astronomical character.

Secondly, the striking resemblance of the Chaldæan system to that of the Classical Mythology seems worthy of particular attention. This resemblance is too general, and too close in some respects, to allow of the supposition that mere accident

has produced the coincidence. In the Pantheons of Greece and Rome, and in that of Chaldæa, the same general grouping is to be recognized; the same genealogical succession is not unfrequently to be traced; and in some cases even the familiar names and titles of classical divinities admit of the most curious illustration and explanation from Chaldæan sources. We can scarcely doubt but that, in some way or other, there was a communication of beliefs—a passage in very early times, from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the lands washed by the Mediterranean, of mythological notions and ideas. It is a probable conjecture[3] that "among the primitive tribes who dwelt on the Tigris and Euphrates, when the cuneiform alphabet was invented and when such writing was first applied to the purposes of religion, a Scythic or Scytho-Arian race existed, who subsequently migrated to Europe, and brought with them those mythical traditions which, as objects of popular belief, had been mixed up in the nascent literature of their native country," and that these traditions were passed on to the classical nations, who were in part descended from this Scythic or Scytho-Arian people.[4]

The grouping of the principal Chaldæan deities is as follows. At the head of the Pantheon stands a god, Il or Ra, of whom but little is known. Next to him is a Triad, *Ana*, *Bil* or *Belus*, and *Hea* or *Hoa*, who correspond closely to the classical Pluto, Jupiter, and Neptune. Each of these is accompanied by a female principle or wife,—*Ana* by *Anat*, *Bil* (or *Bel*) by *Mulita* or Beltis, and *Hea* (or *Hoa*) by *Davkina*. Then follows a further Triad, consisting of *Sin* or *Hurki*, the Moon-god; *San* or *Sansi*, the Sun; and *Vul*,[5] the god of the atmosphere. The members of this Triad are again accompanied by female powers or wives,—*Vul* by a goddess called *Shala* or *Tala*, *San* (the Sun) by *Gula* or *Anunit*, and *Hurki* (the Moon) by a goddess whose name is wholly uncertain, but whose common title is "the great lady."

Such are the gods at the head of the Pantheon. Next in order to them we find a group of five minor deities, the representatives of the five planets,—Nin or Ninip (Saturn), Merodach (Jupiter), Nergal (Mars), Ishtar (Venus), and Nebo (Mercury). These together constitute what we have called the *principal* gods; after them are to be placed the numerous divinities of the second and third order.

These principal gods do not appear to have been connected, like the Egyptian and the classical divinities,[6] into a single

genealogical scheme: yet still a certain amount of *relationship* was considered to exist among them. Ana and Bel, for instance, were brothers, the sons of Il or Ra; Vul was son of Ana; Hurki, the Moon-god, of Bel; Nebo and Merodach were sons of Hea or Hoa. Many deities, however, are without parentage, as not only Il or Ra, but Hea, San (the Sun), Ishtar, and Nergal. Sometimes the relationship alleged is confused, and even contradictory, as in the case of Nin or Ninip, who is at one time the son, at another the father of Bel, and who is at once the son and the husband of Beltis. It is evident that the genealogical aspect is not that upon which much stress is intended to be laid, or which is looked upon as having much reality. The great gods are viewed habitually rather as a hierarchy of coequal powers, than as united by ties implying on the one hand pre-eminence and on the other subordination.

We may now consider briefly the characters and attributes of the several deities so far as they can be made out, either from the native records, or from classical tradition. And, first, concerning the god who stands in some sense at the head of the Chaldæan Pantheon,

IL, OR RA.

The form *Ra* represents probably the native Chaldæan name of this deity, while *Il* is the Semitic equivalent. *Il*, of course, is but a variant of *El* (אל), the root of the well-known Biblical *Elohim* (אלהים) as well as of the Arabic *Allah*. It is this name which Diodorus represents under the form of *Elus* (Ἥλος),[7] and Sanchoniathon, or rather Philo-Byblius, under that of Elus (Ἥλος) or *Ilus* (Ἴλος).[8] The meaning of the word is simply "God," or perhaps "the god" emphatically. *Ra*, the Cushite equivalent, must be considered to have had the same force originally, though in Egypt it received a special application to the sun, and became the proper name of that particular deity. The word is lost in the modern Ethiopic. It formed an element in the native name of Babylon, which was *Ka-ra*, the Cushite equivalent of the Semitic *Bab-il*, an expression signifying "the gate of God."

Ra is a god with few peculiar attributes. He is a sort of fount and origin of deity, too remote from man to be much worshipped or to excite any warm interest. There is no evidence of his having had any temple in Chaldæa during the early times. A belief in his existence is implied rather than expressed in inscriptions of the primitive kings, where the

Moon-god is said to be "brother's son of Ana, and eldest son of Bil, or Belus." We gather from this that Bel and Ana were considered to have a common father; and later documents sufficiently indicate that that common father was Il or Ra. We must conclude from the name *Babil*, that Babylon was originally under his protection, though the god specially worshipped in the great temple there seems to have been in early times Bel, and in later times Merodach. The identification of the Chaldæan Il or Ra with Saturn, which Diodorus makes,[9] and which may seem to derive some confirmation from Philo-Byblius,[10] is certainly incorrect, so far as the planet Saturn, which Diodorus especially mentions, is concerned; but it may be regarded as having a basis of truth, inasmuch as Saturn was in one sense the chief of the gods, and was the father of Jupiter and Pluto, as Ra was of Bil and Ana.

ANA.

Ana, like *Il* and *Ra*, is thought to have been a word originally signifying "God," in the highest sense. The root occurs probably in the Annedôtus and Oannes of Berosus,[11] as well as in Philo-Byblius's Anobret.[12] In its origin it is probably Cushite; but it was adopted by the Assyrians, who inflected the word (which was indeclinable in the Chaldæan tongue), making the nominative *Anu*, the genitive *Ani*, and the accusative *Ana*.

Ana is the head of the first Triad, which follows immediately after the obscure god Ra. His position is well marked by Damascius,[13] who gives the three gods, Anus, Illinus, and Aüs, as next in succession to the primeval pair, Assorus and Missara. He corresponds in many respects to the classical Hades or Pluto, who, like him, heads the triad to which he belongs.[14] His epithets are chiefly such as mark priority and antiquity. He is called "the old Ana," "the original chief," perhaps in one place "the father of the gods," and also "the Lord of spirits and demons." Again, he bears a number of titles which serve to connect him with the infernal regions. He is "the king of the lower world," the "Lord of darkness" or "death," "the ruler of the far-off city," and the like. The chief seat of his worship is *Huruk* or Erech—the modern Warka—which becomes the favorite Chaldæan burying city, as being under his protection. There are some grounds for thinking that one of his names was *Dis*.[15] If this was indeed so, it would seem to follow, almost beyond a doubt, that *Dis*, the lord of Orcus in Roman

mythology, must have been a reminiscence brought from the East—a lingering recollection of *Dis* or Ana, patron god of Erech (Ὀρὲχ of the LXX), the great city of the dead, the necropolis of Lower Babylonia. Further, curiously enough, we have, in connection with this god, an illustration of the classical confusion between Pluto and Plutus; for Ana is "the layer-up of treasures"—the "lord of the earth" and of the "mountains," whence the precious metals are derived.

The worship of Ana by the kings of the Chaldæan series is certain. Not only did Shamas-vul, the son of Ismi-dagon, raise a temple to the honor of Ana and his son Vul at Kileh-Shergat (or Asshur) about B.C. 1830—whence that city appears in later times to have borne the name of Telane,[16] or "the mound of Ana"—but Urukh himself mentions him as a god in an inscription quoted above;[17] and there is reason to believe that from at least as early a date he was recognized as the presiding deity at Erech or Warka. This is evident from the fact, that though the worship of Beltis superseded that of Ana in the great temple at that place from a very remote epoch, yet the temple itself always retained the title of *Bit-Ana* (or Beth-Ana), "the house of Ana;" and Beltis herself was known commonly as "the lady of *Bit-Ana*," from the previous dedication to this god of the shrine in question. Ana must also have been worshipped tolerably early at Nipur (*Niffer*), or that city could scarcely have acquired, by the time of Moses,[18] the appellation of Calneh (Χαλάνη) in the Septuagint translation), which is clearly *Kal-Ana*, "the fort of Ana."

Ana was supposed to have a wife, Anata, of whom a few words will be said below. She bore her husband a numerous progeny. One tablet shows a list of nine of their children, among which, however, no name occurs of any celebrity. But there are two sons of Ana mentioned elsewhere, who seem entitled to notice. One is the god of the atmosphere, Vul (?), of whom a full account will be hereafter given.[19] The other bears the name of *Martu*, and may be identified with the *Brathy* (Βραθὺ) of Sanchoniathon.[20] He represents "Darkness," or "the West," corresponding to the Erebus of the Greeks.

ANATA.

Anat or Anata has no peculiar characteristics. As her name is nothing but the feminine form of the masculine Ana, so she herself is a mere reflection of her husband. All his epithets

are applied to her, with a simple difference of gender. She has really no personality separate from his, resembling Amente in Egyptian mythology, who is a mere feminine Ammon.[21] She is rarely, if ever, mentioned in the historical and geographical inscriptions.

BIL, OR ENU.

Bil or Enu is the second god of the first Triad. He is, probably, the Illinus (*Il-Enu* or "God Enu") of Damascius.[22] His name, which seems to mean merely "lord,"[23] is usually followed by a qualificative adjunct, possessing great interest. It is proposed to read this term as *Nipru*, or in the feminine *Niprut*, a word which cannot fail to recall the Scriptural Nimrod, who is in the Septuagint Nebroth (Νεβρώθ). The term *nipru* seems to be formed from the root *napar*, which is in Syriac to "pursue," to "make to flee," and which has in Assyrian nearly the same meaning. Thus Bil-Nipru would be aptly translated as "the Hunter Lord," or "the god presiding over the chase," while, at the same time, it might combine the meaning of "the Conquering Lord" or "the Great Conqueror."

On these grounds it is reasonable to conclude that we have, in this instance, an admixture of hero-worship in the Chaldæan religion. Bil-Nipru is probably the Biblical Nimrod, the original founder of the monarchy, the "mighty hunter" and conqueror. At the same time, however, that he is this hero deified, he represents also, as the second god of the first Triad, the classical Jupiter. He is "the supreme," "the father of the gods," "the procreator," "the Lord," *par excellence*, "the king of all the spirits," "the lord of the world," and again, "the lord of all the countries." There is some question whether he is altogether to be identified with the Belus of the Greek writers, who in certain respects rather corresponds to Merodach.[24] When Belus, however, is called the first king,[25] the founder of the empire, or the builder of Babylon,[26] it seems necessary to understand Bil-Nipru or Bel-Nimrod. Nimrod, we know, built Babylon;[27] and Babylon was called in Assyrian times "the city of Bil-Nipru," while its famous defences—the outer and the inner wall—were known, even under Nebuchadnezzar, by the name of the same god.[28] Nimrod, again, was certainly the founder of the kingdom;[29] and, therefore, if Bil-Nipru is his representative, he would be Belus under that point of view.

The chief seat of Bel-Nimrod's worship was undoubtedly Ni-

Fig 1.

Fig 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 5.

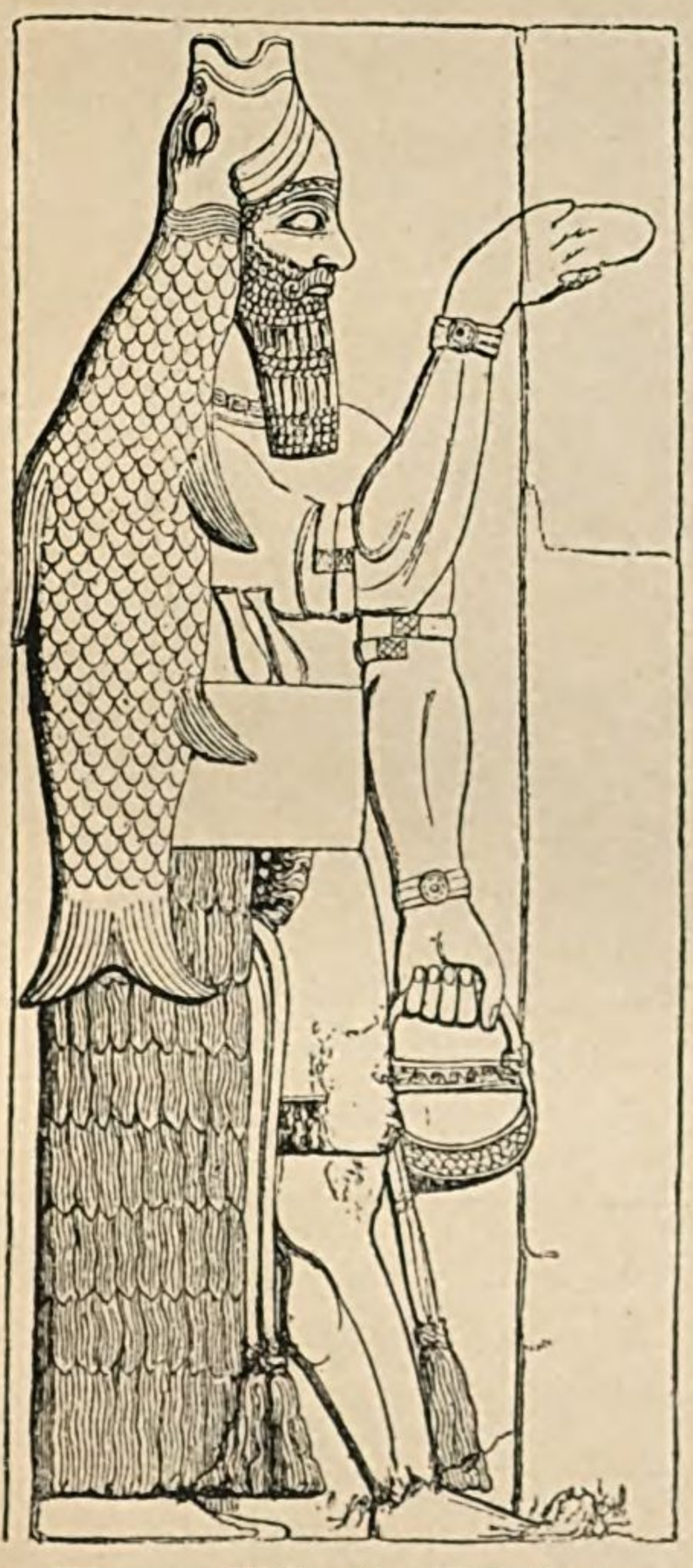
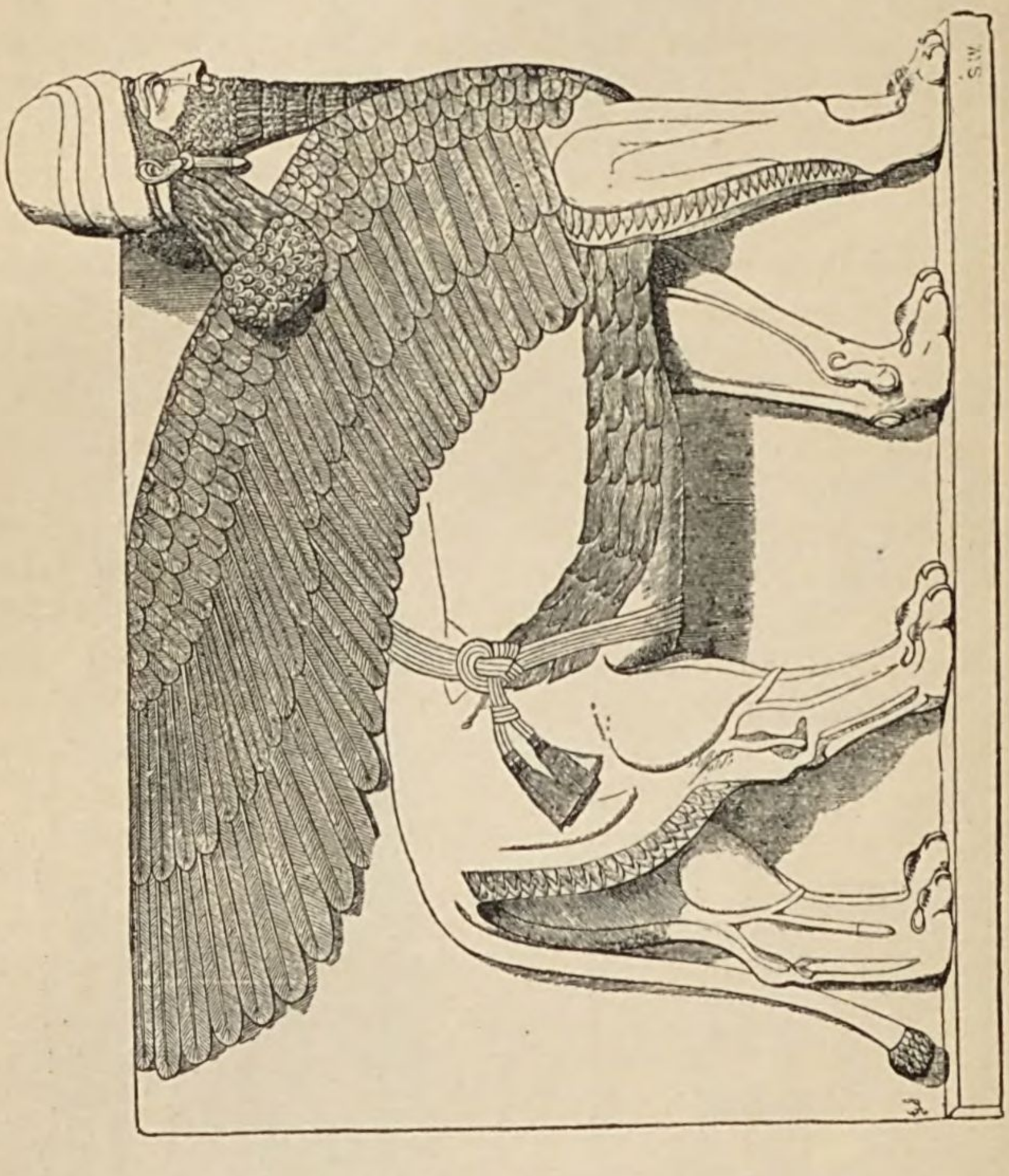


Figure of Nin, the Fish-God.

Fig. 6.

Nin's emblem, the Man-Bull.



Nergal's emblem, the Man-Lion.

pur (Niffer) or Calneh. Not only was this city designated by the very same name as the god, and specially dedicated to him and to his wife Beltis, but Bel-Nimrod is called "Lord of Nipra," and his wife "Lady of Nipra," in evident allusion to this city or the tract wherein it was placed. Various traditions, as will be hereafter shown,[30] connect Nimrod with Niffer, which may fairly be regarded as his principal capital. Here then he would be naturally first worshipped upon his decease; and here seems to have been situated his famous temple called *Kharris-Nipra*, so noted for its wealth, splendor, and antiquity, which was an object of intense veneration to the Assyrian kings. Besides this celebrated shrine, he does not appear to have possessed many others. He is sometimes said to have had four "arks" or "tabernacles;" but the only places besides Niffer, where we know that he had buildings dedicated to him, are Calah (Nimrud) and Dur-Kurri-galzu (Akkerkuf). At the same time he is a god almost universally acknowledged in the invocations of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, in which he has a most conspicuous place. In Assyria he seems to be inferior only to Asshur; in Chaldæa to Ra and Ana.

Of Beltis, the wife of Bel-Nimrod, a full account will be given presently. Nin or Ninip—the Assyrian Hercules—was universally regarded as their son; and he is frequently joined with Bel-Nimrod in the invocations. Another famous deity, the Moon-god, Sin or Hurki, is also declared to be Bel-Nimrod's son in some inscriptions. Indeed, as "the father of the gods," Bel-Nimrod might evidently claim an almost infinite paternity.

The worship of Bel-Nimrod in Chaldæa extends through the whole time of the monarchy. It has been shown that he was probably the deified Nimrod, whose apotheosis would take place shortly after his decease. Urukh, the earliest monumental king, built him a temple at Niffer; and Kurri-galzu, one of the latest, paid him the same honor at Akkerkuf. Urukh also frequently mentions him in his inscriptions in connection with Hurki, the Moon-god, whom he calls his "eldest son."

BELTIS.

Beltis, the wife of Bel-Nimrod, presents a strong contrast to Anata, the wife of Ana. She is far more than the mere female power of Bel-Nimrod, being in fact a separate and very important deity. Her common title is "the *Great* Goddess." In

Chaldæa her name was Mulita[31] or Enuta—both words signifying "the Lady;" in Assyria she was Bilta or Bilta-Nipruta, the feminine forms of Bil and Bilu-Nipru. Her favorite title was "the Mother of the Gods," or "the Mother of the Great Gods;" whence it is tolerably clear that she was the "Dea Syria" worshipped at Hierapolis under the Arian appellation of Mabog.[32] Though commonly represented as the wife of Bel-Nimrod, and mother of his son Nin or Ninip, she is also called "the wife of Nin," and in one place "the wife of Asshur." Her other titles are "the lady of Bit-Ana," "the lady of Nipur," "the Queen of the land" or "of the lands," "the great lady," "the goddess of war and battle," and "the queen of fecundity." She seems thus to have united the attributes of the Juno, the Ceres or Demeter,[33] the Bellona, and even the Diana of the classical nations; for she was at once the queen of heaven, the goddess who makes the earth fertile, the goddess of war and battle, and the goddess of hunting. In these latter capacities she appears, however, to have been gradually superseded by Ishtar, who sometimes even appropriates her higher and more distinctive appellations.

The worship of Beltis was wide-spread, and her temples were very numerous. At Erech (Warka) she was worshipped on the same platform, if not even in the same building, with Ana. At Calneh or Nipur (Niffer), she shared fully in her husband's honors. She had a shrine at Ur (Mugheir), another at Rubesi, and another outside the walls of Babylon. Some of these temples were very ancient, those at Warka and Niffer being built by Urukh, while that at Mugheir was either built or repaired by Ismi-dagon.

According to one record,[34] Beltis was a daughter of Ana. It was especially as "Queen of Nipur" that she was the wife of her son Nin. Perhaps this idea grew up out of the fact that at Nipur the two were associated together in a common worship. It appears to have given rise to some of the Greek traditions with respect to Semiramis, who was made to contract an incestuous marriage with her own son Ninyas, although no explanation can at present be given of the application to Beltis of that name.

HEA, OR HOA.

The third god of the first Triad was Hea, or Hoa, probably the Aïus (Ἄιος) of Damascus.[35] His appellation is perhaps best rendered into Greek by the Ὦη of Helladius—the name given

to the mystic animal, half man, half fish, which came up from the Persian Gulf to teach astronomy and letters to the first settlers on the Euphrates and Tigris.[36] It is perhaps contained also in the word by which Berosus designates this same creature—Oannes (Ὡάννης)[37]—which may be explained as *Hoa-ana*, or "the god Hoa." There are no means of strictly determining the precise meaning of the word in Babylonian; but it is perhaps allowable to connect it, provisionally, with the Arabic *Hiya*, which is at once "life" and "a serpent," since, according to the best authority, "there are very strong grounds for connecting Hea or Hoa with the serpent of Scripture and the Paradisaical traditions of the tree of knowledge and the tree of life."[38]

Hoa occupies, in the first Triad, the position which in the classical mythology is filled by Poseidon or Neptune, and in some respects he corresponds to him. He is "the lord of the earth," just as Neptune is γαιήοχος; he is "the king of rivers;" and he comes from the sea to teach the Babylonians; but he is never called "the lord of the sea." That title belongs to Nin or Ninip. Hoa is "the lord of the abyss," or of "the great deep," which does not seem to be the sea, but something distinct from it. His most important titles are those which invest him with the character, so prominently brought out in Oë and Oannes,[39] of the god of science and knowledge. He is "the intelligent guide," or, according to another interpretation, "the intelligent *fish*,"[40] "the teacher of mankind," "the lord of understanding." One of his emblems is the "wedge" or "arrowhead," the essential element of cuneiform writing, which seems to be assigned to him as the inventor, or at least the patron, of the Chaldæan alphabet.[41] Another is the serpent, which occupies so conspicuous a place among the symbols of the gods on the black stones recording benefactions, and which sometimes appears upon the cylinders. [Pl. XIX., Fig. 3.] This symbol, here as elsewhere, is emblematic of superhuman knowledge—a record of the primeval belief that the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field."[42] The stellar name of Hoa was Kimmut; and it is suspected that in this aspect he was identified with the constellation Draco, which is perhaps the Kimah (כִּימָה) of Scripture.[43] Besides his chief character of "god of knowledge," Hoa is also "god of life," a capacity in which the serpent would again fitly symbolize him.[44] He was likewise "god of glory," and "god of giving," being, as Berosus said, the great giver of good gifts to man.[45]

The monuments do not contain much evidence of the early worship of Hoa. His name appears on a very ancient stone tablet brought from Mugheir (Ur); but otherwise his claim to be accounted one of the primeval gods must rest on the testimony of Berosus and Helladius, who represent him as known to the first settlers. He seems to have been the tutelary god of Is or *Hit*, which Isidore of Charax calls Aeipolis,[46] (Ἀείπολις), or "Hea's city;" but there is no evidence that this was a very ancient place. The Assyrian kings built him temples at Asshur and Calah.

Hoa had a wife *Dav-Kina*, of whom a few words will be said presently. Their most celebrated son was Merodach or Bel-Merodach, the Belus of Babylonian times. As Kimmut, Hoa was also the father of Nebo, whose functions bear a general resemblance to his own.

DAV-KINA.

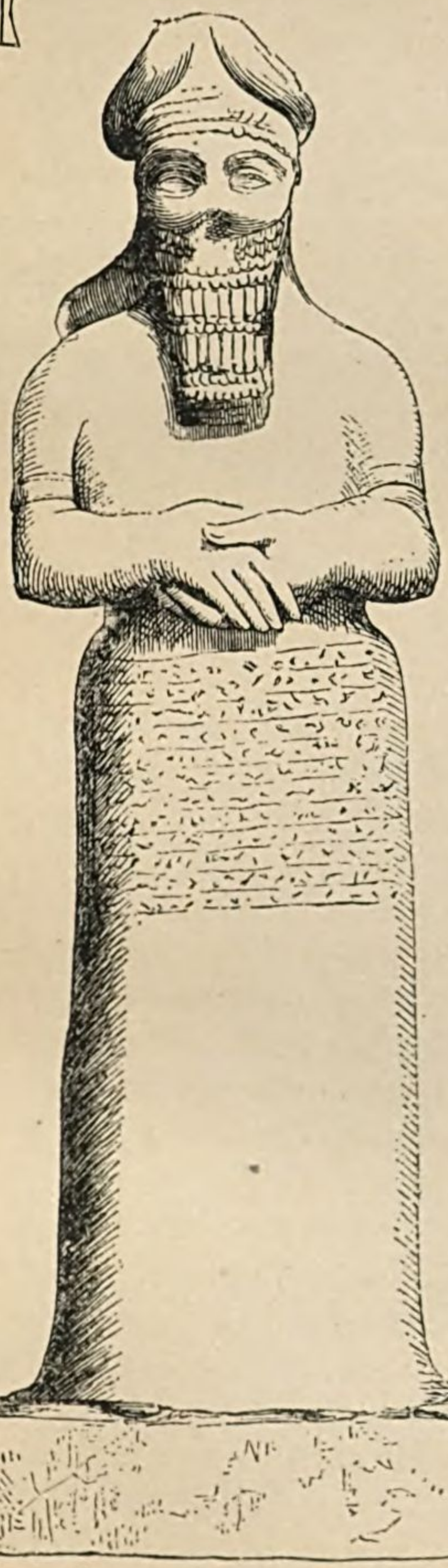
Dav-Kina, the wife of Hoa, is clearly the Dauké or Davké (Δαύκη) of Damascius,[47] who was the wife of Aüs and mother of Belus (Bel-Merodach). Her name is thought to signify "the chief lady."[48] She has no distinctive titles or important position in the Pantheon, but, like Anata, takes her husband's epithets with a mere distinction of gender.

SIN, or HURKI.

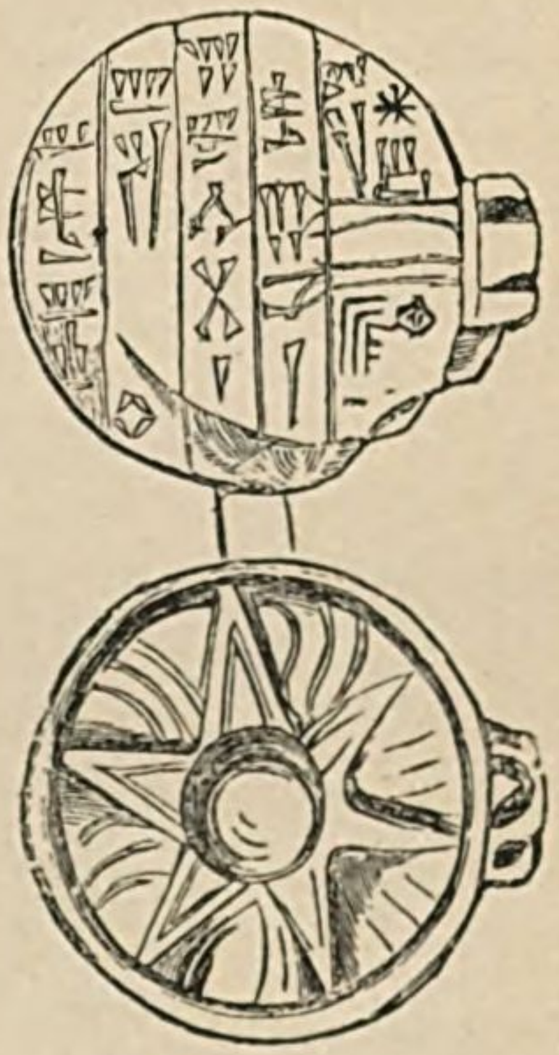
The first god of the second Triad is Sin, or Hurki, the moon-deity. It is in condescension to Greek notions that Berosus inverts the true Chaldæan order, and places the sun before the moon in his enumeration of the heavenly bodies.[49] Chaldæan mythology gives a very decided preference to the lesser luminary, perhaps because the nights are more pleasant than the days in hot countries. With respect to the names of the god, we may observe that Sin, the Assyrian or Semitic term, is a word of quite uncertain etymology, which, however, is found applied to the moon in many Semitic languages;[50] while Hurki, which is the Chaldæan or Hamitic name, is probably from a root cognate to the Hebrew *'Ur*, עור, "vigilare," whence is derived the term sometimes used to signify "an angel"[51]—*'Ir*, עיר, "a watcher."

The titles of Hurki are usually somewhat vague. He is "the chief," "the powerful," "the lord of the spirits," "he

Clay-images of Ishtar.

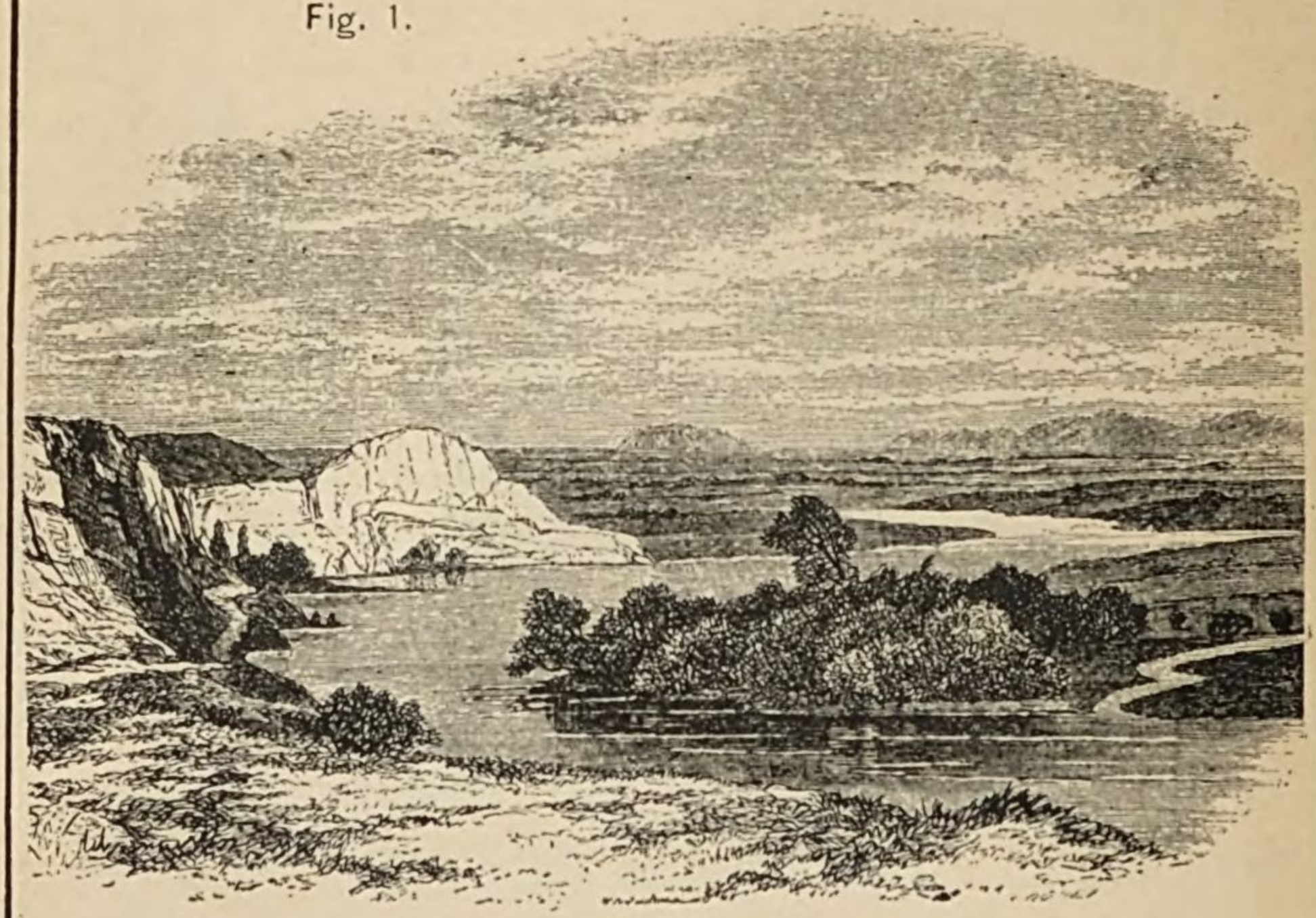


Nebo (from a statue in the British Museum).



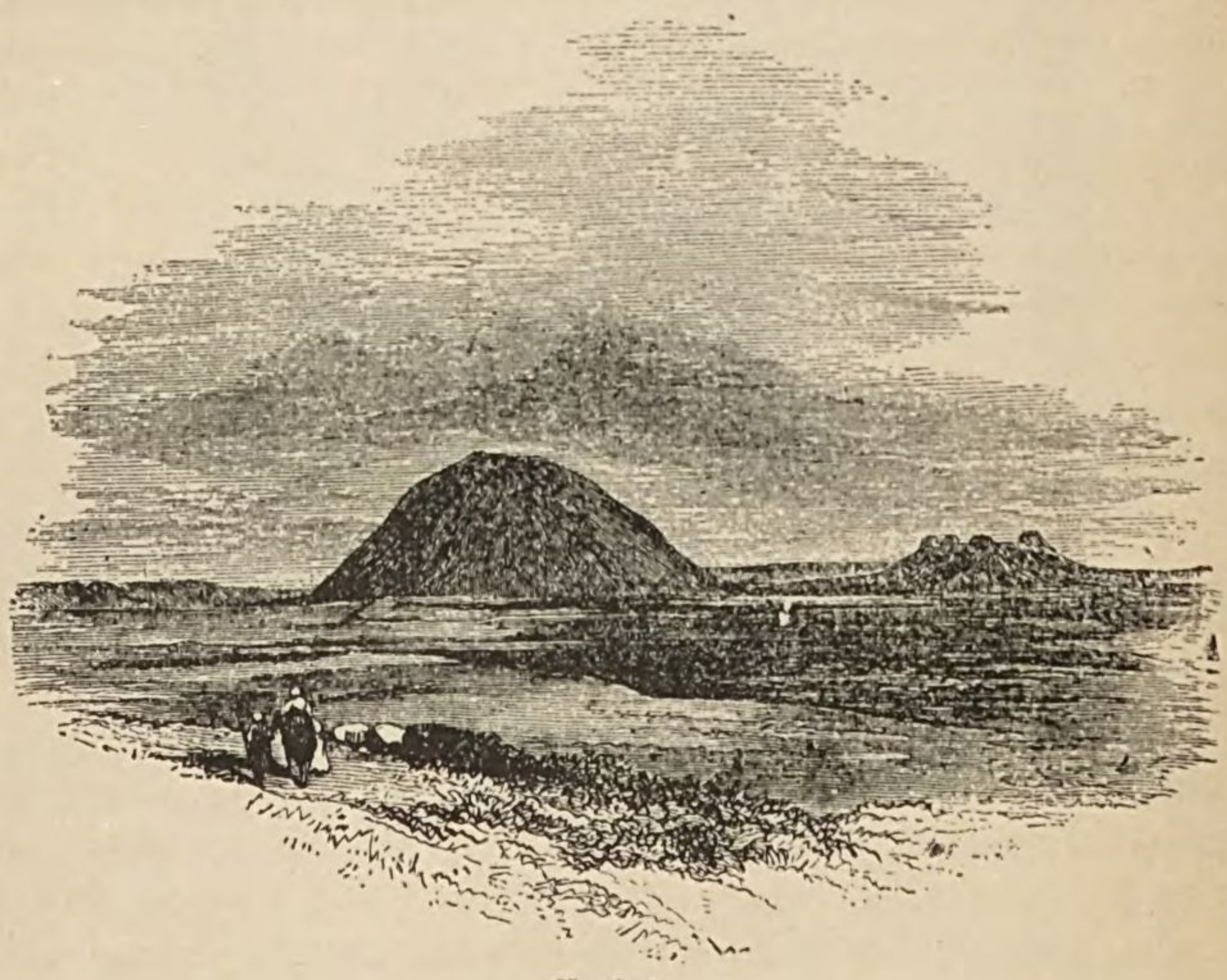
Signet seal of Kurri-galzu, King of Babylon.

Fig. 1.



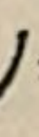
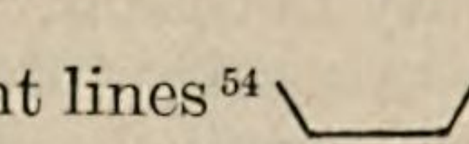
The Khabour, from near Arban, looking nortn.

Fig. 2.



Koukab.

who dwells in the great heavens;" or, hyperbolically, "the chief of the gods of heaven and earth," "the king of the gods," and even "the god of the gods." Sometimes, however, his titles are more definite and particular: as, firstly, when they belong to him in respect of his being the celestial luminary—*e.g.*, "the bright," "the shining," "the lord of the month;" and, secondly, when they represent him as presiding over buildings and architecture, which the Chaldæans appear to have placed under his special superintendence. In this connection he is called "the supporting architect," "the strengthener of fortifications," and, more generally, "the lord of building" (Bel-zuna).[52] Bricks, the Chaldæan building material, were of course under his protection; and the sign which designates them is also the sign of the month over which he was considered to exert particular care.[53] His ordinary symbol is the crescent or new moon, which is commonly represented as large, but of extreme thinness ; though not without a certain variety in the forms .

The most curious and the most purely conventional representations are a linear semicircle,  , and an imitation of this semicircle formed by three straight lines[54]  . The illuminated part of the moon's disk is always turned directly towards the horizon, a position but rarely seen in nature.

The chief Chaldæan temple to the moon-god was at Ur or Hur (Mugheir), a city which probably derived its name from him,[55] and which was under his special protection. He had also shrines at Babylon and Borsippa, and likewise at Calah and Dur-Sargina (Khorsabad). Few deities appear to have been worshipped with such constancy by the Chaldæan kings. His great temple at Ur was begun by Urukh, and finished by his son Ilgi—the two most ancient of all the monarchs. Later in the series we find him in such honor that every king's name during some centuries comprise the name of the moon-god in it. On the restoration of the Chaldæan power he is again in high repute. Nebuchadnezzar mentions him with respect; and Nabonidus, the last native monarch, restores his

shrine at Ur, and accumulates upon him the most high-sounding titles.[56]

The moon-god is called, in more than one inscription, the eldest son of Bel-Nimrod. He had a wife (the moon-goddess) whose title was "the great lady," and who is frequently associated with him in the lists. She and her husband were conjointly the tutelary deities of Ur or Hur; and a particular portion of the great temple there was dedicated to her honor especially. Her "ark" or "tabernacle," which was separate from that of her husband, was probably, as well as his, deposited in this sanctuary. It bore the title of "the lesser light," while his was called, emphatically, "the light."

SAN, OR SANSI.

San, or Sansi, the sun-god, was the second member of the second Triad. The main element of this name is probably connected with the root *shani*, שני, which is in Arabic, and perhaps in Hebrew, "bright."[57] Hence we may perhaps compare our own word "sun" with the Chaldæan "San;" for "sun" is most likely connected etymologically with "sheen" and "shine." Shamas or Shemesh, שמש, the Semitic title of the god, is altogether separate and distinct, signifying, as it does, the *ministering* office of the sun,[58] and not the brilliancy of his light. A trace of the Hamitic name appears in the well-known city Bethsain,[59] whose appellation is declared by Eugesippus to signify "domus Solis," "the house of the sun."[60]

The titles applied to the sun-god have not often much direct reference to his physical powers or attributes. He is called indeed, in some places, "the lord of fire," "the light of the gods," "the ruler of the day," and "he who illumines the expanse of heaven and earth." But commonly he is either spoken of in a more general way, as "the regent of all things," "the establisher of heaven and earth;" or, if special functions are assigned to him, they are connected with his supposed "motive" power, as inspiring warlike thoughts in the minds of the kings, directing and favorably influencing their expeditions; or again, as helping them to discharge any of the other active duties of royalty. San is "the supreme ruler who casts a favorable eye on expeditions," "the vanquisher of the king's enemies," "the breaker-up of opposition." He "casts his motive influence" over the monarchs, and causes them to "assemble their chariots and warriors"—he goes forth with their

armies, and enables them to extend their dominions—he chases their enemies before them, causes opposition to cease, and brings them back with victory to their own countries. Besides this, he helps them to sway the sceptre of power, and to rule over their subjects with authority. It seems that, from observing the manifest agency of the material sun in stimulating all the functions of nature, the Chaldæans came to the conclusion that the sun-god exerted a similar influence on the minds of men, and was the great motive agent in human history.

The chief seats of the sun-god's worship in Chaldæa appear to have been the two famous cities of Larsa (Ellasar?) and Sippara. The great temple of the Sun, called Bit-Parra,[61] at the former place, was erected by Urukh, repaired by more than one of the later Chaldæan monarchs, and completely restored by Nebuchadnezzar. At Sippara, the worship of the sun-god was so predominant, that Abydenus, probably following Berosus; calls the town Heliopolis.[62] There can be little doubt that the Adrammelech, or "Fire-king,"[63] whose worship the Sepharvites (or people of Sippara) introduced into Samaria,[64] was this deity. Sippara is called *Tsipar sha Shamas*, "Sippara of the Sun," in various inscriptions, and possessed a temple of the god which was repaired and adorned by many of the ancient Chaldæan kings, as well as by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus.

The general prevalence of San's worship is indicated most clearly by the cylinders. Few comparatively of those which have any divine symbol upon them are without his. The symbol is either a simple circle , a quartered disk , or a four-rayed orb of a more elaborate character .

San or Sansi had a wife, Ai, Gula, or Anunit, of whom it now follows to speak.

AI, GULA, OR ANUNIT.

Ai, Gula, or Anunit, was the female power of the sun, and was commonly associated with San in temples and invocations. Her names are of uncertain signification, except the second, Gula, which undoubtedly means "great," being so translated in the vocabularies.[65] It is suspected that the three terms may

have been attached respectively to the "rising," the "culminating," and the "setting sun,"[66] since they do not appear to interchange; while the name Gula is distinctly stated in one inscription to belong to the "great" goddess, "the wife of the *meridian* Sun." It is perhaps an objection to this view, that the male Sun, who is decidedly the superior deity, does not appear to be manifested in Chaldæa under any such threefold representation.[67]

As a substantive deity, distinct from her husband, Gula's characteristics are that she presides over life and over fecundity. It is not quite clear whether these offices belong to her alone, or whether she is associated in each of them with a sister goddess. There is a "Mistress of Life," who must be regarded as the special dispenser of that blessing; and there is a "Mistress of the Gods," who is expressly said to "preside over births." Concerning these two personages we cannot at present determine whether they are really distinct deities, or whether they are not rather aspects of Gula, sufficiently marked to be represented in the temples by distinct idols.[68]

Gula was worshipped in close combination with her husband, both at Larsa and Sippara. Her name appears in the inscriptions connected with both places; and she is probably the "Anammelech," whom the Sepharvites honored in conjunction with Adrammelech, the "Fire-King."[69] In later times she had also temples independent of her husband, at Babylon and Borsippa, as well as at Calah Asshur.

The emblem now commonly regarded as symbolizing Gula is the eight-rayed disk or orb, which frequently accompanies the orb with four rays in the Babylonian representations. In lieu of a disk, we have sometimes an eight-rayed star , and even occasionally a star with six rays only . It is curious that the eight-rayed star became at an early period the universal emblem of divinity: but perhaps we can only conclude from this the *stellar* origin of the worship generally, and not any special pre-eminence or priority of Anunit over other deities.

VUL, OR IVA.

The third member of the second Triad is the god of the atmosphere, whose name it has been proposed to render phonetically in a great variety of ways.[70] Until a general agreement shall be established, it is thought best to retain a name with which readers are familiar; and the form *Vul* will therefore be used in these volumes. Were *Iva* the correct articulation, we might regard the term as simply the old Hamitic name for "the air," and illustrate it by the Arabic *heva* هوا, which has still that meaning.

The importance of Vul in the Chaldæan mythology, and his strong positive character, contrast remarkably with the weak and shadowy features of Uranus, or Æther, in the classical system. Vul indeed corresponds in great measure with the classical Zeus or Jupiter, being, like him, the real "Prince of the power of the air," the lord of the whirlwind and the tempest, and the wielder of the thunderbolt. His standard titles are "the minister of heaven and earth," "the Lord of the air," "he who makes the tempest to rage." He is regarded as the destroyer of crops, the rooter-up of trees, the scatterer of the harvest. Famine, scarcity, and even their consequence, pestilence, are assigned to him. He is said to have in his hand a "flaming sword," with which he effects his works of destruction; and this "flaming sword," which probably represents lightning, becomes his emblem upon the tablets and cylinders, where it is figured as a double or triple bolt.[71] [Pl. XIX., Fig. 4.] Vul again, as the god of the atmosphere, gives the rain; and hence he is "the careful and beneficent chief," "the giver of abundance," "the lord of fecundity." In this capacity he is naturally chosen to preside over canals, the great fertilizers of Babylonia; and we find among his titles "the lord of canals," and "the establisher of works of irrigation."

There is not much evidence of the worship of Vul in Chaldæa during the early times. That he must have been known appears from the fact of his name forming an element in the name of Shamas-Vul, son of Ismi-dagon, who ruled over Chaldæa about B.C. 1850.[72] It is also certain that this Shamas-Vul set up his worship at Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat) in Assyria, associating him there with his father Ana, and building to them conjointly a great temple.[73] Further than this we have no proof that he was an object of worship in the time of the first monarchy; though in the time of Assyrian preponderance, as

well as in that of the later Babylonian Empire, there were few gods more venerated.

Vul is sometimes associated with a goddess, Shala or Tala, who is probably the Salambo or Salambas of the lexicographers.[74] The meaning of her name is uncertain;[75] and her epithets are for the most part obscure. Her ordinary title is *sarrat* or *sharrat*, "queen," the feminine of the common word *sar*, which means "Chief," "King," or "Sovereign."

BAR, NIN, OR NINIP.

If we are right in regarding the five gods who stand next to the Triad formed of the Moon, the Sun, and the Atmosphere, as representatives of the five planets visible to the naked eye, the god Nin, or Ninip, should be Saturn. His names, Bar and Nin, are respectively a Semitic and a Hamitic term signifying "lord" or "master." Nin-ip, his full Hamitic appellation, signifies "Nin, by name," or "he whose name is Nin;" and similarly, his full Semitic appellation seems to have been Bar-shem, "Bar, by name," or "he whose name is Bar"—a term which is not indeed found in the inscriptions, but which appears to have been well known to the early Syrians and Armenians,[76] and which was probably the origin of the title Barsemii, borne by the kings of Hatra (*Hadhr* near Kileh-Sherghat) in Roman times.[77]

In character and attributes the classical god whom Nin most closely resembles is, however, not Saturn, but Hercules. An indication of this connection is perhaps contained in the Herodotean genealogy, which makes Hercules an ancestor of Ninus.[78] Many classical traditions, we must remember, identified Hercules with Saturn;[79] and it seems certain that in the East at any rate this identification was common.[80] Nin, in the inscriptions, is the god of strength and courage. He is "the lord of the brave," "the champion," "the warrior who subdues foes," "he who strengthens the heart of his followers;" and again, "the destroyer of enemies," "the reducer of the disobedient," "the exterminator of rebels," "he whose sword is good." In many respects he bears a close resemblance to Nergal or Mars. Like him, he is a god of battle and of the chase, presiding over the king's expeditions, whether for war or hunting, and giving success in both alike. At the same time he has qualities which seem wholly unconnected with any that have been hitherto mentioned. He is the true "Fish-God" of Berosus,[81] and is fig-

ured as such in the sculptures. [Pl. XIX., Fig. 5.] In this point of view he is called "the god of the sea," "he who dwells in the sea," and again, somewhat curiously, "the opener of aqueducts." Besides these epithets, he has many of a more general character, as "the powerful chief," "the supreme," "the first of the gods," "the favorite of the gods," "the chief of the spirits," and the like. Again, he has a set of epithets which seem to point to his stellar character, very difficult to reconcile with the notion that, as a celestial luminary, he was Saturn. We find him called "the light of heaven and earth," "he who, like the sun, the light of the gods, irradiates the nations." These phrases appear to point to the Moon, or to some very brilliant star, and are scarcely reconcilable with the notion that he was the dark and distant Saturn.

Nin's emblem in Assyria is the Man-bull, the impersonation of strength and power. [Pl. XIX., Fig. 6.] He guards the palaces of the Assyrian kings, who reckon him their tutelary god, and give his name to their capital city. We may conjecture that in Babylonia his emblem was the sacred fish, which is often seen under different forms upon the cylinders. [Pl. XIX., Fig. 7.]

The monuments furnish no evidence of the early worship of Nin in Chaldæa. We may perhaps gather the fact from Berosus' account of the Fish-God as an early object of veneration in that region,[82] as well as from the Hamitic etymology of the name by which he was ordinarily known even in Assyria.[83] There he was always one of the most important deities. His temple at Nineveh was very famous, and is noticed by Tacitus in his "Annals;"[84] and he had likewise two temples at Calah (Nimrud), both of them buildings of some pretension.

It has been already mentioned[85] that Nin was the son of Bel-Nimrod, and that Beltis was both his wife and his mother. These relationships are well established, since they are repeatedly asserted. One tablet, however, inverts the genealogy, and makes Bel-Nimrod the son of Nin, instead of his father. The contradiction perhaps springs from the double character of this divinity, who, as Saturn, is the father, but, as Hercules, the son of Jupiter.

BEL-MERODACH.

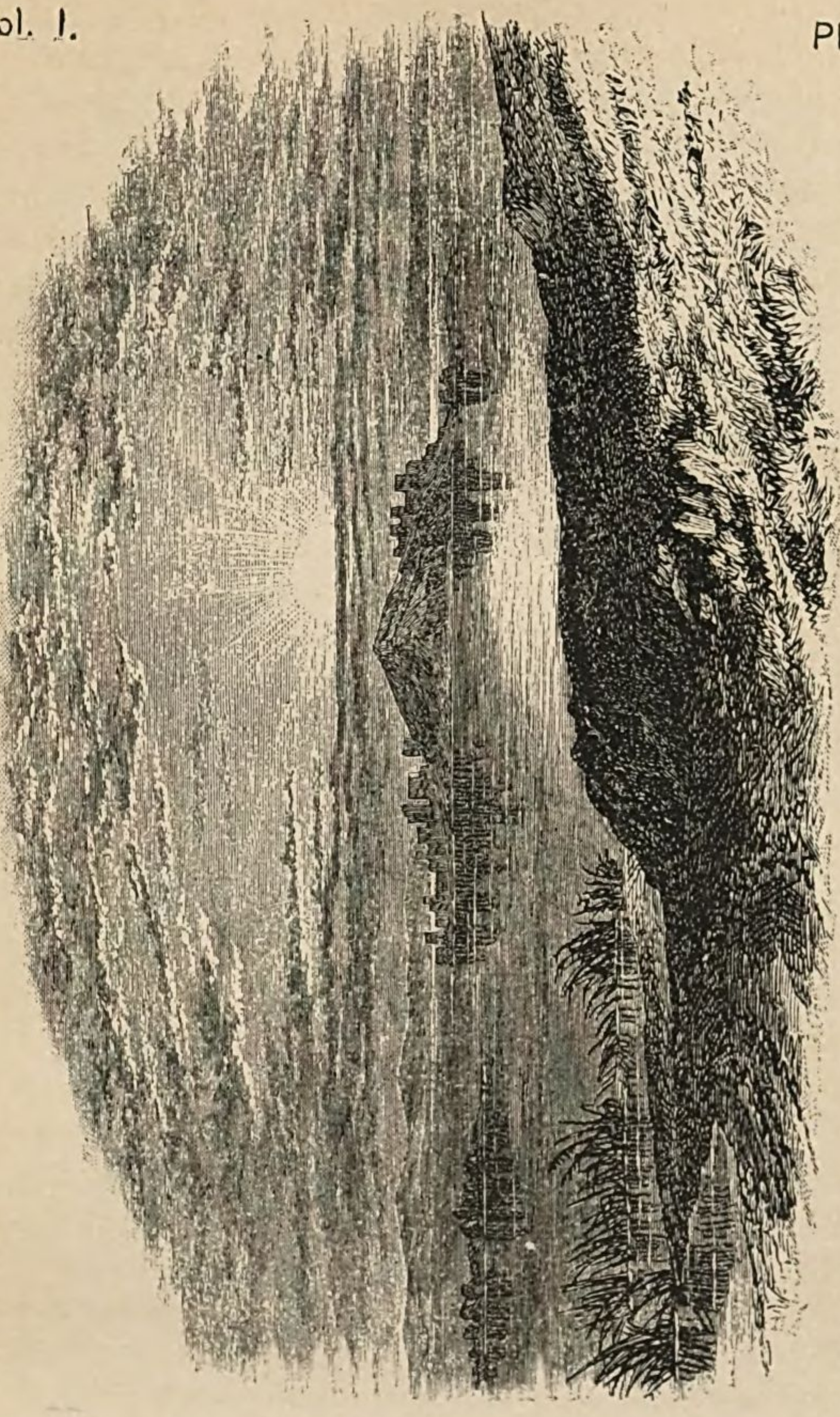
Bel-Merodach is, beyond all doubt, the planet Jupiter, which is still called Bel by the Mendæans. The name Merodach is of uncertain etymology and meaning. It has been compared with

the Persian *Mardak*,[86] the diminutive of *mard*, "a man," and with the Arabic *Mirrich*,[87] which is the name of the planet Mars. But, as there is every reason to believe that the term belongs to the Hamitic Babylonian, it is in vain to have recourse to Arian or Semitic tongues for its derivation. Most likely the word is a descriptive epithet, originally attached to the name Bel, in the same way as *Nipru*, but ultimately usurping its place and coming to be regarded as the proper name of the deity. It is doubtful whether any phonetic representative of Merodach has been found on the monuments; if so, the pronunciation should, apparently, be *Amardak*, whence we might derive the Amordacia (Ἀμορδακία) of Ptolemy.[88]

The titles and attributes of Merodach are of more than usual vagueness. In the most ancient monuments which mention him, he seems to be called "the old man of the gods,"[89] and "the judge;" he also certainly has the *gates*, which in early times were the seats of justice, under his special protection. Thus he would seem to be the god of justice and judgment—an idea which may have given rise to the Hebrew name of the planet Jupiter, viz. *sedek*, צדק, "justitia." Bel-Merodach was worshipped in the early Chaldæan kingdom, as appears from the Tel-Sifr tablets. He was probably from a very remote time the tutelary god of the city of Babylon;[90] and hence, as that city grew into importance, the worship of Merodach became more prominent. The Assyrian monarchs always especially associate Babylon with this god; and in the later Babylonian empire he becomes by far the chief object of worship. It is his temple which Herodotus describes so elaborately,[91] and his image, which, according to the Apocryphal Daniel, the Babylonians worshipped with so much devotion.[92] Nebuchadnezzar calls him "the king of the heavens and the earth," "the great lord," "the senior of the gods," "the most ancient," "the supporter of sovereignty," "the layer-up of treasures," etc., and ascribes to him all his glory and success.

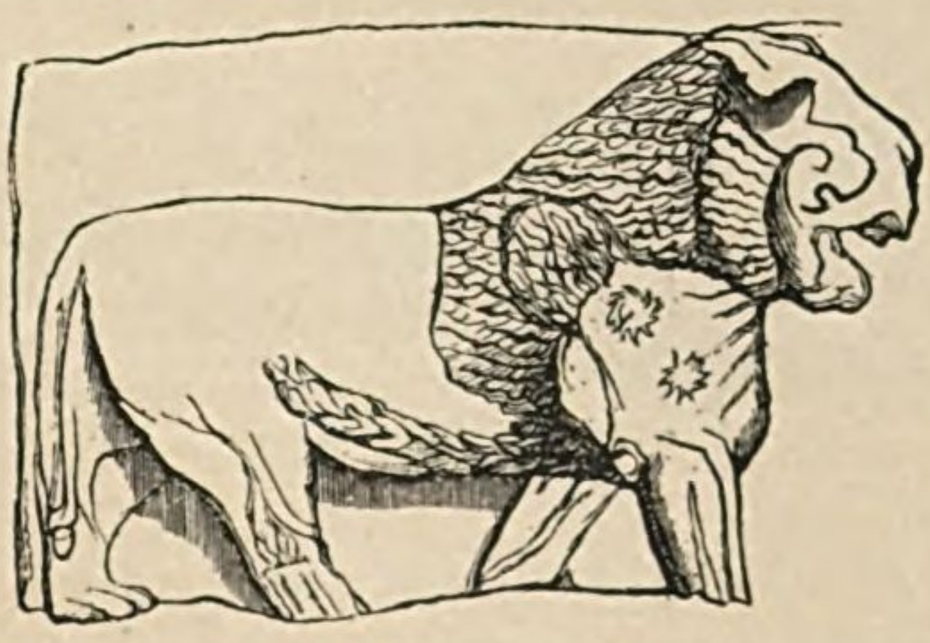
We have no means of determining which among the emblems of the gods is to be assigned to Bel-Merodach; nor is there any sculptured form which can be certainly attached to him. According to Diodorus, the great statue of Bel-Merodach at Babylon was a figure "standing and *walking*."[93] Such a form appears more often than any other upon the cylinders of the Babylonians; and it is perhaps allowable to conjecture that it may represent this favorite deity. [Pl. XIX., Fig. 8.]

Fig 1.



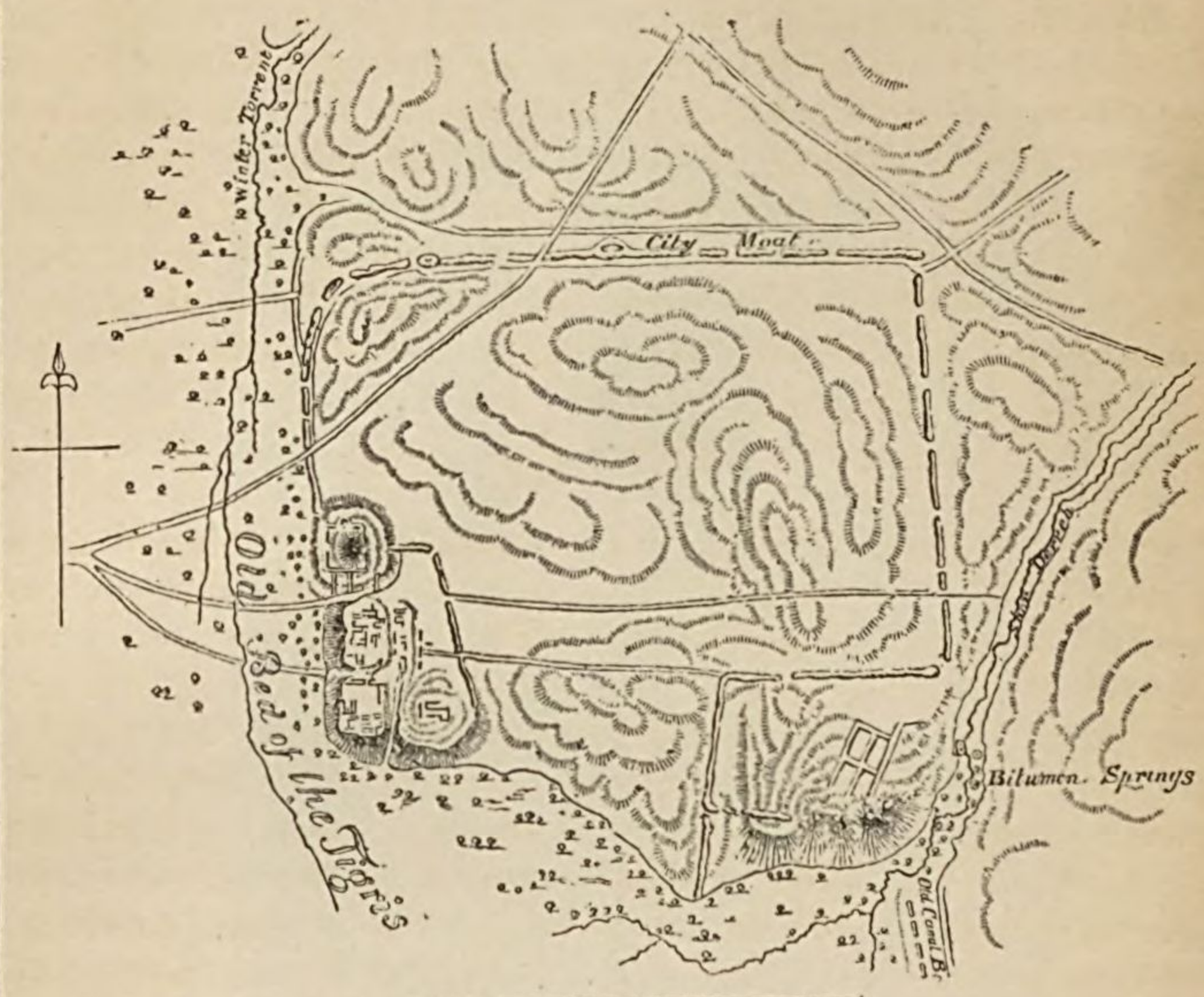
Lake of Khatouniyeh.

Fig. 2.



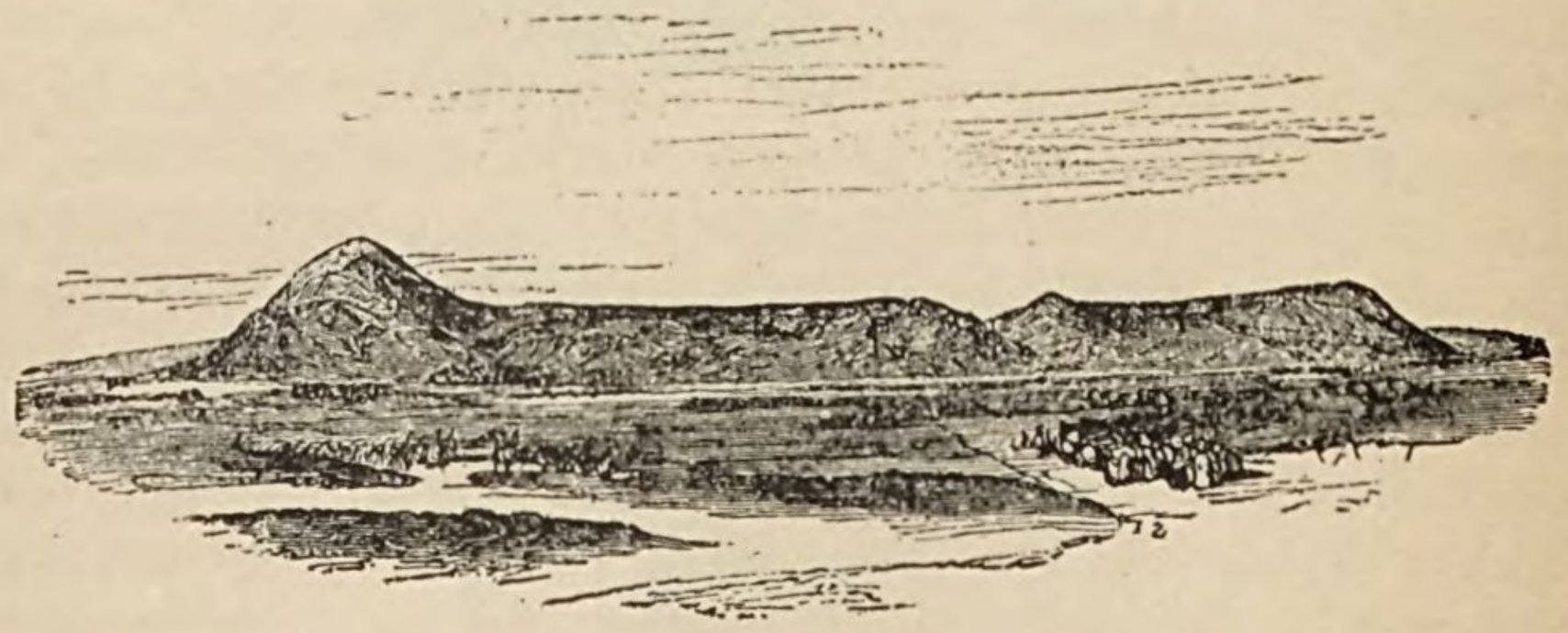
Colossal lion, near Seruj.

Fig. 1.



Plan of the Ruins at Nimrud (Calah).

Fig. 2.



Great Mound of Nimrud or Calah (after Layard).

ZIR-BANIT.

Bel-Merodach has a wife, with whom he is commonly associated, called Zir-banit. She had a temple at Babylon, probably attached to her husband's, and is perhaps the Babylonian Juno (Hera) of Diodorus.[94] The essential element of her name seems to be *Zir*, which is an old Hamitic root of uncertain meaning, while the accompanying *banit* is a descriptive epithet, which may be rendered by "genetrix." Zir-banit was probably the goddess whose worship the Babylonian settlers carried to Samaria, and who is called Succoth-benoth in Scripture.[95]

NERGAL.

Nergal, the planet Mars, whose name was continued to a late date, under the form of Nerig in the astronomical system of the Mendæans, is a god whose character and attributes are tolerably clear and definite. His name is evidently compounded of the two Hamitic roots *nir*, "a man," and *gula*, "great;" so that he is "the great man," or "the great hero." He is the special god of war and of hunting, more particularly of the latter. His titles are "the king of battle," "the champion of the gods," "the storm ruler," "the strong begetter," "the tutelar god of Babylonia," and "the god of the chase." He is usually coupled with Nin, who likewise presides over battles and over hunting; but while Nin is at least his equal in the former sphere, Nergal has a decided pre-eminence in the latter.

We have no distinct evidence that Nergal was worshipped in the primitive times. He is first mentioned by some of the early Assyrian kings,[96] who regard him as their ancestor. It has, however, been conjectured that, like Bil-Nipru, he represented the deified hero, Nimrod,[97] who may have been worshipped in different parts of Chaldæa under different titles.

The city peculiarly dedicated to Nergal was Cutha or Tiggaba, which is constantly called his city in the inscriptions. He was worshipped also at Tarbisa, near Nineveh, but in Tiggaba he was said to "live," and his shrine there was one of great celebrity. Hence "the men of Cuth," when transported to Samaria by the Assyrians, naturally enough "made Nergal their god," carrying his worship with them into their new country.[98]

It is probable that Nergal's symbol was the Man Lion. [Pl.

XX.] *Nir* is sometimes used in the inscriptions in the meaning of "lion;" and the Semitic name for the god himself is "Aria" —the ordinary term for the king of beasts both in Hebrew and in Syriac. Perhaps we have here the true derivation of the Greek name for the god of war, Ares (Ἄρης),[99] which has long puzzled classical scholars. The lion would symbolize both the fighting and the hunting propensities of the god, for he not only engages in combats upon occasions, but often chases his prey and runs it down like a hunter. Again, if Nergal is the Man-Lion, his association in the buildings with the Man-Bull would be exactly parallel with the conjunction, which we so constantly find, between him and Nin in the inscriptions.

Nergal had a wife, called Laz, of whom, however, nothing is known beyond her name. It is uncertain which among the emblems of the gods appertains to him.

ISHTAR, OR NANA.

Ishtar, or Nana, is the planetary Venus, and in general features corresponds with the classical goddess. Her name Ishtar is that by which she was known in Assyria; and the same term prevailed with slight modifications among the Semitic races generally. The Phœnician form was Astarte, the Hebrew Ashtoreth;[100] the later Mendæan form was Ashtar. In Babylonia the goddess was known as Nana, which seems to be the Nanæa of the second book of Maccabees,[101] and the Nani of the modern Syrians.[102] No satisfactory account can at present be given of the etymology of either name; for the proposal to connect Ishtar with the Greek *ἀστήρ* (Zend *starann*, Sanscrit *tara*, English *star*, Latin *stella*), though it has great names in its favor,[103] is not worthy of much attention.

Ishtar's aphrodisiac character, though it can scarcely be doubted, does not appear very clearly in the inscriptions. She is "the goddess who rejoices mankind," and her most common epithet is "Asurah," "the fortunate," or "the happy."[104] But otherwise her epithets are vague and general, insomuch that she is often scarcely distinguishable from Beltis. She is called "the mistress of heaven and earth," "the great goddess," "the queen of all the gods;" and again "the goddess of war and battle," "the queen of victory," "she who arranges battles," and "she who defends from attacks." She is also represented in the inscriptions of one king as the goddess of the chase.[105]

The worship of Ishtar was wide-spread, and her shrines were numerous. She is often called "the queen of Babylon," and must certainly have had a temple in that city.[106] She had also temples at Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat), at Arbela, and at Nineveh. It may be suspected that her symbol was the naked female form, which is not uncommon upon the cylinders. [Pl. XXI., Figs. 1, 2.] She may also be represented by the rude images in baked clay so common throughout the Mesopotamian ruins, which are generally regarded as images of Mylitta.[107]

Ishtar is sometimes coupled with Nebo in such a way as to suggest the notion that she was his wife. This, however, can hardly have been her real position in the mythology, since Nebo had, as will presently appear, another wife, Varamit, whom there is no reason to believe identical with Ishtar. It is most probable that the conjunction is casual and accidental, being due to special and temporary causes.[108]

NEBO.

The last of the five planetary gods is Nebo, who undoubtedly represents the planet Mercury. [Pl. XXI., Fig. 3.] His name is the same, or nearly so, both in Babylonian and Assyrian;[109] and we may perhaps assign it a Semitic derivation, from the root *nibbah*, נבא, "to prophesy." It is his special function to preside over knowledge and learning. He is called "the god who possesses intelligence," "he who hears from afar," "he who teaches," or "he who teaches and instructs." In this point of view, he of course approximates to Hoa, whose son he is called in some inscriptions, and to whom he bears a general resemblance. Like Hoa, he is symbolized by the simple wedge or arrowhead,[110] the primary and essential element of cuneiform writing, to mark his joint presidency with that God over writing and literature. At the same time Nebo has, like so many of the Chaldæan gods, a number of general titles, implying divine power, which, if they had belonged to him only, would have seemed to prove him the supreme deity. He is "the Lord of lords, who has no equal in power," "the supreme chief," "the sustainer," "the supporter," "the ever ready," "the guardian over the heavens and the earth," "the lord of the constellations," "the holder of the sceptre of power," "he who grants to kings the sceptre of royalty for the governance of their people." It is chiefly by his omission from many lists, and his humble place when he is mentioned to-

gether with the really great gods, that we know he was mythologically a deity of no very great eminence.

There is nothing to prove the early worship of Nebo. His name does not appear as an element in any royal appellation belonging to the Chaldæan series. Nor is there any reference to him in the records of the primeval times. Still, as he is probably of Babylonian rather than Assyrian origin,[111] and as an Assyrian king is named after him in the twelfth century B.C.,[112] we may assume that he was not unknown to the primitive people of Chaldæa, though at present their remains have furnished us with no mention of him. In later ages the chief seat of his worship was Borsippa, where the great and famous temple, known at present as the Birs-Nimrud, was dedicated to his honor. He had also a shrine at Calah (Nimrud), whence were procured the statues representing him which are now in the British Museum. He was in special favor with the kings of the great Babylonian empire, who were mostly named after him, and viewed him as presiding over their house. His symbol has not yet been recognized.

The wife of Nebo, as already observed, was Varamit or Urmit—a word which perhaps means "exalted," from the root רום, "to be lifted up." No special attributes are ascribed to this goddess, who merely accompanies her husband in most of the places where he is mentioned by name.

Such, then, seem to have been the chief gods worshipped by the early Chaldæans. It would be an endless as well as an unprofitable task to give an account of the inferior deities. Their name is "Legion;" and they are, for the most part, too vague and shadowy for effective description. A vast number are merely local; and it may be suspected that where this is the case the great gods of the Pantheon come before us repeatedly, disguised under rustic titles. We have, moreover, no clue at present to this labyrinth, on which, even with greater knowledge, it would perhaps be best for us to forbear to enter; since there is no reason to expect that we should obtain any really valuable results from its exploration.

A few words, however, may be added upon the subject of the Chaldæan cosmogony. Although the only knowledge that we possess on this point is derived from Berosus, and therefore we cannot be sure that we have really the belief of the ancient people, yet, judging from internal evidence of character, we may safely pronounce Berosus' account not only archaic, but in its groundwork and essence a primeval tradition, more an-

cient probably than most of the gods whom we have been considering.

"In the beginning," says this ancient legend, "all was darkness and water, and therein were generated monstrous animals of strange and peculiar forms. There were men with two wings, and some even with four, and with two faces; and others with two heads, a man's and a woman's on one body; and there were men with the heads and horns of goats, and men with hoofs like horses, and some with the upper parts of a man joined to the lower parts of a horse, like centaurs; and there were bulls with human heads, dogs with four bodies and with fishes' tails, men and horses with dogs' heads, creatures with the heads and bodies of horses, but with the tails of fish, and other animals mixing the forms of various beasts. Moreover there were monstrous fish and reptiles and serpents, and divers other creatures, which had borrowed something from each other's shapes; of all which the likenesses are still preserved in the temple of Belus. A woman ruleth them all, by name Omorka, which is in Chaldee Thalatth, and in Greek Thalassa (or "the sea"). Then Belus appeared, and split the woman in twain; and of the one half of her he made the heaven, and of the other half the earth; and the beasts that were in her he caused to perish. And he split the darkness, and divided the heaven and the earth asunder, and put the world in order; and the animals that could not bear the light perished. Belus, upon this, seeing that the earth was desolate, yet teeming with productive power, commanded one of the gods to cut off his head,[113] and to mix the blood which flowed forth with earth, and form men therewith, and beasts that could bear the light. So man was made, and was intelligent, being a partaker of the divine wisdom.[114] Likewise Belus made the stars, and the sun and moon, and the five planets.

It has been generally seen that this cosmogony bears a remarkable resemblance to the history of Creation contained in the opening chapters of the book of Genesis. Some have gone so far as to argue that the Mosaic account was derived from it.[115] Others, who reject this notion, suggest that a certain "old Chaldee tradition" was "the basis of them both."[116] If we drop out the word "Chaldee" from this statement, it may be regarded as fairly expressing the truth. The Babylonian legend embodies a primeval tradition, common to all mankind, of which an inspired author has given us the true groundwork in the first and second chapters of Genesis. What is espe-

cially remarkable is the fidelity, comparatively speaking, with which the Babylonian legend reports the facts. While the whole tone and spirit of the two accounts,[117] and even the point of view from which they are taken, differ,[118] the general outline of the narrative in each is nearly the same. In both we have the earth at first "without form and void," and "darkness upon the face of the deep." In both the first step taken towards creation is the separation of the mixed mass, and the formation of the heavens and the earth as the consequence of such separation. In both we have light mentioned before the creation of the sun and moon; in both we have the existence of animals before man; and in both we have a divine element infused into man at his birth, and his formation "from the dust of the ground." The only points in which the narratives can be said to be at variance are points of order. The Babylonians apparently made the formation of man and of the animals which at present inhabit the earth simultaneous, and placed the creation of the sun, moon, and planets after, instead of before, that of men and animals. In other respects the Babylonian narrative either adds to the Mosaic account, as in its description of the monsters and their destruction, or clothes in mythic language, that could never have been understood literally, the truth which in Scripture is put forth with severe simplicity. The cleaving of the woman Thalatth in twain, and the beheading of Belus, are embellishments of this latter character; they are plainly and evidently mythological; nor can we suppose them to have been at any time regarded as facts. The existence of the monsters, on the other hand, may well have been an actual belief. All men are prone to believe in such marvels; and it is quite possible, as Niebuhr supposes,[119] that some discoveries of the remains of mammoths and other monstrous forms embedded in the crust of the earth, may have given definiteness and prominency to the Chaldæan notions on this subject.

Besides their correct notions on the subject of creation, the primitive Chaldæans seem also to have been aware of the general destruction of mankind, on account of their wickedness,[120] by a Flood; and of the rebellious attempt which was made soon after the Flood to concentrate themselves in one place, instead of obeying the command to "replenish the earth"[121]—an attempt which was thwarted by means of the confusion of their speech. The Chaldæan legends embodying these primitive traditions were as follows:—

"God appeared to Xisuthrus (Noah) in a dream, and warned him that on the fifteenth day of the month Dæsius, mankind would be destroyed by a deluge. He bade him bury in Sippara, the City of the Sun, the extant writings, first and last; and build a ship, and enter therein with his family and his close friends; and furnish it with meat and drink; and place on board winged fowl, and four-footed beasts of the earth; and when all was ready, set sail. Xisuthrus asked 'Whither he was to sail?' and was told, 'To the gods, with a prayer that it might fare well with mankind.' Then Xisuthrus was not disobedient to the vision, but built a ship five furlongs (3125 feet) in length, and two furlongs (1250 feet) in breadth; and collected all that had been commanded him, and put his wife and children and close friends on board. The flood came; and as soon as it ceased, Xisuthrus let loose some birds, which, finding neither food nor a place where they could rest, came back to the ark. After some days he again sent out the birds,[122] which again returned to the ark, but with feet covered with mud. Sent out a third time, the birds returned no more, and Xisuthrus knew that land had reappeared: so he removed some of the covering of the ark, and looked, and behold! the vessel had grounded on a mountain. Then Xisuthrus went forth with his wife and his daughter, and his pilot,[123] and fell down and worshipped the earth,[124] and built an altar, and offered sacrifice to the gods; after which he disappeared from sight, together with those who had accompanied him. They who had remained in the ark and not gone forth with Xisuthrus, now left it and searched for him, and shouted out his name; but Xisuthrus was not seen any more. Only his voice answered them out of the air, saying, 'Worship God; for because I worshipped God, am I gone to dwell with the gods; and they who were with me have shared the same honor.' And he bade them return to Babylon, and recover the writings buried at Sippara, and make them known among men; and he told them that the land in which they then were was Armenia. So they, when they had heard all, sacrificed to the gods and went their way on foot to Babylon, and, having reached it, recovered the buried writings from Sippara, and built many cities and temples, and restored Babylon. Some portion of the ark still continues in Armenia, in the Gordiæan (Kurdish) Mountains; and persons scrape off the bitumen from it to bring away, and this they use as a remedy to avert misfortunes."[125]

"The earth was still of one language, when the primitive men, who were proud of their strength and stature, and despised the gods as their inferiors, erected a tower of vast height, in order that they might mount to heaven. And the tower was now near to heaven, when the gods (or God) caused the winds to blow and overturned the structure upon the men, and made them speak with divers tongues; wherefore the city was called Babylon."[126]

Here again we have a harmony with Scripture of the most remarkable kind—a harmony not confined to the main facts, but reaching even to the minuter points, and one which is altogether most curious and interesting. The Babylonians have not only, in common with the great majority of nations, handed down from age to age the general tradition of the Flood, but they are acquainted with most of the particulars of the occurrence. They know of the divine warning to a single man,[127] the direction to construct a huge ship or ark,[128] the command to take into it a chosen few of mankind only,[129] and to devote the chief space to winged fowl and four-footed beasts of the earth.[130] They are aware of the tentative sending out of birds from it,[131] and of their returning twice,[132] but when sent out a third time returning no more.[133] They know of the egress from the ark by removal of some of its covering,[134] and of the altar built and the sacrifice offered immediately afterwards.[135] They know that the ark rested in Armenia;[136] that those who escaped by means of it, or their descendants, journeyed towards Babylon;[137] that there a tower was begun, but not completed, the building being stopped by divine interposition and a miraculous confusion of tongues.[138] As before, they are not content with the plain truth, but must amplify and embellish it. The size of the ark is exaggerated to an absurdity,[139] and its proportions are misrepresented in such a way as to outrage all the principles of naval architecture.[140] The translation of Xisuthrus, his wife, his daughter, and his pilot—a reminiscence possibly of the translation of Enoch—is unfitly as well as falsely introduced just after they have been miraculously saved from destruction. The story of the Tower is given with less departure from the actual truth. The building is, however, absurdly represented as an actual attempt to scale heaven;[141] and a storm of wind is somewhat unnecessarily introduced to destroy the Tower, which from the Scripture narrative seems to have been left standing. It is also especially to be noticed that in the Chaldæan legends the whole interest is

Fig. 1

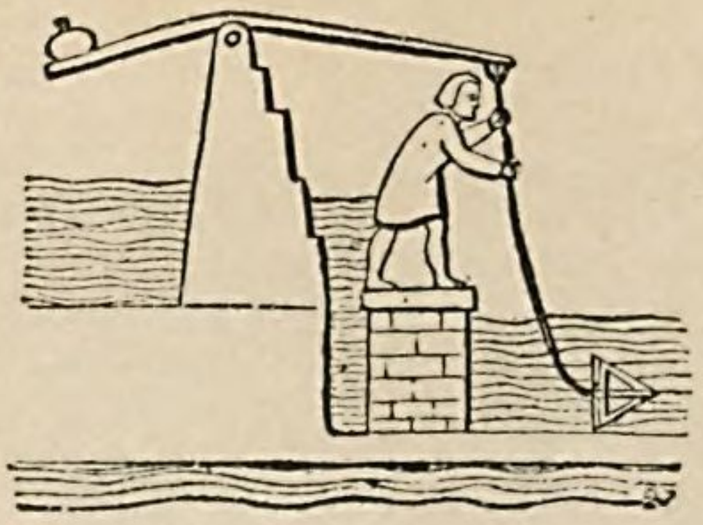
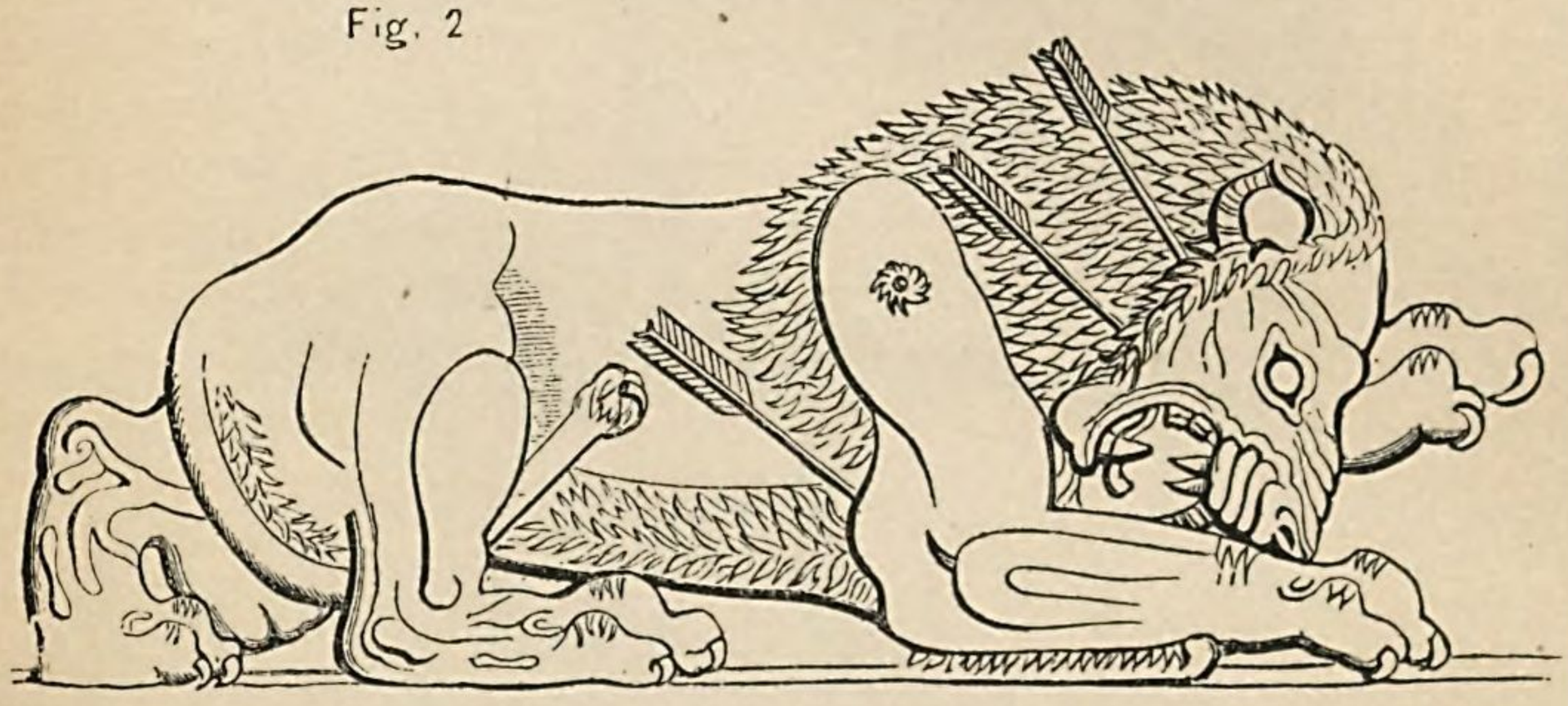
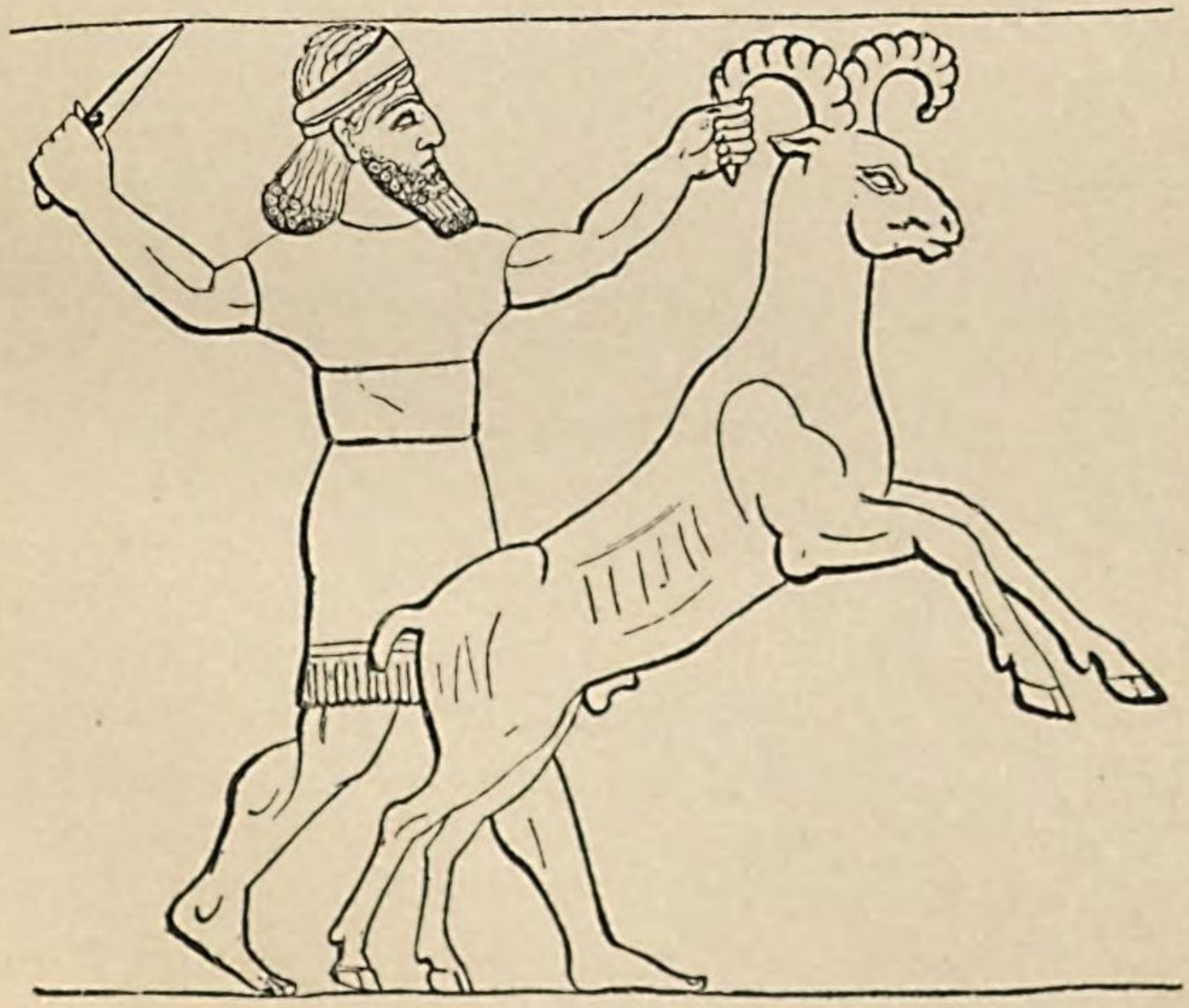


Fig. 2



Assyrian Lion, trom Nimrud.

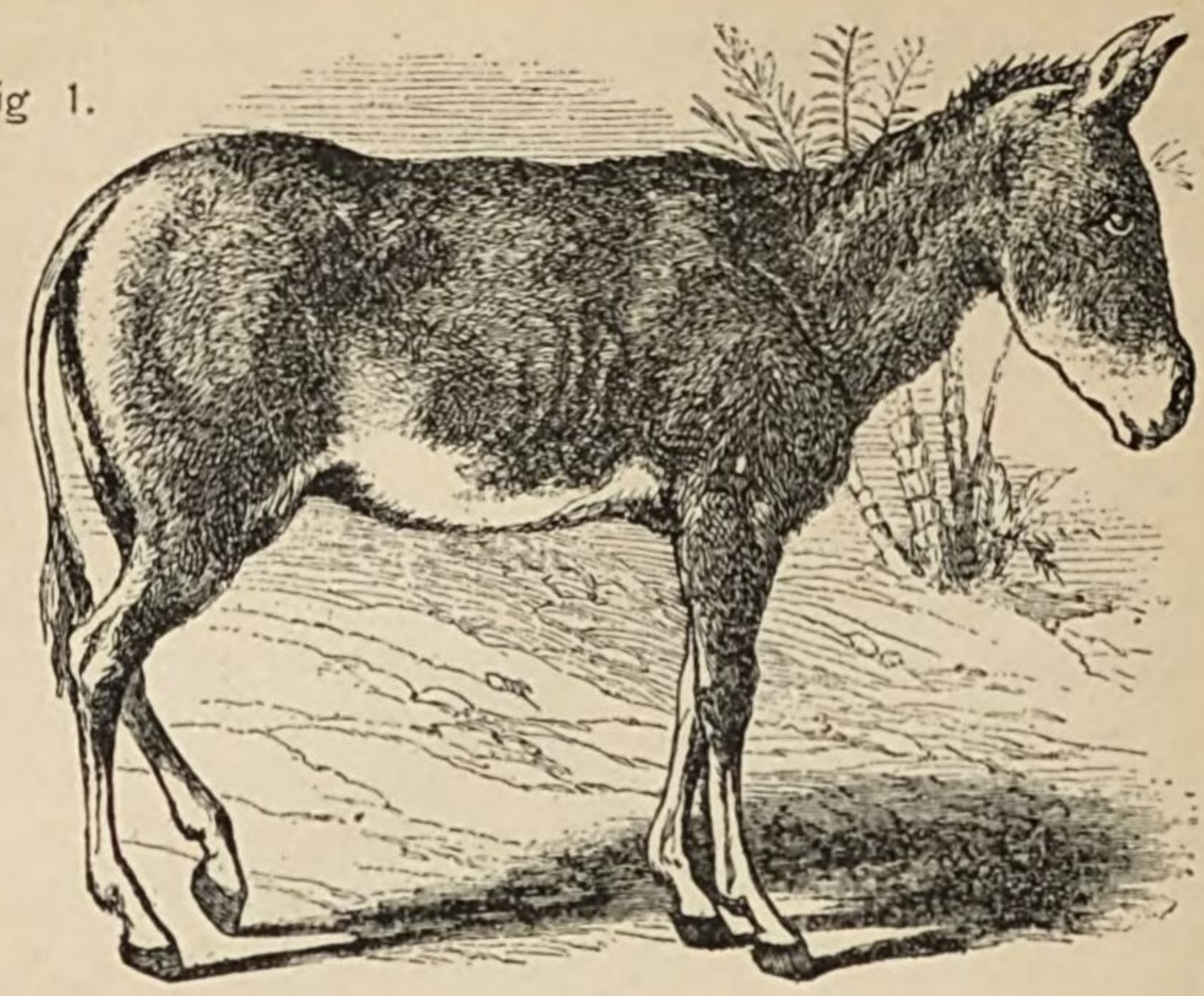
Fig. 3.



Ibex, or Wild Goat, from Nimrud.

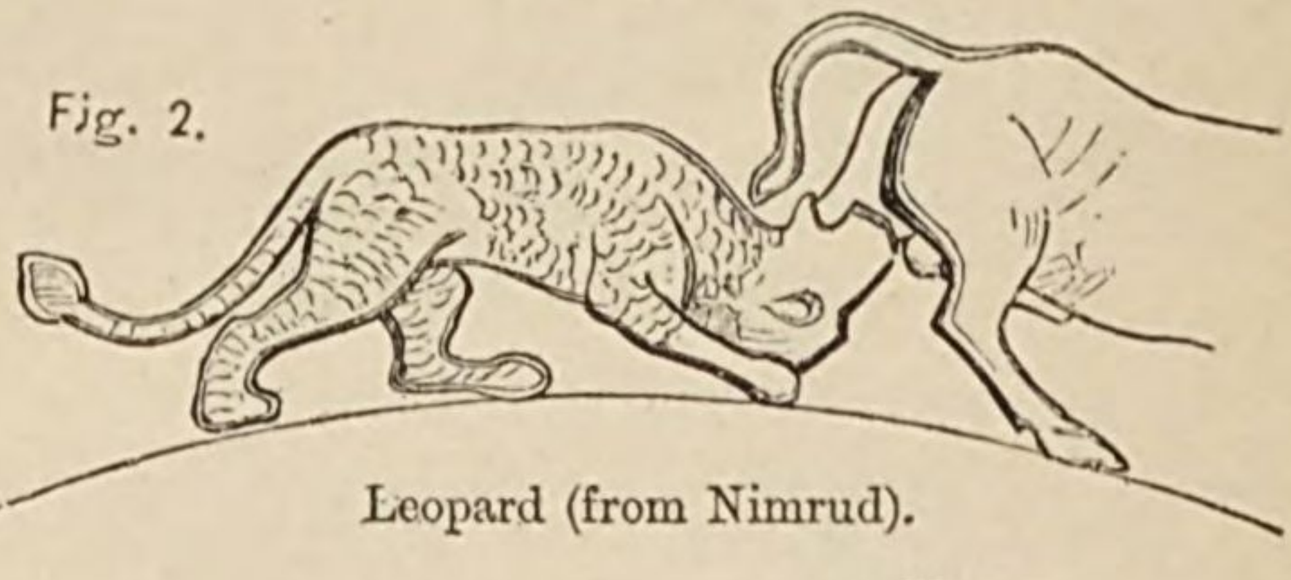
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

Fig 1.



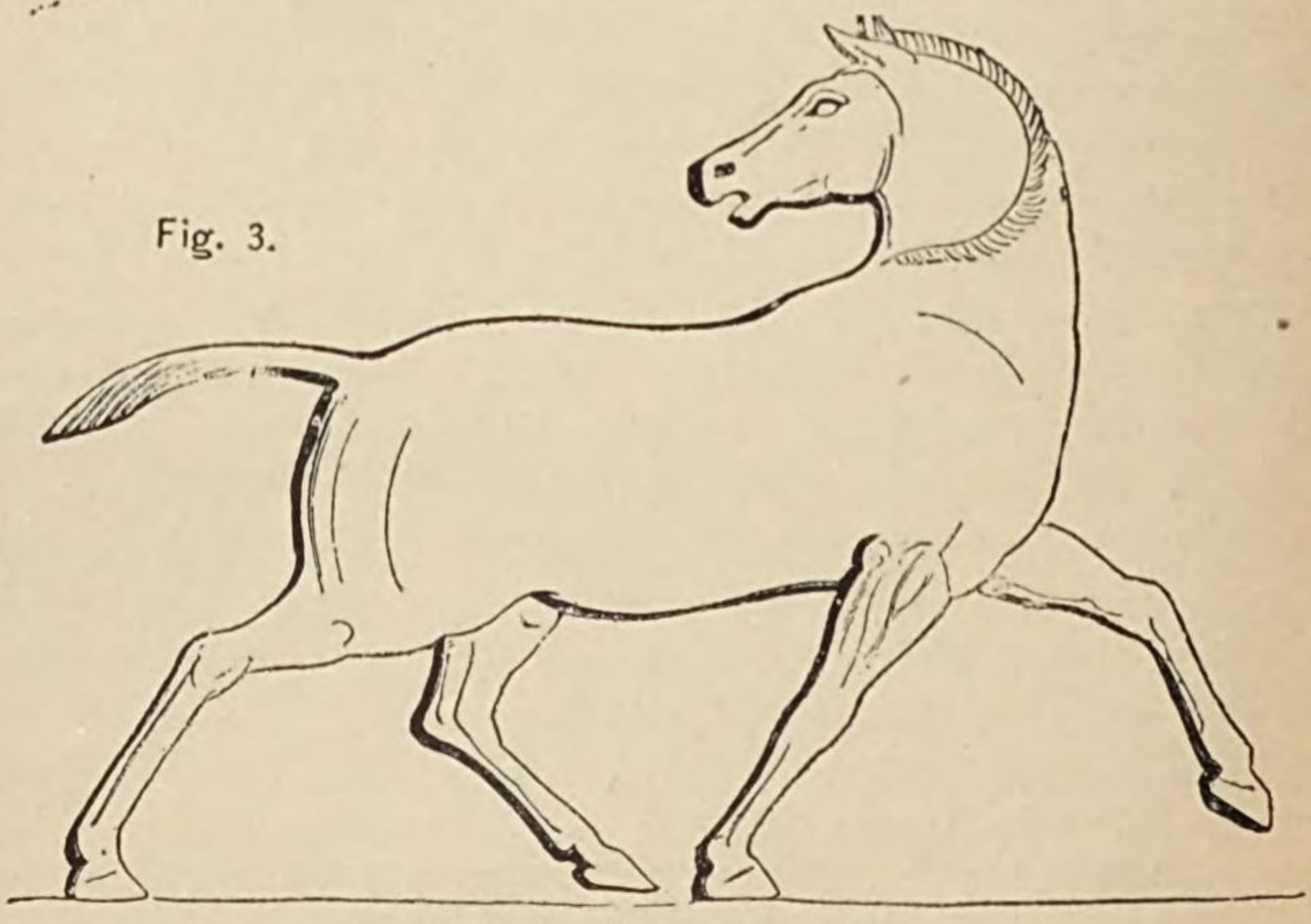
Wild Ass.

Fig. 2.



Leopard (from Nimrud).

Fig. 3.



Wild Ass (from Koyunjik).

made narrow and local. The Flood appears as a circumstance in the history of Babylonia; and the priestly traditionists, who have put the legend into shape, are chiefly anxious to make the event redound to the glory of their sacred books, which they boast to have been the special objects of divine care, and represent as a legacy from the antediluvian ages. The general interests of mankind are nothing to the Chaldæan priests, who see in the story of the Tower simply a local etymology, and in the Deluge an event which made the Babylonians the sole possessors of primeval wisdom.[142]

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.

"The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar."—GEN. X. 10.

THE establishment of a Cushite kingdom in Lower Babylonia dates probably from (at least) the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth century before our era. Greek traditions[1] assigned to the city of Babylon an antiquity nearly as remote; and the native historian, Berosus, spoke of a Chaldæan dynasty as bearing rule anterior to B.C. 2250. Unfortunately the works of this great authority have been lost; and even the general outline of his chronological scheme, whereof some writers have left us an account,[2] is to a certain extent imperfect; so that, in order to obtain a definite chronology for the early times, we are forced to have recourse, in some degree, to conjecture. Berosus declared that six dynasties had reigned in Chaldæa since the great flood of Xisuthrus, or Noah. To the first, which consisted of 86 kings, he allowed the extravagant period of 34,080 years. Evechoüs, the founder of the dynasty, had enjoyed the royal dignity for 2400 years, and Chomasbêlus, his son and successor, had reigned 300 years longer than his father. The other 84 monarchs had filled up the remaining space of 28,980 years—their reigns thus averaging 345 years apiece. It is clear that these numbers are unhistoric; and though it would be easy to reduce them within the limits of credibility by arbitrary suppositions—as for instance, that the years of the narrative represent months or days[3]—yet it may reasonably be doubted whether we should in this way be doing any service to the cause of historic truth. The names Evechoüs and Cho-

masbêlus seem mythic rather than real; they represent personages in the Babylonian Pantheon, and can scarcely have been borne by men. It is likely that the entire series of names partook of the same character, and that, if we possessed them, their bearing would be found to be, not historic, but mythological. We may parallel this dynasty of Berosus, where he reckons king's reigns by the cyclical periods of *sosses* and *ners*, with Manetho's dynasties of Gods and Demigods in Egypt, where the sum of the years is nearly as great.[4]

It is necessary, then, to discard as unhistorical the names and numbers assigned to his first dynasty by Berosus, and to retain from this part of his scheme nothing but the fact which he lays down of an ancient Chaldæan dynasty having ruled in Babylonia, prior to a conquest, which led to the establishment of a second dynasty, termed by him Median.

The scheme of Berosus then, setting aside his numbers for the first period, is—according to the best extant authorities[5]—as follows:—

Dynasty	I.	of (?)	Chaldæan kings	(?)	years.
"	II.	" 8	Median "	234 (?)	"
"	III.	" 11	"	48 (?)	"
"	IV.	" 49	Chaldæan "	458	"
"	V.	" 9	Arabian "	245	"
"	VI.	" 45	(?)	526	"
Reign of Pul				?	"
Dynasty	VII.	of (?)	(?) kings	?	"
"	VIII.	" 6	Chaldæan "	87	"

It will be observed that this table contains certain defects and weaknesses, which greatly impair its value, and prevent us from constructing upon it, without further aid, an exact scheme of chronology. Not only does a doubt attach to one or two of the numbers—to the years, *i.e.*, of the second and third dynasty[6]—but in two cases we have no numbers at all set down for us, and must supply them from conjecture, or from extraneous sources, before we can make the scheme available. Fortunately in the more important case, that of the seventh dynasty, the number of years can be exactly supplied without any difficulty. The Canon of Ptolemy covers, in fact, the whole interval between the reign of Pul and the close of the Babylonian Empire, giving for the period of the seventh dynasty 13 reigns in 122 years, and for that of the eighth 5 reigns in 87 years. The length of the reign of Pul can, however, only be supplied from conjecture. As it is not an unreasonable supposition that he may have reigned 28 years, and as this number harmonizes well with the chronological notices of the monuments, we shall venture to assume it, and thus

complete the scheme which the fragments of Berosus leave imperfect.

BEROSUS' CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME COMPLETED.

		Years.	B.C.	B.C.
Dynasty	I. of ? Chaldæan kings.	?	?	2286
"	II. of 8 Median " .	234	2286	2052
"	III. of 11 ? " .	48	2052	2004
"	IV. of 49 Chaldæan " .	458	2004	1546
"	V. of 9 Arabian " .	245	1546	1301
"	VI. of 45 ? " .	526	1301	775
Reign of Pul (Chaldæan king) . . .		28	775	747
Dynasty	VII. of 13 ? kings .	122	747	625
"	VIII. of 67 Babylonian " .	87	625	538

This scheme, in which there is nothing conjectural except the length of the reign of Pul, receives very remarkable confirmation from the Assyrian monuments. These inform us, first, that there was a conquest of Babylon by a Susianian monarch 1635 yers before the capture of Susa by Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esarhaddon;[8] and, secondly, that there was a second conquest by an Assyrian monarch 600 years before the occupation of Babylon by Esarhaddon's father, Sennacherib. Now Sennacherib's occupation of Babylon was in B.C. 702; and 600 years before this brings us to B.C. 1302, within a year of the date which the scheme assigns to the accession of the seventh dynasty. Susa was taken by Asshur-bani-pal probably in B.C. 651; and 1635 years before this is B.C. 2286, or the exact year marked in the scheme for the accession of the second (Median) dynasty. This double coincidence can scarcely be accidental; and we may conclude, therefore, that we have in the above table at any rate a near approach to the scheme of Babylonian chronology as received among both the Babylonians and Assyrians in the seventh century before our era.

Whether the chronology is wholly trustworthy is another question. The evidence both of the classical writers[9] and of the monuments is to the effect that exact chronology was a subject to which the Babylonians and Assyrians paid great attention. The "Canon of Ptolemy," which contained an exact Babylonian computation of time from B.C. 747 to B.C. 331, is generally allowed to be a most authentic document, and one on which we may place complete reliance.[10] The "Assyrian Canon," which gives the years of the Assyrian monarchs from B.C. 911 to B.C. 660, appears to be equally trustworthy. How much

further exact notation went back, it is impossible to say. All that we know is, first, that the later Assyrian monarchs believed they had means of fixing the exact date of events in their own history and in that of Babylon up to a time distant from their own as much as sixteen or seventeen hundred years; and secondly, that the chronology which result from their statements and those of Berosus is moderate, probably, and in harmony with all the knowledge which we obtain of the East from other sources. It is proposed therefore, in the present volumes, to accept the general scheme of Berosus as, in all probability, not seriously in error; and to arrange the Chaldæan, Assyrian, and Babylonian history on the framework which it furnishes.

Chaldæan history may therefore be regarded as opening upon us at a time anterior, at any rate by a century or two,[11] to B.C. 2286. It was then that Nimrod, the son or descendant of Cush, set up a kingdom in Lower Mesopotamia, which attracted the attention of surrounding nations. The people, whom he led, came probably by sea; at any rate, their earliest settlements were on the coast; and Ur or Hur, on the right bank of the Euphrates, at a very short distance from its embouchure, was the primitive capital. The "mighty hunter" rapidly spread his dominion inland, subduing or expelling the various tribes by which the country was previously occupied. His kingdom extended northwards, at least as far as Babylon, which (as well as Erech or Huruk, Accad, and Calneh) was first founded by this monarch.[12] Further historical details of his reign are wanting; but the strength of his character and the greatness of his achievements are remarkably indicated by a variety of testimonies, which place him among the foremost men of the Old World, and guarantee him a never-ending remembrance. At least as early as the time of Moses his name had passed into a proverb. He was known as "the mighty hunter before the Lord"[13]—an expression which had probably a double meaning, implying at once skill and bravery in the pursuit and destruction of wild beasts, and also a genius for war and success in his aggressions upon men. In his own nation he seems to have been deified, and to have continued down to the latest times one of the leading objects of worship, under the title of *Bilu-Nipru* or Bel-Nimrod,[14] which may be translated "the god of the chase," or "the great hunter." One of his capitals, Calneh, which was regarded as his special city, appears afterwards to have been known by his name (probably as being the *chief* seat of his worship in the early

times); and this name it still retains, slightly corrupted. In the modern Niffer we may recognize the Talmudical Nopher, and the Assyrian *Nipur* which is *Nipru*, with a mere metathesis of the two final letters. The fame of Nimrod has always been rife in the country of his domination. Arab writers record a number of remarkable traditions, in which he plays a conspicuous part;[15] and there is little doubt but that it is in honor of his apotheosis that the constellation Orion bears in Arabian astronomy the title of *El Jabbar*, or "the giant."[16] Even at the present day his name lives in the mouth of the people inhabiting Chaldæa and the adjacent regions, whose memory of ancient heroes is almost confined to three—Nimrod, Solomon, and Alexander. Wherever a mound of ashes is to be seen in Babylonia or the adjoining countries, the local traditions attach to it the name of *Nimrud* or *Nimrod*;[17] and the most striking ruins now existing in the Mesopotamian valley, whether in its upper or its lower portion, are made in this way monuments of his glory.[18]

Of the immediate successors of Nimrod we have no account that even the most lenient criticism can view as historical. It appears that his conquest was followed rapidly by a Semitic emigration from the country—an emigration which took a northerly direction. The Assyrians withdrew from Babylonia, which they still always regarded as their parent land, and, occupying the upper or non-alluvial portion of the Mesopotamian plain, commenced the building of great cities in a tract upon the middle Tigris.[19] The Phœnicians removed from the shores of the Persian Gulf, and, journeying towards the northwest, formed settlements upon the coast of Canaan,[20] where they became a rich and prosperous people. The family of Abraham, and probably other Aramæan families, ascended the Euphrates,[21] withdrawing from a yoke which was oppressive, or at any rate unpleasant. Abundant room was thus made for the Cushite immigrants, who rapidly established their preponderance over the whole of the southern region. As war ceased to be the necessary daily occupation of the new comers, civilization and the arts of life began to appear. The reign of the "Hunter" was followed, after no long time, by that of the "Builder." A monumental king, whose name is read doubtfully as Urkham[22] or Urukh, belongs almost certainly to this early dynasty, and may be placed next in succession, though at what interval we cannot say, to Nimrod. He is beyond question the earliest Chaldæan monarch of whom any remains

have been obtained in the country. Not only are his bricks found in a lower position than any others, at the very foundations of buildings, but they are of a rude and coarse make, and the inscriptions upon them contrast most remarkably, in the simplicity of the style of writing used and in their general archaic type, with the elaborate and often complicated symbols of the later monarchs.[23] The style of Urukh's buildings is also primitive and simple in the extreme; his bricks are of many sizes, and ill fitted together;[24] he belongs to a time when even the baking of bricks seems to have been comparatively rare, for sometimes he employs only the sun-dried material;[25] and he is altogether unacquainted with the use of lime mortar, for which his substitute is moist mud, or else bitumen. There can be little doubt that he stands at the head of the present series of monumental kings, another of whom probably reigned as early as B.C. 2286. As he was succeeded by a son, whose reign seems to have been of the average length, we must place his accession at least as early as B.C. 2326. Possibly it may have fallen a century earlier.

It is as a builder of gigantic works that Urukh is chiefly known to us. The basement platforms of his temples are of an enormous size; and though they cannot seriously be compared with the Egyptian pyramids, yet indicate the employment for many years of a vast amount of human labor in a very unproductive sort of industry. The Bowariyeh mound at Warka is 200 feet square, and about 100 feet high.[26] Its cubic contents, as originally built, can have been little, if at all, under 3,000,000 feet; and above 30,000,000 of bricks must have been used in its construction. Constructions of a similar character, and not very different in their dimensions, are proved by the bricks composing them to have been raised by the same monarch at Ur, Calneh or Nipur, and Larancha or Larsa, which is perhaps Ellasar.[27] It is evident, from the size and number of these works, that their erector had the command of a vast amount of "naked human strength," and did not scruple to employ that strength in constructions from which no material benefit was derivable, but which were probably designed chiefly to extend his own fame and perpetuate his glory. We may gather from this that he was either an oppressor of his people, like some of the Pyramid Kings in Egypt,[28] or else a conqueror, who thus employed the numerous captives carried off in his expeditions. Perhaps the latter is the more probable supposition; for the builders of the great

fabrics in Babylonia and Chaldæa do not seem to have left behind them any character of oppressiveness, such as attaches commonly to those monarchs who have ground down their own people by servile labor.

The great buildings of Urukh appear to have been all designed for temples. They are carefully placed with their angles facing the cardinal points,[29] and are dedicated to the Sun, the Moon, to Belus (Bel-Nimrod), or to Beltis. The temple at Mugheir was built in honor of the Moon-god, *Sin* or *Hurki*, who was the tutelary deity of the city. The Warka temple was dedicated to Beltis. At Calneh or Nipur, Urukh erected two temples, one to Beltis and one to Belus. At Larsa or Ellasar the object of his worship was the Sun-god, San or Sansi. He would thus seem to have been no special devotee of a single god, but to have divided out his favors very fairly among the chief personages of the Pantheon.

It has been observed that both the inscriptions of this king, and his architecture, are of a rude and primitive type. Still in neither case do we seem to be brought to the earliest dawn of civilization or of art. The writing of Urukh has passed out of the first or hieroglyphic stage, and entered the second or transition one, when pictures are no longer attempted, but the lines or wedges follow roughly the old outline of the objects.[30] In his architecture, again, though there is much that is rude and simple, there is also a good deal which indicates knowledge and experience. The use of the buttress is understood; and the buttress is varied according to the material.[31] The importance of sloping the walls of buildings inwards to resist interior pressure is thoroughly recognized.[32] Drains are introduced to carry off moisture, which must otherwise have been very destructive to buildings composed mainly, or entirely, of crude brick. It is evident that the builders whom the king employs, though they do not possess much genius, have still such a knowledge of the most important principles of their art as is only obtained gradually by a good deal of practice. Indeed, the very fact of the continued existence of their works at the distance of forty centuries is sufficient evidence that they possessed a considerable amount of architectural skill and knowledge.

We are further, perhaps, justified in concluding, from the careful emplacement of Urukh's temples, that the science of astronomy was already cultivated in his reign, and was regarded as having a certain connection with religion. We have

seen that the early worship of the Chaldæans was to a great extent astral[33]—a fact which naturally made the heavenly bodies special objects of attention. If the series of observations which Callisthenes sent to Aristotle, dating from B.C. 2234, was in reality a record, and not a mere calculation backwards of the dates at which certain celestial phenomena must have taken place, astronomical studies must have been pretty well advanced at a period not long subsequent to Urukh.

Nor must we omit to notice, if we would estimate aright the condition of Chaldæan art under this king, the indications furnished by his signet-cylinder. So far as we can judge from the representation, which is all that we possess of this relic, the drawing on the cylinder was as good and the engraving as well executed as any work of the kind, either of the Assyrian or of the later Babylonian period. Apart from the inscription this work of art has nothing about it that is rude or primitive. The elaboration of the dresses and headgear of the figures has been already noticed.[34] It is also worthy of remark, that the principal figure sits on an ornamental throne or chair, of particularly tasteful construction, two legs of which appear to have been modelled after those of the bull or ox. We may conclude, without much danger of mistake, that in the time of the monarch who owned this seal, dresses of delicate fabric and elaborate pattern, and furniture of a *recherché* and elegant shape, were in use among the people over whom he exercised dominion.

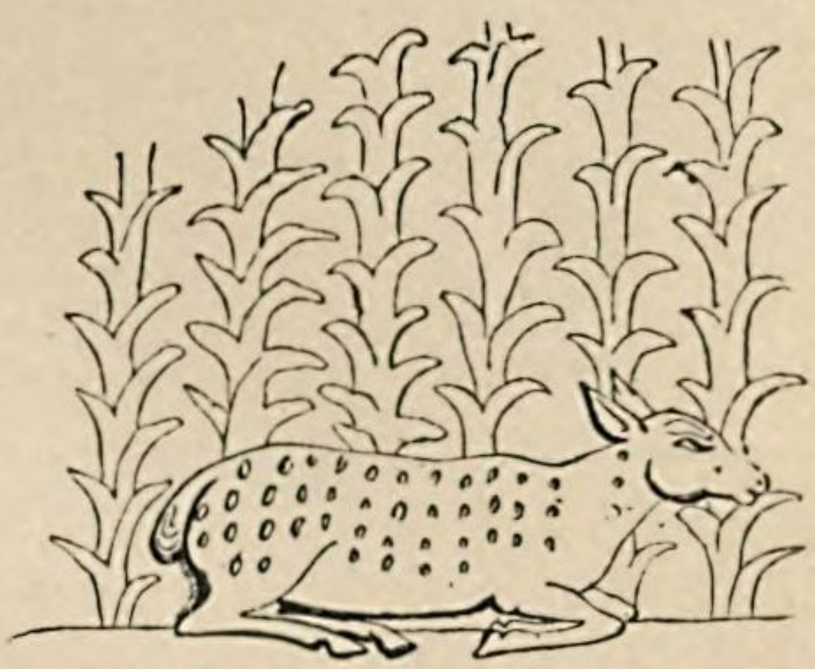
The chief capital city of Urukh appears to have been Ur. He calls himself "King of Ur and Kingi-Accad;" and it is at Ur that he raises his principal buildings. Ur, too, has furnished the great bulk of his inscriptions. Babylon was not yet a place of much importance, though it was probably built by Nimrod. The second city of the Empire was Huruk or Erech: other places of importance were Larsa (Ellasar?) and Nipur or Calneh.

Urukh appears to have been succeeded in the kingdom by a son, whose name it is proposed to read as Elgi or Ilgi. Of this prince our knowledge is somewhat scanty. Bricks bearing his name have been found at Ur (Mugheir) and at Tel Eid, near Erech, or Warka; and his signet-cylinder has been recovered, and is now in the British Museum. We learn from inscriptions of Nabonidus that he completed some of the buildings at Ur, which had been left unfinished by his father; while his own bricks inform us that he built or repaired two of the prin-

Fig 1.

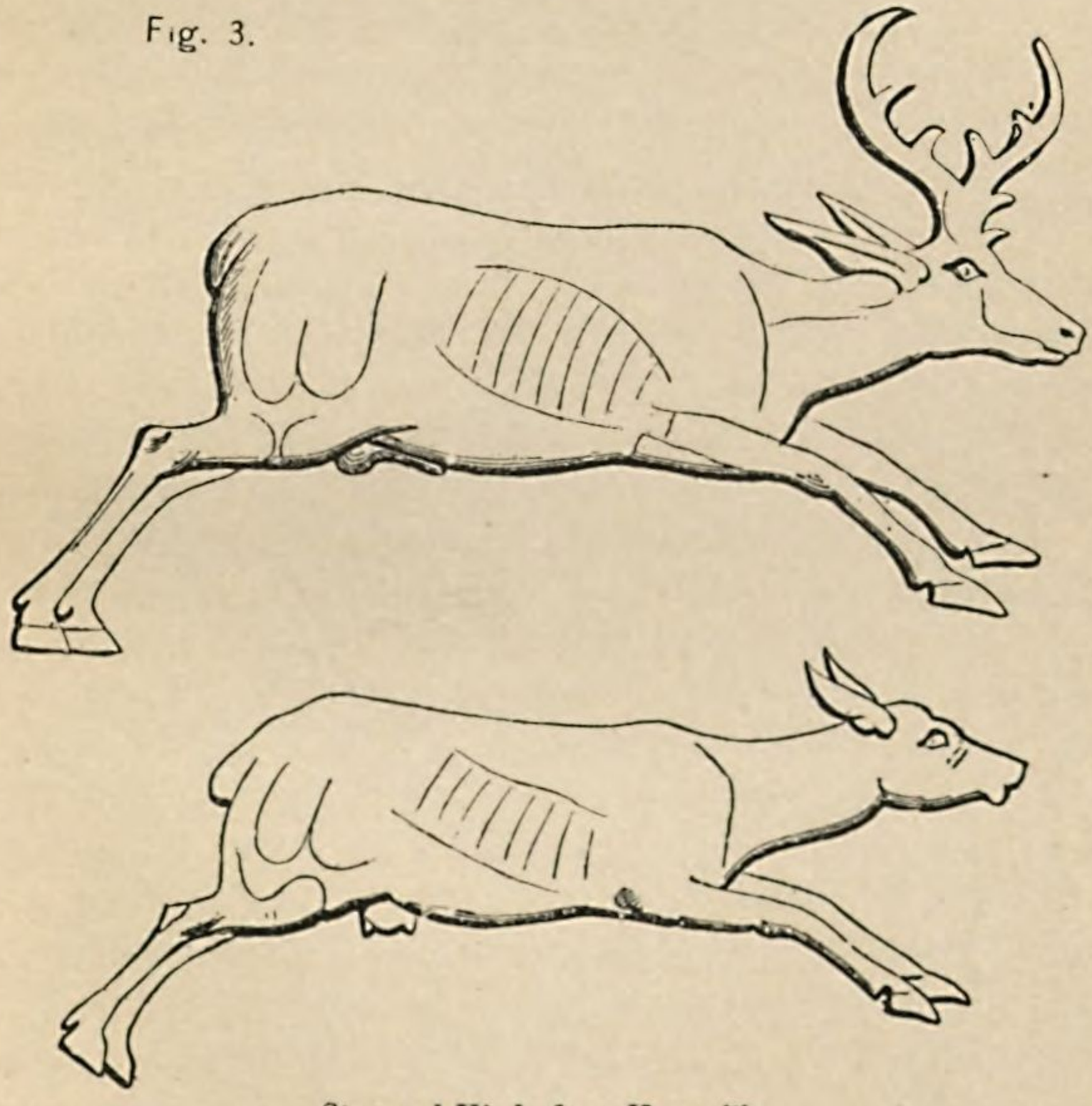
Gazelle, from Nimrud.

Fig 2.



Fallow Deer, from Koyunjik.

Fig. 3.

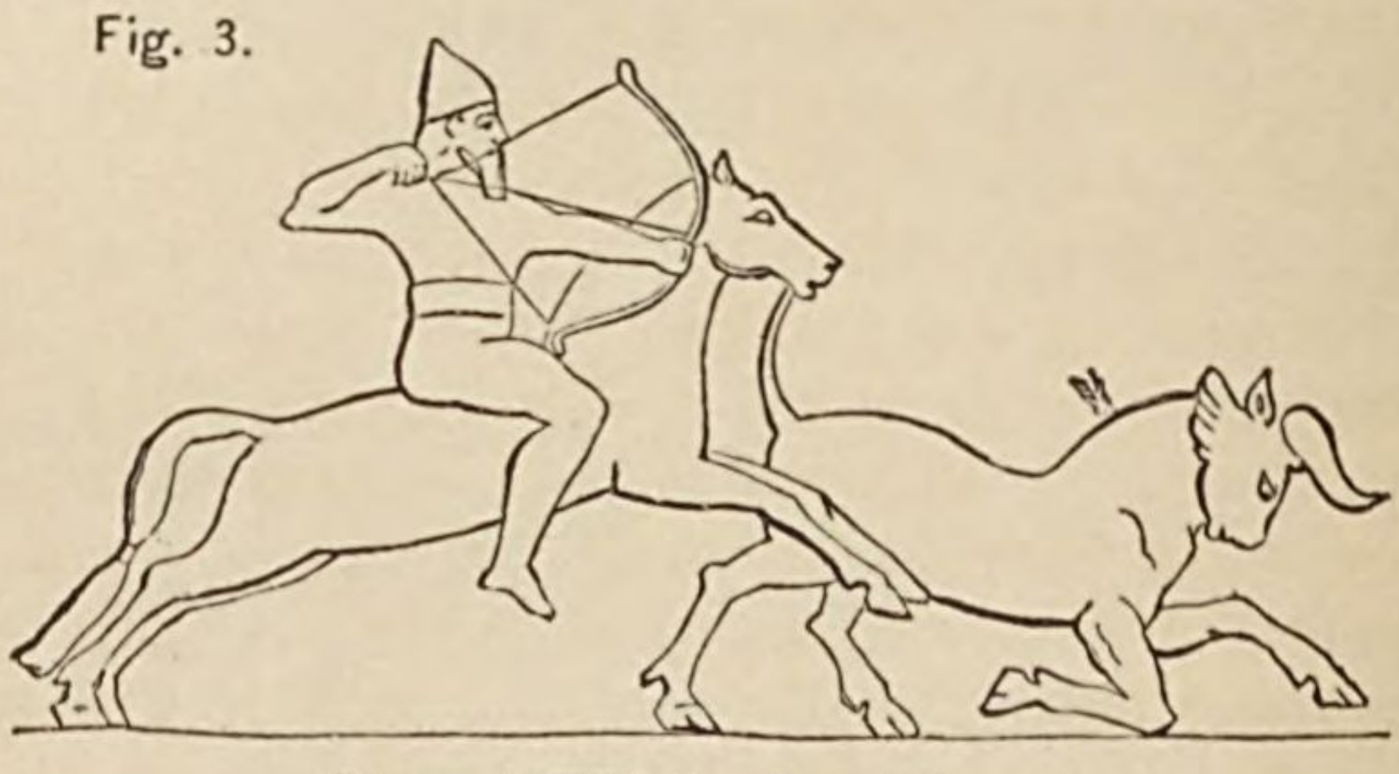


Stag and Hind, from Koyunjik.

Fig. 1

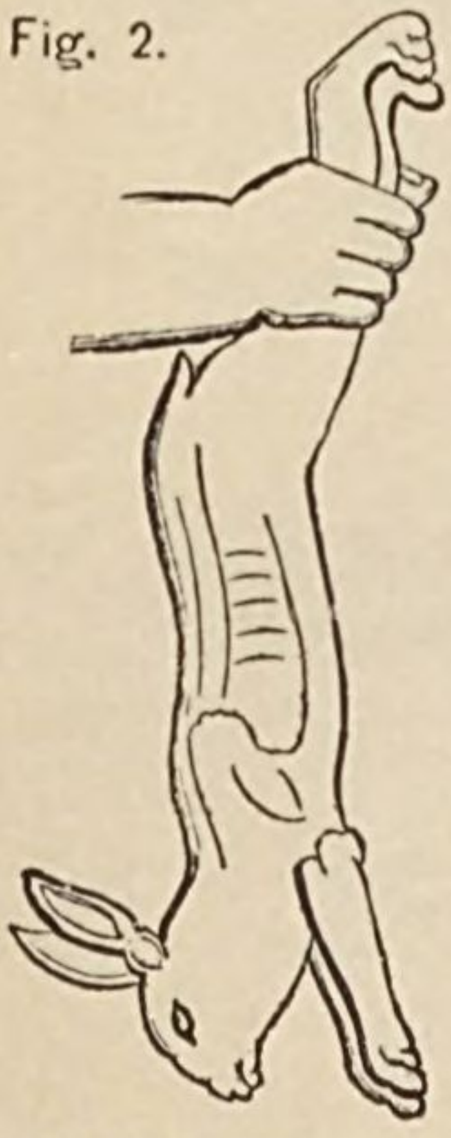
Hare and Eagles, from Nimrud.

Fig. 3.



Chase of Wild Ox, from Nimrud.

Fig. 2.



Hare, from Khorsabad.

Fig. 4.

Vulture, from Nimrud.

Vulture feeding on Corpse (Koyunjik).

cipal temples at Erech. On his signet-cylinder he takes the title of "King of Ur."

After the death of Ilgi, Chaldæan history is for a time a blank. It would seem, however, that while the Cushites were establishing themselves in the alluvial plain towards the mouths of the two great rivers, there was growing up a rival power, Turanian, or Ario-Turanian,[35] in the neighboring tract at the foot of the Zagros mountain-chain. One of the most ancient, perhaps *the* most ancient, of all the Asiatic cities, was Susa, the Elamitic capital, which formed the centre of a nationality that endured from the twenty-third century B.C. to the time of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 520) when it sank finally under the Persians.[36] A king of Elam, whose court was held at Susa, led, in the year B.C. 2286 (or a little earlier[37]), an expedition against the cities of Chaldæa, succeeded in carrying all before him, ravaged the country, took the towns, plundered the temples, and bore off into his own country, as the most striking evidence of victory, the images of the deities which the Babylonians especially reverenced.[38] This king's name, which was Kudur-Nakhunta, is thought to be the exact equivalent of one which has a world-wide celebrity, to wit, Zoroaster.[39] Now, according to Polyhistor[40] (who here certainly repeats Berosus), Zoroaster was the first of those eight Median kings who composed the second dynasty in Chaldæa, and occupied the throne from about B.C. 2286 to 2052. The Medes are represented by him as capturing Babylon at this time, and imposing themselves as rulers upon the country. Eight kings reigned in space of 234 (or 224) years, after which we hear no more of Medes, the sovereignty being (as it would seem) recovered by the natives. The coincidences of the conquest, the date, the foreign sovereignty and the name Zoroaster, tend to identify the Median dynasty of Berosus with a period of Susianian supremacy,[41] which the monuments show to have been established it Chaldæa at a date not long subsequent to the reigns of Urukh and Ilgi, and to have lasted for a considerable period.

There are five monarchs known to us who may be assigned to this dynasty. The first is the Kudur-Nakhunta above named, who conquered Babylonia and established his influence there, but continued to hold his court at Susa, governing his conquest probably by means of a viceroy or tributary king. Next to him, at no great interval, may be placed Kudur-Lagamer, the Chedor-laomer of Scripture,[42] who held a similar position to Kudur-Nakhunta, reigning himself in Elam, while his

vassals, Amraphel, Arioch, and Tidal (or Turgal[43]) held the governments respectfully of Shinar (or Upper Babylonia), Ellasar (Lower Babylonia or Chaldæa), and the Goïm or the nomadic races. Possessing thus an authority over the whole of the alluvial plain, and being able to collect together a formidable army, Kudur-Lagamer resolved on a expedition up the Euphrates, with the object of extending his dominion to the Mediterranean Sea and to the borders of Egypt. At first his endeavors were successful. Together with his confederate kings, he marched as far as Palestine, where he was opposed by the native princes, Bera, king of Sodom, Birsha, king of Gomorrah, Shinab, king of Admah, Shemeber, king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela or Zoar.[44] A great battle was fought between the two confederated armies in the vale of Siddim towards the lower end of the Dead Sea.[45] The invaders were victorious; and for twelve years Bera and his allies were content to own themselves subjects of the Elamitic king, whom they "served" for that period.[46] In the thirteenth year they rebelled: a general rising of the western nations seems to have taken place;[47] and in order to maintain his conquest it was necessary for the conqueror to make a fresh effort. Once more the four eastern kings entered Syria, and, after various successes against minor powers, engaged a second time in the valley of Siddim with their old antagonists, whom they defeated with great slaughter; after which they plundered the chief cities belonging to them.[48] It was on this occasion that Lot, the nephew of Abraham, was taken prisoner. Laden with booty of various kinds, and encumbered with a number of captives, male and female,[49] the conquering army set out upon its march home, and had reached the neighborhood of Damascus, when it was attacked and defeated by Abraham, who with a small band ventured under cover of night to fall upon the retreating host, which he routed and pursued to some distance.[50] The actual slaughter can scarcely have been great; but the prisoners and the booty taken had to be surrendered; the prestige of victory was lost; and the result appears to have been that the Mesopotamian monarch relinquished his projects, and, contenting himself with the fame acquired by such distant expeditions, made no further attempt to carry his empire beyond the Euphrates.[51]

The other three kings who may be assigned to the Elamitic dynasty are a father, son, and grandson, whose names appear upon the native monuments of Chaldæa in a position which is thought to imply that they were posterior to the kings Urukh

and Ilgi, but of greater antiquity than any other monarchs who have left memorials in the country. Their names are read as Sinti-shil-khak, Kudur-Mabuk, and Arid-Sin. Of Sinti-shil-khak nothing is known beyond the name.[52] Kudur-Mabuk is said in the inscriptions of his son to have "enlarged the dominions of the city of Ur;" and on his own bricks he bears the title of *Apda Martu*, which probably means "Conqueror of the West."[53] We may presume therefore that he was a warlike prince, like Kudur-Nakhunta and Kudur-Lagamer; and that, like the latter of these two kings, he made war in the direction of Syria, though he may not have carried his arms so far as his great predecessor. He and his son both held their court at Ur,[54] and, though of foreign origin, maintained the Chaldæan religion unchanged, making additions to the ancient temples, and worshipping the Chaldæan gods under the old titles.

The circumstances which brought the Elamitic dynasty to a close, and restored the Chaldæan throne to a line of native princes, and unrecorded by any historian; nor have the monuments hitherto thrown any light upon them. If we may trust the numbers of the Armenian Eusebius,[55] the dynasty which succeeded, ab. B.C. 2052, to the Susianian (or Median), though it counted eleven kings, bore rule for the short space of forty-eight years only. This would seem to imply either a state of great internal disturbance, or a time during which viceroys, removable at pleasure and often removed, governed the country under some foreign suzerain.[56] In either case, the third dynasty of Berosus may be said to mark a transition period between the time of foreign subjection and that of the recovery by the native Chaldæans of complete independence.

To the fourth Berosian dynasty, which held the throne for 458 years, from about B.C. 2004 to B.C. 1546, the monuments enable us to assign some eight or ten monarchs, whose inscriptions are characterized by a general resemblance, and by a character intermediate between the extreme rudeness of the more ancient and the comparative elegance and neatness of the later legends. Of these kings one of the earliest was a certain Ismi-dagon, the date of whose reign we are able to fix with a near approach to exactness. Sennacherib, in a rock inscription at Bavian, relates that in his tenth year (which was B.C. 692) he recovered from Babylon certain images of the gods which had been carried thither by *Merodach-iddin-akhi*, King of Babylon, after his defeat of Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, 418 years previously. And the same Tiglath Pileser

relates that he rebuilt a temple in Assyria, which had been taken down 60 years before, after it had lasted 641 years from its foundation by Shamas-Vul, sun of Ismi-dagon.[57] It results from these numbers that Ismi-dagon was king as early as B.C. 1850, or, probably a little earlier.[58]

The monuments furnish little information concerning Ismi-dagon beyond the evidence which they afford of the extension of this king's dominion into the upper part of the Mesopotamian valley, and especially into the country known in later times as Assyria. The fact that Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-dagon, built a temple at Kileh-Sherghat, implies necessarily that the Chaldæans at this time bore sway in the upper region. Shamas-Vul appears to have been, not the eldest, but the second son of the monarch, and must be viewed as ruling over Assyria in the capacity of viceroy, either for his father or his brother. Such evidence as we possess of the condition of Assyria about this period seems to show that it was weak and insignificant, administered ordinarily by Babylonian satraps or governors, whose office was one of no great rank or dignity.[59]

In Chaldæa, Ismi-dagon was succeeded by a son, whose name is read, somewhat doubtfully, as Gunguna or Gurguna.[60] This prince is known to us especially as the builder of the great public cemeteries which now form the most conspicuous objects among the ruins of Mugheir, and the construction of which is so remarkable.[61] Ismi-dagon and his son must have occupied the Chaldæan throne during most of the latter half of the nineteenth century before our era—from about B.C. 1850 to B.C. 1800.

Hitherto there has been no great difficulty in determining the order of the monumental kings, from the position of their bricks in the principal Chaldæan ruins and the general character of their inscriptions. But the relative place occupied in the series by the later monarchs is rendered very doubtful by their records being scattered and unconnected, while their styles of inscription vary but slightly. It is most unfortunate that no writer has left us a list corresponding in Babylonian history with that which Manetho put on record for Egyptian; since we are thus compelled to arrange our names in an order which rests on little more than conjecture.[62]

The monumental king who is thought to have approached the nearest to Gurguna is Naram-Sin, of whom a record has been discovered at Babylon,[63] and who is mentioned in a late inscription[64] as the builder, in conjunction with his father, of a

temple at the city of Agana. His date is probably about B.C. 1750. The seat of his court may be conjectured to have been Babylon, which had by this time risen into metropolitan consequence. It is evident that, as time went on, the tendency was to remove the seat of government and empire to a greater distance from the sea. The early monarchs reign at Ur (Mugheir), and leave no traces of themselves further north than Niffer. Sin-Shada holds his court at Erech (Warka), twenty-five miles above Mugheir; while Naram-Sin is connected with the still more northern city of Babylon. We shall find a similar tendency in Assyria, as it rose into power. In both cases we may regard the fact as indicative of a gradual spread of empire *towards the north*, and of the advance of civilization and settled government in that direction.

A king, who disputes the palm of antiquity with Naram-Sin, has left various records at Erech or Warka,[65] which appears to have been his capital city. It is proposed to call him Sin-Shada.[66] He constructed, or rather re-built, the upper terrace of the Bowariyeh ruin, or great temple, which Urukh raised at Warka to Beltis; and his bricks are found in the doorway of another large ruin (the *Wuswas*) at the same place; it is believed, however, that in this latter building they are not *in situ*, but have been transferred from some earlier edifice.[67] His reign fell probably in the latter part of the 18th, century B.C.

Several monarchs of the *Sin* series—*i.e*, monarchs into whose names the word *Sin*, the name of the Moon-god, enters as an element—now present themselves. The most important of them has been called Zur-Sin. This king erected some buildings at Mugheir; but he is best known as the founder of the very curious town whose ruins bear at the present day the name of Abu-Shahrein. A description of the principal buildings at this site has been already given.[68] They exhibit certain improvements on the architecture of the earlier times, and appear to have been very richly ornamented, at least in parts. At the same time they contain among their *débris* remarkable proofs of the small advance which had as yet been made in some of the simplest arts. Flint knives and other implements, stone hatchets, chisels, and nails, are abundant in the ruins; and though the use of metal is not unknown, it seems to have been comparatively rare. When a metal is found, it is either gold or bronze, no trace of iron (except in ornaments of the person) appearing in any of the Chaldæan remains. Zur-Sin, Rim-Sin,[69]

and three or four other monarchs of the *Sin* series, whose names are imperfect or uncertain, may be assigned to the period included between B.C. 1700 and B.C. 1546.

Another monarch, and the only other monumental name that we can assign to Berosus's fourth dynasty, is a certain Nur-Vul, who appears by the Chaldæan sale-tablets to have been the immediate predecessor of Rim-Sin, the last king of the *Sin* series. Nur-Vul has left no buildings or inscriptions; and we seem to see in the absence of all important monuments at this time a period of depression, such as commonly in the history of nations precedes and prepares the way for a new dynasty or a conquest.

The remaining monumental kings belong almost certainly to the fifth, or Arabian, dynasty of Berosus, to which he assigns the period of 245 years—from about B.C. 1546 to B.C. 1300. That the list comprises as many as fifteen names, whereas Berosus speaks of nine Arabian kings only, need not surprise us, since it is not improbable that Berosus may have omitted kings who reigned for less than a year.[70] To arrange the fifteen monarchs[71] in chronological order is, unfortunately, impossible. Only three of them have left monuments. The names of the others are found on linguistic and other tablets, in a connection which rarely enables us to determine anything with respect to their relative priority or posteriority.[72] We can, however, definitely place seven names, two at the beginning and five toward the end of the series, thus leaving only eight whose position in the list is undetermined.

The series commences with a great king, named Khammurabi, who was probably the founder of the dynasty, the "Arab" chief who, taking advantage of the weakness and depression of Chaldæa under the latter monarchs of the fourth dynasty, by intrigue or conquest established his dominion over the country, and left the crown to his descendants. Khammurabi is especially remarkable as having been the first (so far as appears) of the Babylonian monarchs to conceive the notion of carrying out a system of artificial irrigation in his dominions, by means of a canal derived from one of the great rivers. The *Nahar-Khammu-rabi* ("River of Khammu-rabi"), whereof he boasts in one of his inscriptions,[73] was no doubt, as he states, "a blessing to the Babylonians"—it "changed desert plains into well-watered fields; it spread around fertility an abundance"—it brought a whole district, previously barren, into cultivation, and it set an example, which the best of the later

monarchs followed, of a mode whereby the productiveness of the country might be increased to an almost inconceivable extent.

Khammu-rabi was also distinguished as a builder. He repaired the great temple of the Sun at Senkereh,[74] and constructed for himself a new palace at Kalwadha, or Chilmad, not far from the modern Baghdad.[75] His inscriptions have been found at Babylon, at Zerghul, and at Tel-Sifr; and it is thought probable that he made Babylon his ordinary place of residence. His reign probably covered the space from about B.C. 1546 to B.C. 1520, when he left his crown to his son, Samsu-iluna. Of this monarch our notices are exceedingly scanty. We know him only from the Tel-Sifr clay tablets, several of which are dated by the years of his reign. He held the crown probably from about B.C. 1520 to B.C. 1500.

About sixty or seventy years after this we come upon a group of names, belonging almost certainly to this same dynasty, which possess a peculiar interest, inasmuch as they serve to connect the closing period of the First, or Chaldæan, with the opening portion of the Second, or Assyrian, Monarchy. A succession of five Babylonian monarchs is mentioned on an Assyrian tablet, the object of which is to record the synchronous history of the two countries.[76] These monarchs are contemporary with independent Assyrian princes, and have relations toward them which are sometimes peaceful, sometimes warlike. Kara-in-das, the first of the five, is on terms of friendship with Asshur-bel-nisi-su, king of Assyria, and concludes with him a treaty of alliance. This treaty is renewed between his successor, Purna-puriyas, and Buzur-Asshur, the successor of Asshur-bel-nisi-su on the throne of Assyria. Not long afterwards a third Assyrian monarch, Asshur-upallit, obtains the crown, and Purna-puriyas not only continues on the old terms of amity with him, but draws the ties which unite the two royal families closer by marrying Asshur-upallit's daughter. The issue of this marriage is a prince named Kara-khar-das, who on the death of Purna-puriyas ascends the throne of Babylon. But now a revolution occurs. A certain Nazi-bugas rises in revolt, puts Kara-khar-das to death, and succeeds in making himself king. Hereupon Asshur-upallit takes up arms, invades Babylonia, deseats and kills Nazi-bugas, and places upon the throne a brother of the murdered Kara-khar-das, a younger son of Purna-puriyas, by name Kurri-galzu, or Durri-galzu. These events may be as

signed with much probability to the period between B.C. 1440 and B.C. 1380.[77]

Of the five consecutive monarchs presented to our notice in this interesting document, two are known to us by their own inscriptions. Memorials of Purna-puriyas and Kurri-galzu, very similar in their general character, have been found in various parts of Chaldæa. Those of Purna-puriyas come from Senkereh,[78] the ancient Larsa, and consist of bricks, showing that he repaired the great temple of the Sun at that city—which was originally built by Urukh. Kurri-galzu's memorials comprise bricks from Mugheir (Ur) and Akkerkuf,[79] together with his signet-seal, which was found at Baghdad in the year 1860.[80] [Pl. XXI., Fig. 4.] It also appears by an inscription of Nabonidus[81] that he repaired a temple at the city of Agana, and left an inscription there.

But the chief fame of Kurri-galzu arises from his having been the founder of an important city. The remarkable remains at Akkerkuf, of which an account has been given in a former chapter,[82] mark the site of a town of his erection. It is conjectured with some reason that this place is the Dur-Kurri-galzu of the later Assyrian inscriptions—a place of so much consequence in the time of Sargon that he calls it "the key of the country."

The remaining monarchs, who are on strong grounds of probability, etymological and other, assigned to this dynasty are Saga-raktiyas,[83] the founder of a Temple of the male and female Sun at Sippara,[84] Ammidi-kaga, Simbar-sikhu, Kharbi-sikhu, Ulam-puriyas, Nazi-urdas, Mili-sikhu, and Kara-kharbi. Nothing is known at present of the position which any of these monarchs held in the dynasty, or of their relationship to the kings previously mentioned, or to each other. Most of them are known to us simply from their occurrence in a bilingual list of kings, together with Khammu-rabi, Kurri-galzu, and Purna-puriyas. The list in question appears not to be chronological.[85]

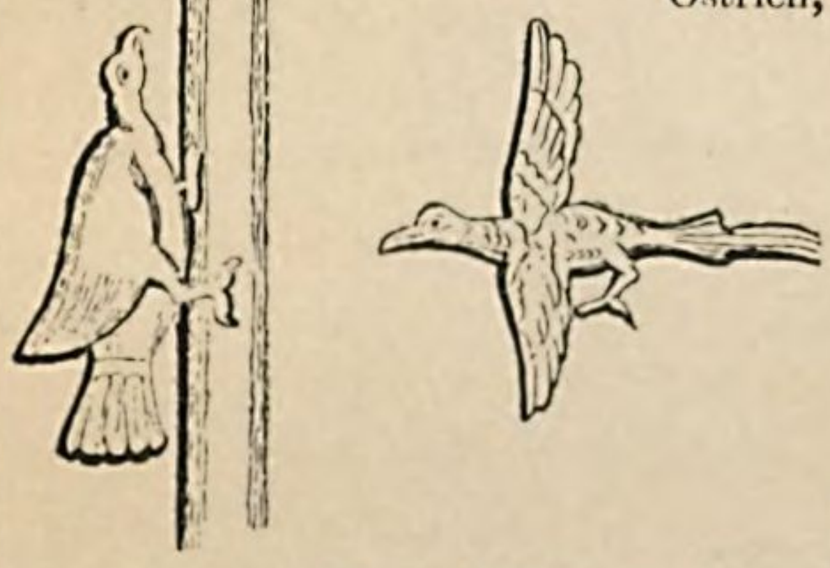
Modern research has thus supplied us with memorials (or at any rate with the names) of some thirty kings, who ruled in the country properly termed Chaldæa at a very remote date. Their antiquity is evidenced by the character of their buildings and of their inscriptions, which are unmistakably rude and archaic. It is further indicated by the fact that they are the builders of certainly the most ancient edifices whereof the country contains any trace. The probable connection of two

Ostrich, from Khorsabad.

Ostrich, from a cylinder.

Partridges, from Khorsabad.

Fig 2.



Unknown Birds (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.

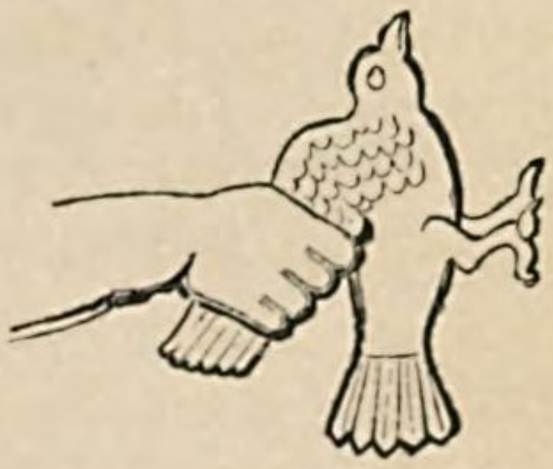
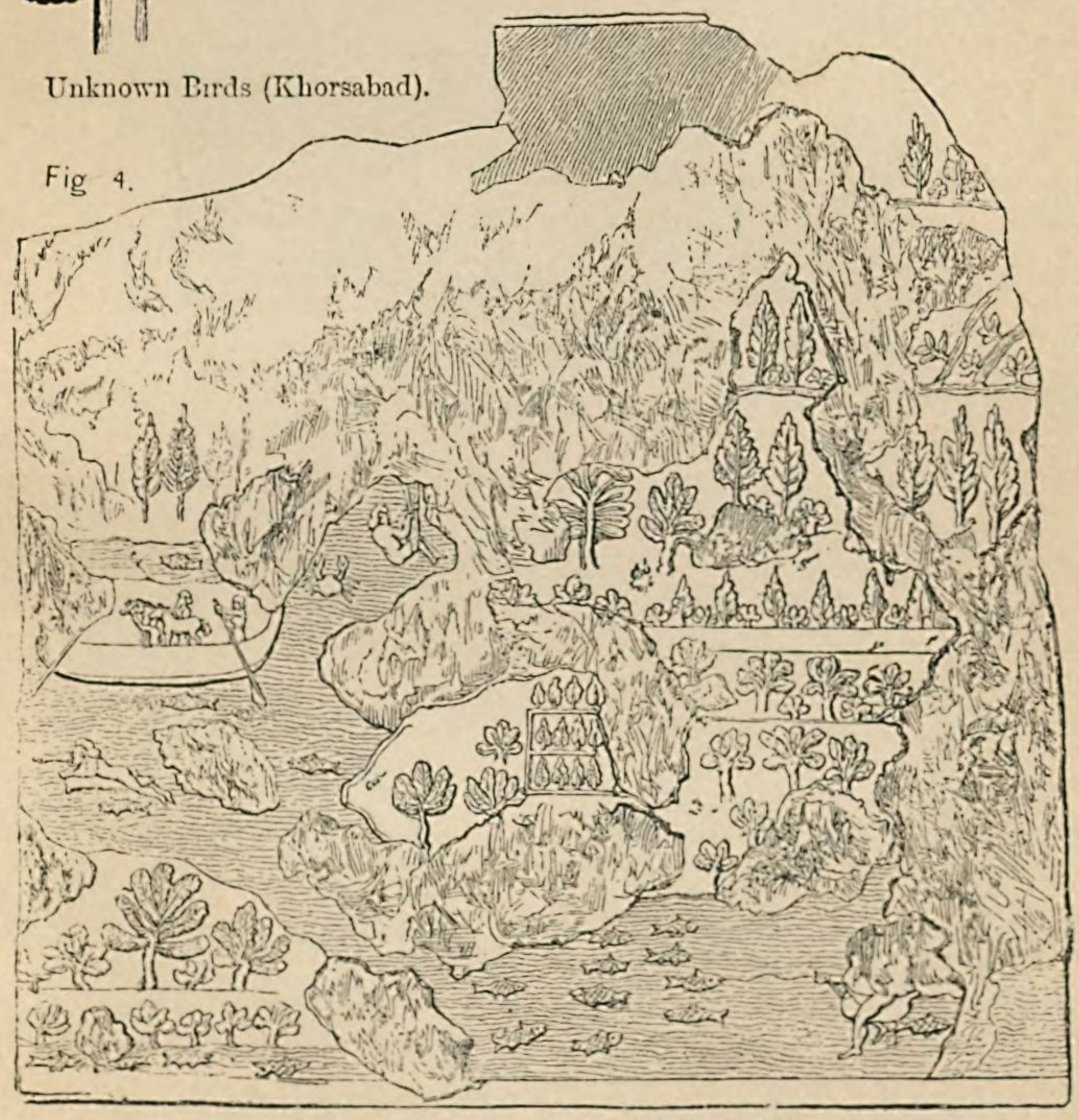
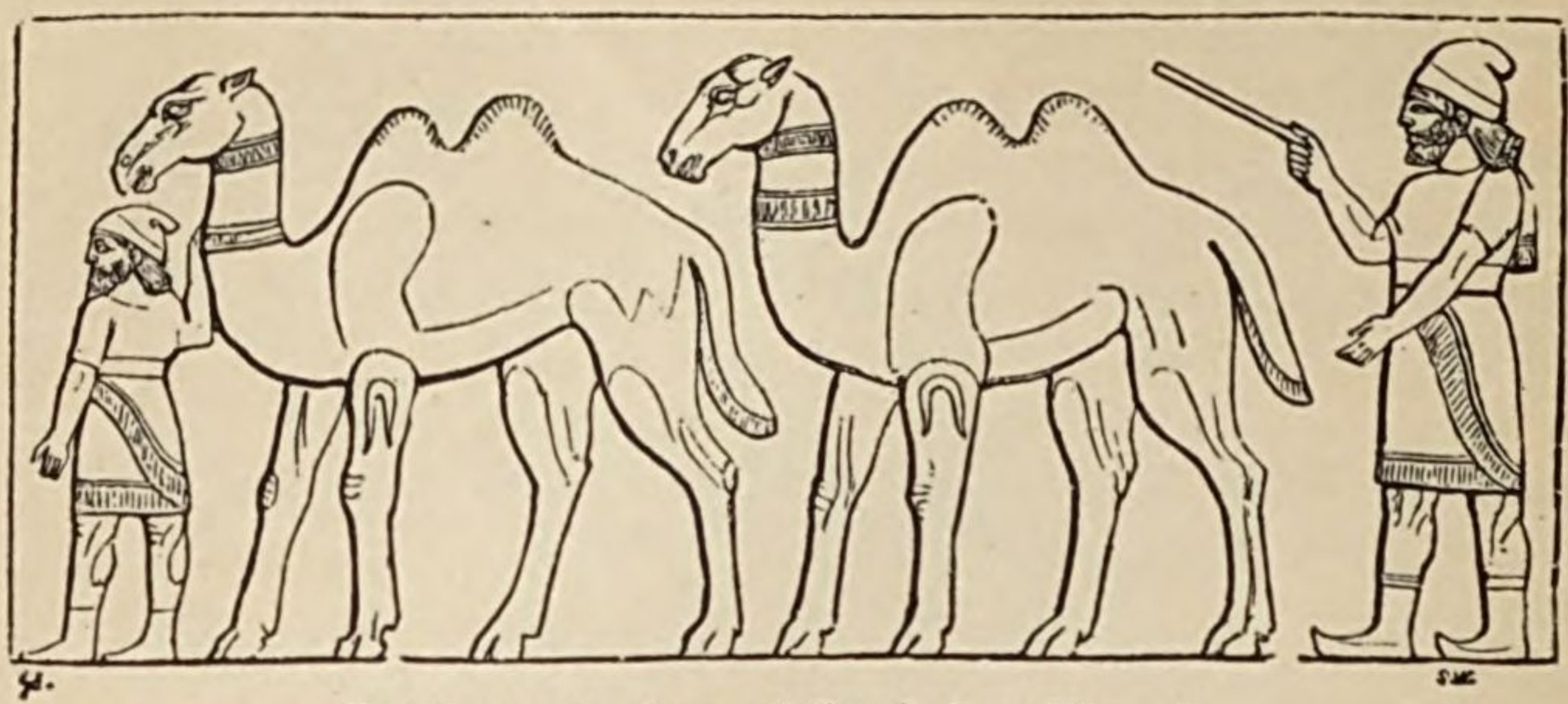


Fig 4.



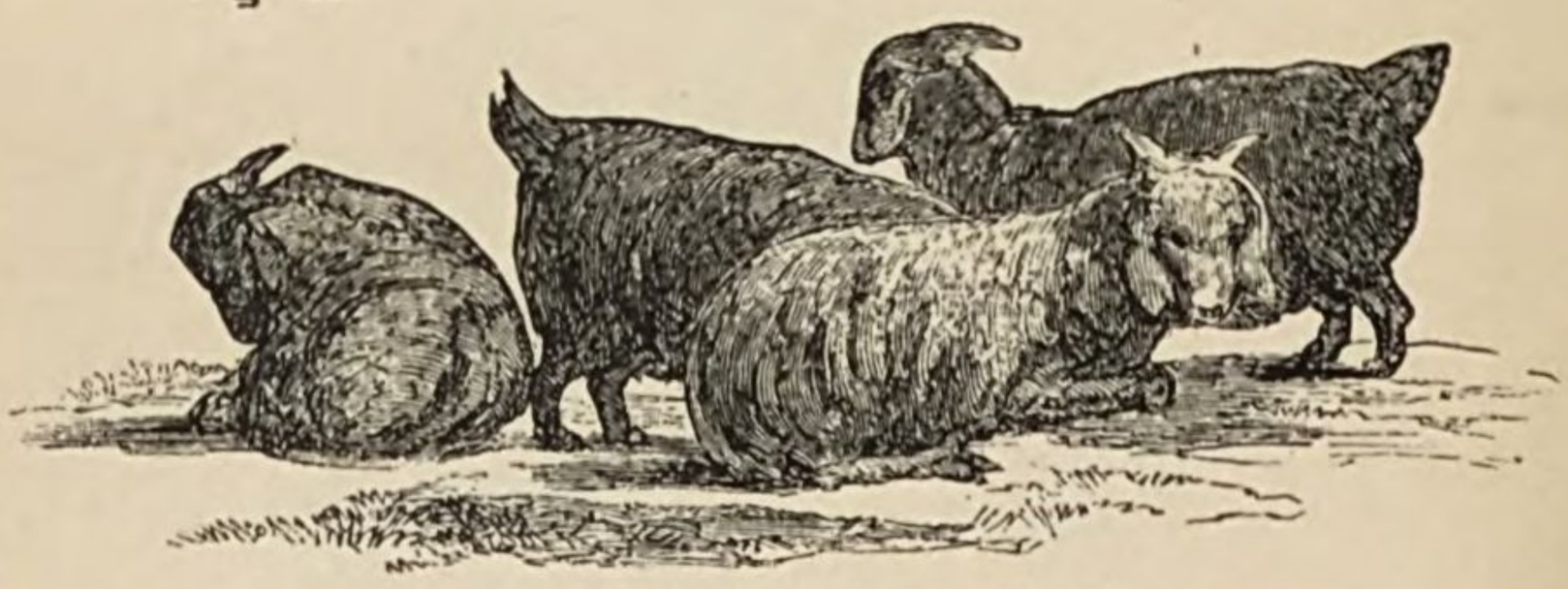
Assyrian Garden and Fish-pond (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



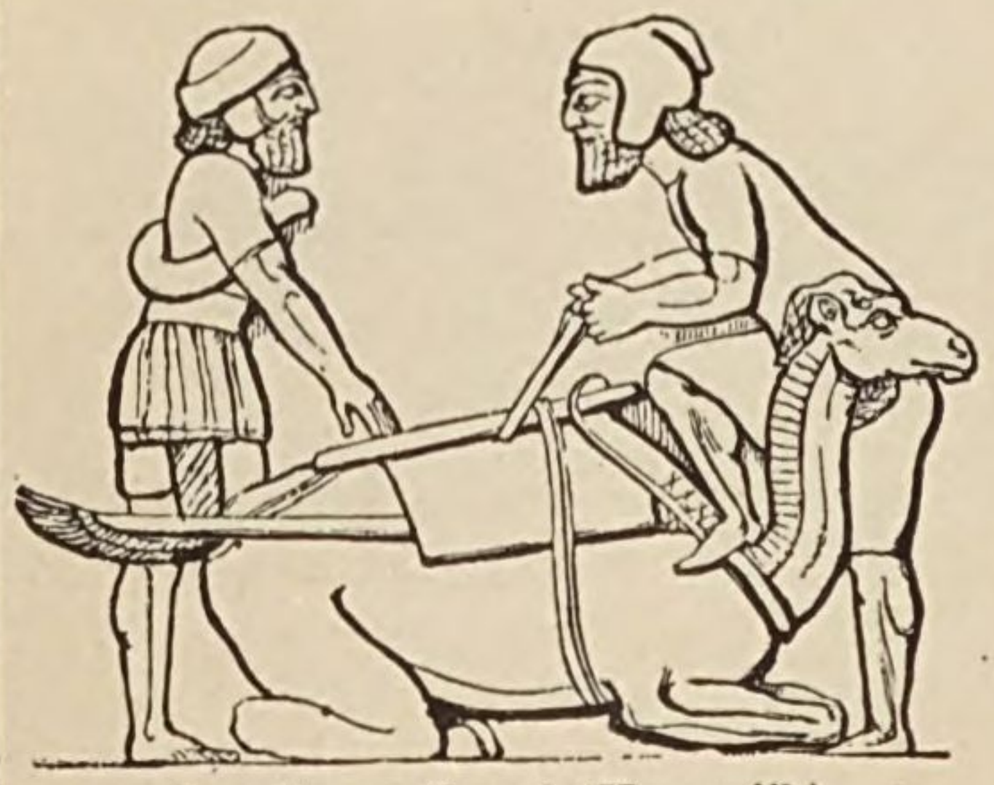
Bactrian, or two-humped Camel, from Nimrud.

Fig 2.



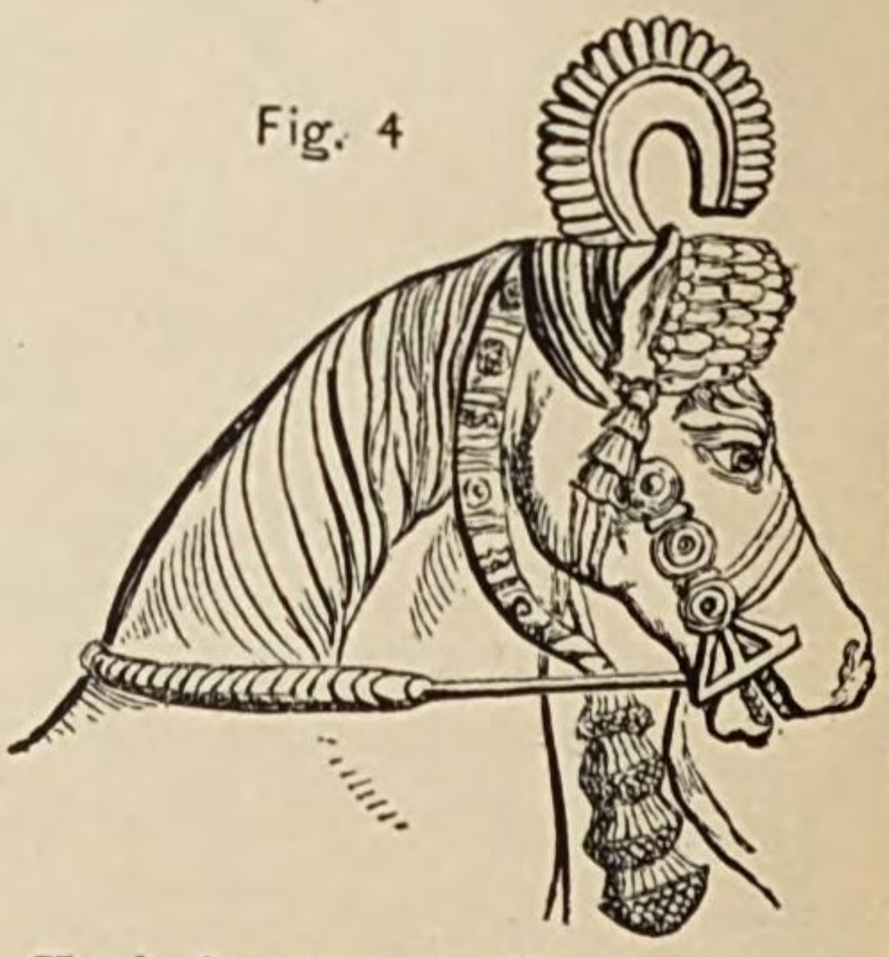
Mesopotamian Sheep (after Layard)

Fig. 3.



Loading a Camel (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4



Head of an Assyrian Horse, Koyunjik (after Layard).

KINGS OF CHALDÆA.

Dynasty.	B.C. to B.C.		Kings.	Events, etc.
I. (Chaldæan)	. .	2286	Nimrod	Founds the Empire.
			* * * *	
			* * * *	
			Urukh	Builds numerous temples.
			Ilgi (son).	
			* * * *	
II. (Elamite)	2286	2052	Kudur-Nakhunta (Zoroaster).	Conquers Chaldæa, B.C. 2286.
			* * * *	
			Kudur-Lagamer . .	Contemporary with Abraham. Makes two expeditions into Syria.
			* * * *	
			Sinti-shil-khak.	
			Kudur-Mabuk (son)	Wars in Syria.
			Arid-Sin (son).	
			* * * *	
III.	2052	2004	* * * *	
			* * * *	
IV. (Chaldæan)	2004	1546	* * * *	
			* * * *	
			Ismi-dagon. . . .	Reigns from about B.C. 1850 to 1830.
			Gurguna (son) . .	His brother, Shamas-Vul, rules in Assyria.
			* * * *	
			Naram-Sin.	
			* * * *	
			Bilat**at (a queen).	
			Sin-Shada (son).	
			* * * *	
			Zur-Sin.	
			* * * *	
			Nur-Vul.	Reigns from about B.C. 1586 to 1566.
			Rim-Sin	Reigns from about B.C. 1566 to 1546.
V. (Arab)	1546	1301	Khammu-rabi . .	Reigns from about B.C. 1546 to 1520.
			Samsu-iluna (son).	Reigns from about B.C. 1520 to 1500.
			* * * *	
			* * * *	
			Kara-in-das. . . .	Contemporary with Asshur-bel-nisi-su, ab. B.C. 1440.
			Purna-puriyas . .	Contemporary with Buzur-Asshur, B.C. 1420–1400
			Kara-khar-das (son)	Contemporary with Asshur-upallit, B.C. 1400–1380.
			Nazi-bugas. . . .	
			Kurri-galzu (brother of Kara-khar-das)	
			* * * *	Chaldæa conquered by Tiglathi-Nin.
		1300	* * * *	

of them[86] with the only king known previously from good authority to have reigned in the country during the primitive ages confirms the conclusion drawn from the appearance of the remains themselves; which is further strengthened by the monumental dates assigned to two[87] of them, which place them respectively in the twenty-third and the nineteenth century before our era. That the kings belong to one series, and (speaking broadly) to one time, is evidenced by the similarity of the titles which they use, by their uninterrupted worship of the same gods, and by the general resemblance of the language and mode of writing which they employ.[88] That the time to which they belong is anterior to the rise of Assyria to greatness appears from the synchronism of the later monarchs of the Chaldæan with the earliest of the Assyrian list, as well as from the fact that the names borne by the Babylonian kings after Assyria became the leading power in the country are not only different, but of a different type. If it be objected that the number of thirty kings is insufficient for the space over which they have in our scheme been spread, we may answer that it has never been supposed by any one that the twenty-nine or thirty kings, of whom distinct mention has been made in the foregoing account, are a complete list of all the Chaldæan sovereigns. On the contrary, it is plain that they are a very incomplete list, like that which Herodotus gives of the kings of Egypt, or that which the later Romans possessed of their early monarchs. The monuments themselves present indications of several other names of kings, belonging evidently to the same series,[89] which are too obscure or too illegible for transliteration. And there may, of course, have been many others of whom no traces remain, or of whom none have been as yet found. On the other hand, it may be observed, that the number of the early Chaldæan kings reported by Polyhistor[90] is preposterous. If sixty-eight consecutive monarchs held the Chaldæan throne between B.C. 2286 and B.C. 1546, they must have reigned on an average, less than eleven years apiece. Nay, if forty-nine ruled between B.C. 2004 and B.C. 1546, covering a space of little more than four centuries and a half—which is what Berosus is made to assert—these later monarchs cannot even have reigned so long as *ten* years each, an average which may be pronounced quite impossible in a settled monarchy such as the Chaldæan. The probability would seem to be that Berosus has been misreported, his numbers having suffered corruption during their

passage through so many hands,[91] and being in this instance quite untrustworthy. We may conjecture that the actual number of reigns which he intended to allow his fourth dynasty was nineteen,[92] or at the utmost twenty-nine, the former of which numbers would give the common average of twenty-four years, while the latter would produce the less usual but still possible one of sixteen years.

The monarchy which we have had under review is one, no doubt, rather curious from its antiquity than illustrious from its great names, or admirable for the extent of its dominions. Less ancient than the Egyptian, it claims the advantage of priority over every empire or kingdom which has grown up upon the soil of Asia. The Arian, Turanian, and even the Semitic tribes, appear to have been in the nomadic condition, when the Cushite settlers in Lower Babylonia betook themselves to agriculture, erected temples, built cities, and established a strong and settled government. The leaven which was to spread by degrees through the Asiatic peoples was first deposited on the shores of the Persian Gulf at the mouth of the "Great River;"[93] and hence civilization, science, letters, art, extended themselves northward, and eastward, and westward. Assyria, Media, Semitic Babylonia, Persia, as they derived from Chaldæa the character of their writing,[94] so were they indebted to the same country for their general notions of government and administration, for their architecture, their decorative art, and still more for their science and literature. Each people no doubt modified in some measure the boon received, adding more or less of its own to the common inheritance. But Chaldæa stands forth as the great parent and original inventress of Asiatic civilization, without any rival that can reasonably dispute her claims.

The great men of the Empire are Nimrod, Urukh, and Chedor-laomer. Nimrod, the founder, has the testimony of Scripture that he was "a mighty one in the earth;"[95] "a mighty hunter;"[96] the establisher of a "kingdom," when kingdoms had scarcely begun to be known; the builder of four great and famous cities, "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar,"[97] or Mesopotamia. To him belong the merit of selecting a site peculiarly fitted for the development of a great power in the early ages of the world,[98] and of binding men together into a community which events proved to possess within it the elements of prosperity and permanence. Whether he had, indeed, the rebellious and apostate character

which numerous traditions, Jewish, Arabian, and Armenian,[99] assign to him ; whether he was in reality concerned in the building of the tower related in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Genesis,[100] we have no means of positively determining. The language of Scripture with regard to Nimrod is laudatory rather than the contrary ;[101] and it would seem to have been from a misapprehension of the *nexus* of the Mosaic narrative that the traditions above mentioned originated.[102] Nimrod, "the mighty hunter *before the Lord*," had not in the days of Moses that ill reputation which attached to him in later ages, when he was regarded as the great Titan or Giant, who made war upon the gods, and who was at once the builder of the tower, and the persecutor who forced Abraham to quit his original country. It is at least doubtful whether we ought to allow any weight at all to the additions and embellishments with which later writers, so much wiser than Moses, have overlaid the simplicity of his narrative.

Urukh, whose fame may possibly have reached the Romans,[103] was the great Chaldæan *architect*. To him belongs, apparently, the conception of the Babylonian temple, with its rectangular base, carefully placed so as to present its angles to the four cardinal points, its receding stages, its buttresses, its drains, its sloped walls, its external staircases for ascent, and its ornamental shrine crowning the whole. At any rate, if he was not the first to conceive and erect such structures, he set the example of building them on such a scale and with such solidity as to secure their long continuance, and render them well-nigh imperishable. There is no appearance in all Chaldæa, so far as it has been explored, of any building which can be even probably assigned to a date anterior to Urukh. The attempted tower was no doubt earlier ; and it *may* have been a building of the same type,[104] but there is no reason to believe that any remnant, or indeed any trace, of this primitive edifice, has continued to exist to our day. The structures of the most archaic character throughout Chaldæa are, one and all, the work of King Urukh, who was not content to adorn his metropolitan city only with one of the new edifices, but added a similar ornament to each of the great cities within his empire.[105]

The great builder was followed shortly by the great *conqueror*. Kudur-Lagamer, the Elamitic prince, who, more than twenty centuries before our era, having extended his dominion over Babylonia and the adjoining regions, marched an army a distance of 1200 miles[106] from the shores of the Persian Gulf

to the Dead Sea, and held Palestine and Syria in subjection for twelve years, thus effecting conquests which were not again made from the same quarter till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, fifteen or sixteen hundred years afterward, has a good claim to be regarded as one of the most remarkable personages in the world's history—being, as he is, the forerunner and prototype of all those great Oriental conquerors who from time to time have built up vast empires in Asia out of heterogeneous materials, which have in a longer or a shorter space successively crumbled to decay. At a time when the kings of Egypt had never ventured beyond their borders, unless it were for a foray in Ethiopia,[107] and when in Asia no monarch had held dominion over more than a few petty tribes, and a few hundred miles of territory, he conceived the magnificent notion of binding into one the manifold nations inhabiting the vast tract which lies between the Zagros mountain-range and the Mediterranean. Lord by inheritance (as we may presume) of Elam and Chaldæa or Babylonia, he was not content with these ample tracts, but, coveting more, proceeded boldly on a career of conquest up the Euphrates valley, and through Syria, into Palestine. Successful here, he governed for twelve years dominions extending near a thousand miles from east to west, and from north to south probably not much short of five hundred. It was true that he was not able to *hold* this large extent of territory; but the attempt and the success temporarily attending it are memorable circumstances, and were probably long held in remembrance through Western Asia, where they served as a stimulus and incentive to the ambition of later monarchs.

These, then, are the great men of the Chaldæan empire. Its extent, as we have seen, varied greatly at different periods. Under the kings of the first dynasty—to which Urukh and Ilgi belonged—it was probably confined to the alluvium, which seems then to have been not more than 300 miles in length along the course of the rivers,[108] and which is about 70 or 80 miles in breadth from the Tigris to the Arabian desert. In the course of the second dynasty it received a vast increase, being carried in one direction to the Elamitic mountains, and in another to the Mediterranean, by the conquest of Kudur-Nakhunta and Chedor-laomer. On the defeat of the latter prince it again contracted, though to what extent we have no means of determining. It is probable that Elam or Susiana, and not unlikely that the Euphrates valley, for a considerable distance

above Hit, formed parts of the Chaldæan Empire after the loss of Syria and Palestine. Assyria occupied a similar position, at any rate from the time of Ismi-dagon, whose son built a temple at Kileh-Sherghat or Asshur. There is reason to think that the subjection of Assyria continued to the very end of the dynasty, and that this region, whose capital was at Kileh-Sherghat, was administered by viceroys deriving their authority from Chaldæan monarchs.[109] These monarchs, as has been observed,[110] gradually removed their capital more and more northwards; by which it would appear as if their empire tended to progress in that direction.

The different dynasties which ruled in Chaldæa prior to the establishment of Assyrian influence, whether Chaldæan, Susianian, or Arabian, seem to have been of kindred race; and, whether they established themselves by conquest, or in a more peaceful manner, to have made little, if any, change in the language, religion, or customs of the Empire. The so-called Arab kings, if they are really (as we have supposed), Khammurabi and his successors, show themselves by their names and their inscriptions to be as thoroughly proto-Chaldæan as Urukh or Ilgi. But with the commencement of the Assyrian period the case is altered. From the time of Tiglathi-Nin (about B.C. 1300), the Assyrian conqueror who effected the subjugation of Babylon, a strong Semitizing influence made itself felt in the lower country—the monarchs cease to have Turanian or Cushite and bear instead thoroughly Assyrian names; inscriptions, when they occur, are in the Assyrian language and character. The entire people seems by degrees to have been Assyrianized, or at any rate Semitized—assimilated, that is, to the stock of nations to which the Jews, the northern Arabs, the Aramæans or Syrians, the Phœnicians, and the Assyrians belong. Their language fell into disuse, and grew to be a learned tongue studied by the priests and the *literati;* their Cushite character was lost, and they became, as a people, scarcely distinguishable from the Assyrians.[111] After six centuries and a half of submission and insignificance, the Chaldæans, however, began to revive and recover themselves—they renewed the struggle for national independence, and in the year B.C. 625 succeeded in establishing a second kingdom, which will be treated of in a later volume as the fourth or Babylonian Monarchy. Even when this monarchy met its death at the hands of Cyrus the Great, the nationality of the Chaldæans was not swept away. We find them recognized under the Persians,[112] and even un-

der the Parthians,[113] as a distinct people. When at last they cease to have a separate national existence, their name remains: and it is in memory of the successful cultivation of their favorite science by the people of Nimrod from his time to that of Alexander, that the professors of astronomical and astrological learning under the Roman Emperors receive, from the poets and historians of the time, the appellation of "Chaldæans."[114]

THE SECOND MONARCHY.

ASSYRIA.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

"Τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίης."—HEROD. i. 192.

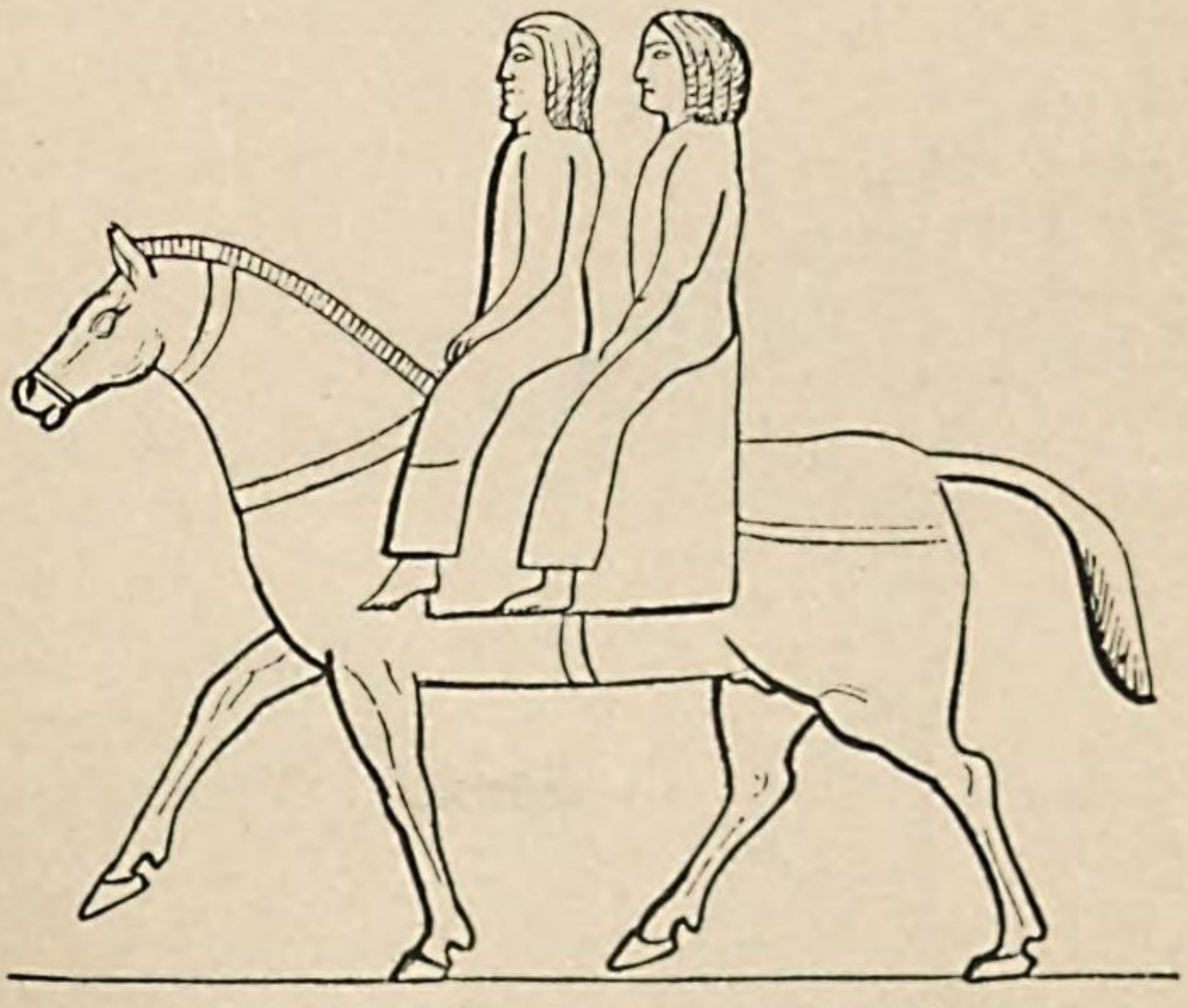
THE site of the second—or great Assyrian—monarchy was the upper portion of the Mesopotamian valley. The cities which successively formed its capitals lay, all of them, upon the middle Tigris; and the heart of the country was a district on either side that river, enclosed within the thirty-fifth and thirty-seventh parallels. By degrees these limits were enlarged; and the term Assyria came to be used, in a loose and vague way, of a vast and ill-defined tract extending on all sides from this central region. Herodotus[1] considered the whole of Babylonia to be a mere district of Assyria. Pliny[2] reckoned to it all Mesopotamia. Strabo[3] gave it, besides these regions, a great portion of Mount Zagros (the modern Kurdistan), and all Syria as far as Cilicia, Judæa, and Phœnicia.

If, leaving the conventional, which is thus vague and unsatisfactory, we seek to find certain natural limits which we may regard as the proper boundaries of the country, in two directions we seem to perceive an almost unmistakable line of demarcation. On the east the high mountain-chain of Zagros, penetrable only in one or two places, forms a barrier of the most marked character, and is beyond a doubt the natural limit for which we are looking. On the south a less striking, but not less clearly defined, line—formed by the abutment of the upper and slightly elevated plain on the alluvium of the lower valley[4]—separates Assyria from Babylonia, which is best regarded as a distinct country. In the two remaining directions, there is more doubt as to the most proper limit. Northwards,

Fig 1

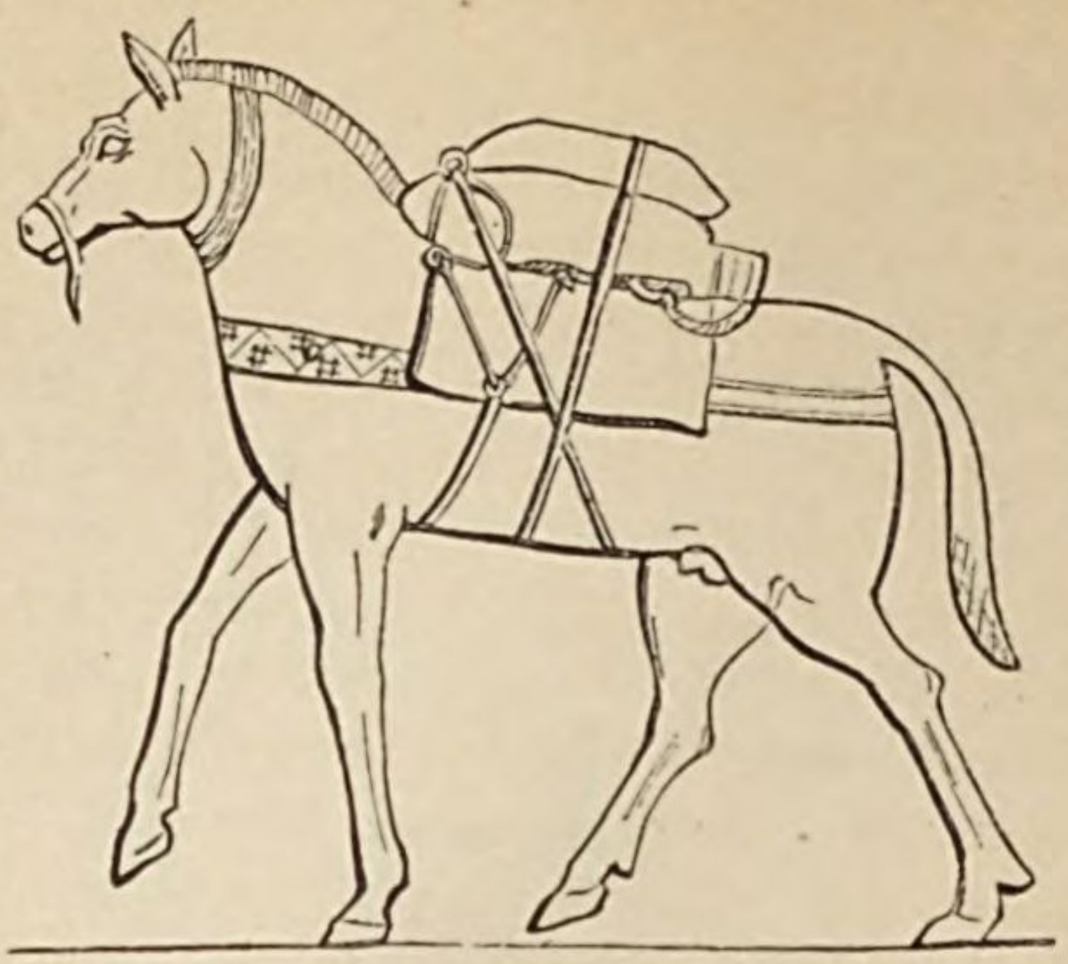
Assyrian Horse, from Nimrud.

Fig. 2.



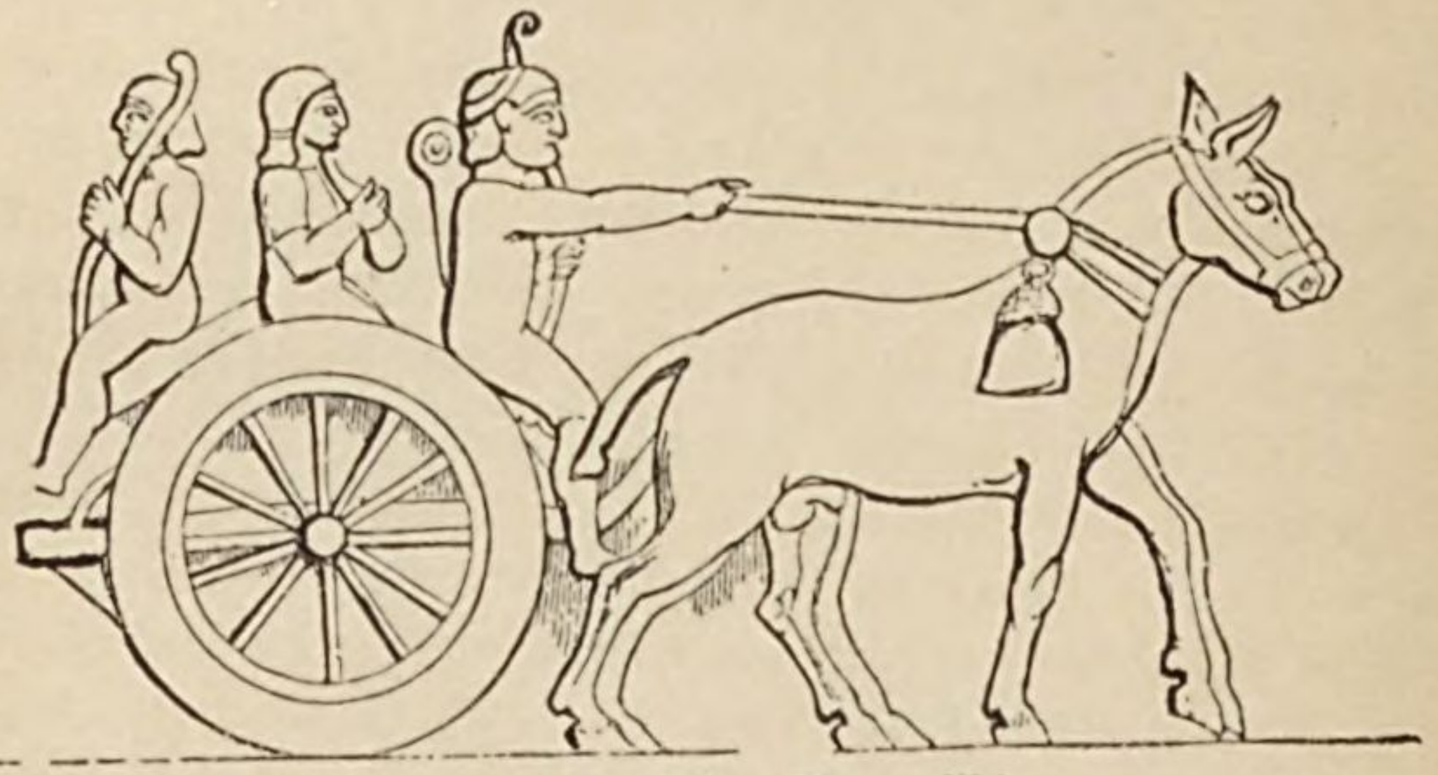
Mule ridden by two women (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



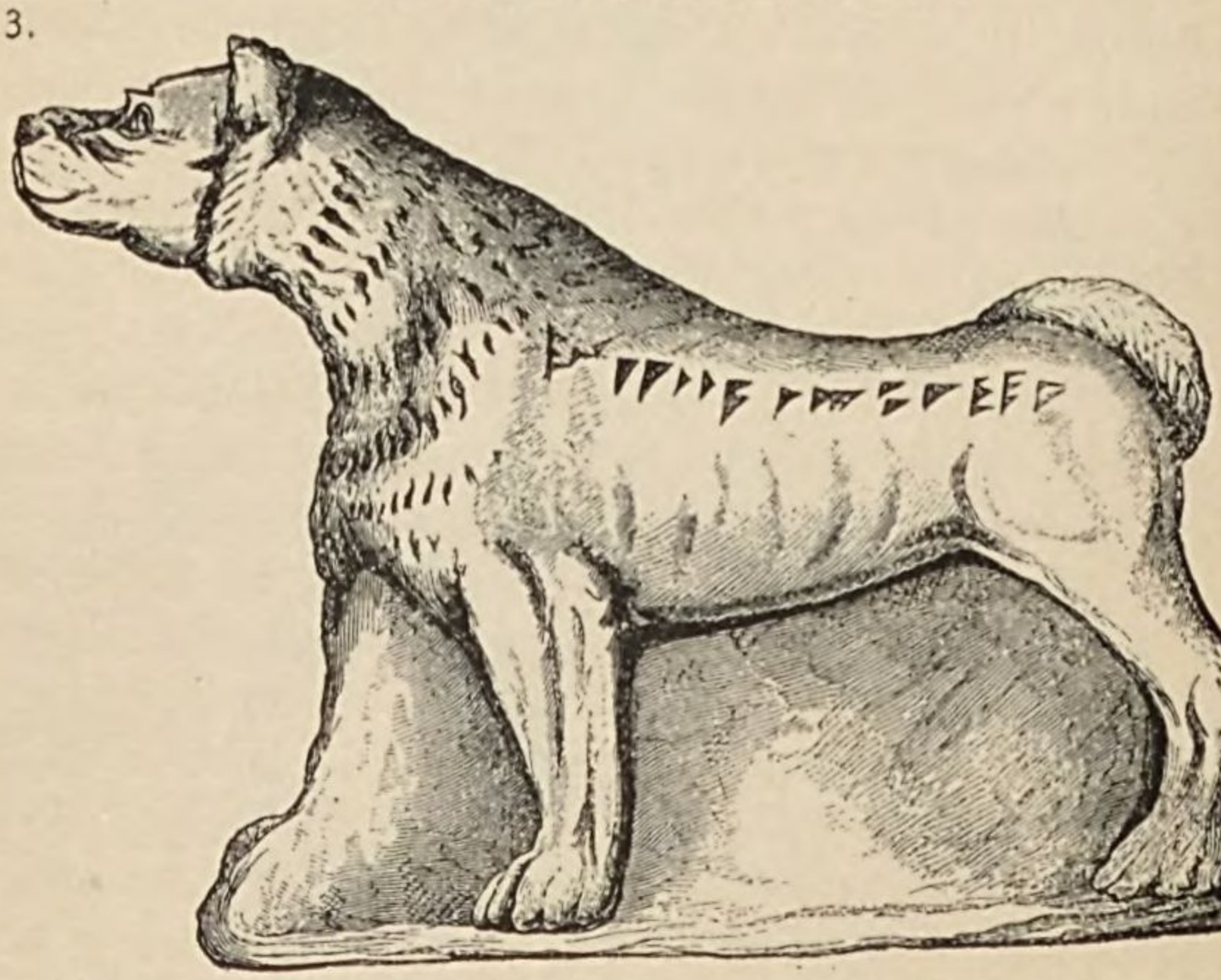
Loaded Mule (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2



Cart drawn by Mules (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Dog modelled in clay, from the palace of Asshur-bani-pal, Koyunjik.

we may either view Mount Masius as the natural boundary, or the course of the Tigris from Diarbekr to Til, or even perhaps the Armenian mountain-chain north of this portion of the Tigris, from whence that river receives its early tributaries.[5] Westward, we might confine Assyria to the country watered by the affluents of the Tigris,[6] or extend it so as to include the Khabour and its tributaries, or finally venture to carry it across the whole of Mesopotamia, and make it be bounded by the Euphrates. On the whole it is thought that in both the doubted cases the wider limits are historically the truer ones. Assyrian remains cover the entire country between the Tigris and the Khabour, and are frequent on both banks of the latter stream, giving unmistakable indications of a long occupation of that region by the great Mesopotamian people. The inscriptions show that even a wider tract was in process of time absorbed by the conquerors; and if we are to draw a line between the country actually taken into Assyria, and that which was merely conquered and held in subjection, we can select no better boundary than the Euphrates westward, and northward the snowy mountain-chain known to the ancients as Mons Niphates.

If Assyria be allowed the extent which is here assigned to her, she will be a country, not only very much larger than Chaldæa or Babylonia, but positively of considerable dimensions. Reaching on the north to the thirty-eighth and on the south to the thirty-fourth parallel, she had a length diagonally from Diarbekr to the alluvium of 350 miles, and a breadth between the Euphrates and Mount Zagros varying from about 300 to 170 miles. Her area was probably not less than 75,000 square miles, which is more than double that of Portugal, and not much below that of Great Britain. She would thus from her mere size be calculated to play an important in history; and the more so, as during the period of her greatness scarcely any nation with which she came in contact possessed nearly so extensive a territory.

Within the limits here assigned to Assyria, the face of the country is tolerably varied. Possessing, on the whole, perhaps, a predominant character of flatness, the territory still includes some important ranges of hills, while on the two sides it abuts upon lofty mountain-chains. Towards the north and east it is provided by nature with an ample supply of water, rills everywhere flowing from the Armenian and Kurdish ranges, which soon collect into rapid and abundant rivers.

The central, southern, and western regions are, however, less bountifully supplied; for though the Euphrates washes the whole western and south-western frontier, it spreads fertility only along its banks; and though Mount Masius sends down upon the Mesopotamian plain a considerable number of streams, they form in the space of 200 miles between Balis and Mosul but two rivers, leaving thus large tracts to languish for want of the precious fluid. The vicinity of the Arabian and Syrian deserts is likewise felt in these regions, which, left to themselves, tend to acquire the desert character, and have occasionally been regarded as actual parts of Arabia.[7]

The chief natural division of the country is that made by the Tigris, which, having a course nearly from north to south, between Til and Samarah, separates Assyria into a western and an eastern district. Of these two, the eastern or that upon the left bank of the Tigris, although considerably the smaller, has always been the more important region. Comparatively narrow at first, it broadens as the course of the river is descended, till it attains about the thirty-fifth parallel a width of 130 or 140 miles. It consists chiefly of a series of rich and productive plains, lying along the courses of the various tributaries which flow from Mount Zagros into the Tigris, and often of a semi-alluvial character. These plains are not, however, continuous. Detached ranges of hills, with a general direction parallel to the Zagros chain, intersect the flat rich country, separating the plains from one another, and supplying small streams[8] and brooks in addition to the various rivers, which, rising within or beyond the great mountain barriers, traverse the plains on their way to the Tigris. The hills themselves—known now as the Jebel Maklub, the Ain-es-sufra, the Karachok, etc.—are for the most part bare and sterile. In form they are hogbacked, and viewed from a distance have a smooth and even outline; but on a nearer approach they are found to be rocky and rugged. Their limestone sides are furrowed by innumberable ravines, and have a dry and parched appearance, being even in spring generally naked and without vegetation. The sterility is most marked on the western flank, which faces the hot rays of the afternoon sun; the eastern slope is occasionally robed with a scanty covering of dwarf oak or stunted brushwood.[9] In the fat soil of the plains the rivers commonly run deep and concealed from view,[10] unless in the spring and the early summer, when through the rains and the melting of the snows in the mountains they are greatly

swollen, and run bank full, or even overflow the level country.

The most important of these rivers are the following:—the Kurnib or Eastern Khabour, which joins the Tigris in lat. 37° 12′; the Greater Zab (Zab Ala), which washes the ruins of Nimrud, and enters the main stream almost exactly in lat. 36°; the Lesser Zab (Zab Asfal), which effects its junction about lat. 35° 15′; the Adhem, which is received a little below Samarah, about lat. 34°; and the Diyaleh, which now joins below Baghdad, but from which branches have sometimes entered the Tigris a very little below the mouth of the Adhem. Of these streams the most northern, the Khabour, runs chiefly in an untraversed country—the district between Julamerik and the Tigris. It rises a little west of Julamerik in one of the highest mountain districts of Kurdistan, and runs with a general south-westerly course to its junction with another large branch, which reaches it from the district immediately west of Amadiyeh; it then flows due west, or a little north of west, to Zakko, and, bending to the north after passing that place, flows once more in a south-westerly direction until it reaches the Tigris. The direct distance from its source to its embouchure is about 80 miles; but that distance is more than doubled by its windings. It is a stream of considerable size, broad and rapid; at many seasons not fordable at all, and always forded with difficulty.[11]

The Greater Zab is the most important of all the tributaries of the Tigris. It rises near Konia, in the district of Karasu, about lat. 38° 20′, long. 44° 30′, a little west of the watershed which divides the basins of Lakes Van and Urumiyeh. Its general course for the first 150 miles is S.S.W., after which for 25 or 30 miles it runs almost due south through the country of the Tiyari. Near Amadiyeh it makes a sudden turn, and flows S.E. or S.S.E. to its junction with the Rowandiz branch;[12] whence, finally, it resumes its old direction, and runs south-west past the Nimrud ruins into the Tigris. Its entire course, exclusive of small windings, is above 350 miles, and of these nearly 100 are across the plain country, which it enters soon after receiving the Rowandiz stream. Like the Khabour, it is fordable at certain places and during the summer season; but even then the water reaches above the bellies of horses.[13] It is 20 yards wide a little above its junction with the main steam.[14] On account of its strength and rapidity the Arabs sometimes call it the "Mad River."[15]

The Lesser Zab has its principal source near Legwin,[16] about twenty miles south of Lake Urumiyeh, in lat. 36° 40′, long. 46° 25′. The source is to the east of the great Zagros chain; and it might have been supposed that the waters would necessarily flow northward or eastward, towards Lake Urumiyeh, or towards the Caspian. But the Legwin river, called even at its source the Zei or Zab, flows from the first westward, as if determined to pierce the mountain barrier. Failing, however, to find an opening where it meets the range, the Little Zab turns south and even south-east along its base, till about 25 or 30 miles from its source it suddenly resumes its original direction, enters the mountains in lat. 36° 20′, and forces its way through the numerous parallel ranges, flowing generally to the S.S.W., till it debouches upon the plain near Arbela, after which it runs S.W. and S.W. by S. to the Tigris. Its course among the mountains is from 80 to 90 miles, exclusive of small windings; and it runs more than 100 miles through the plain. Its ordinary width, just above its confluence with the Tigris, is 25 feet.[17]

The Diyaleh, which lies mostly within the limits that have been here assigned to Assyria, is formed by the confluence of two principal streams, known respectively as the Holwan, and the Shirwan, river. Of these, the Shirwan seems to be the main branch. This stream rises from the most eastern and highest of the Zagros ranges, in lat. 34° 45′, long. 47° 40′ nearly. It flows at first west, and then north-west, parallel to the chain, but on entering the plain of Shahrizur, where tributaries join it from the north-east and the north-west, the Shirwan changes its course and begins to run south of west, a direction which it pursues till it enters the low country, about lat. 35° 5′, near Semiram. Thence to the Tigris it has a course which in direct distance is 150 miles, and 200 if we include only main windings.[18] The whole course cannot be less than 380 miles, which is about the length of the Great Zab river. The width attained before the confluence with the Tigris is 60 yards,[19] or three times the width of the Greater, and seven times that of the Lesser Zab.

On the opposite side of the Tigris, the traveller comes upon a region far less favored by nature than that of which we have been lately speaking. Western Assyria has but a scanty supply of water; and unless the labor of man is skilfully applied to compensate this natural deficiency, the greater part of the region tends to be, for ten months out of the twelve, a desert. The general character of the country is level, but not

alluvial. A line of mountains, rocky and precipitous, but of no great elevation, stretches across the northern part of the region, running nearly due east and west, and extending from the Euphrates at Rum-kaleh to Til and Chelek upon the Tigris. Below this, a vast slightly undulating plain extends from the northern mountains to the Babylonian alluvium, only interrupted about midway by a range of low limestone hills called the Sinjar, which leaving the Tigris near Mosul runs nearly from east to west across central Mesopotamia, and strikes the Euphrates half-way between Rakkeh and Kerkesiyeh, nearly in long. 40°.

The northern mountain region, called by Strabo "Mons Masius," and by the Arabs the Karajah Dagh towards the west, and towards the east the Jebel Tur, is on the whole a tolerably fertile country.[20] It contains a good deal of rocky land; but has abundant springs, and in many parts is well wooded. Towards the west it is rather hilly than mountainous;[21] but towards the east it rises considerably, and the cone above Mardin is both lofty and striking.[22] The waters flowing from the range consist, on the north, of a small number of brooks, which after a short course fall into the Tigris; on the south, of more numerous and more copious streams, which gradually unite, and eventually form two rather important rivers. These rivers are the Belik, known anciently as the Bilêcha,[23] and the Western Khabour, called Habor in Scripture, and by the classical writers Aborrhas or Chaboras.[24] [Pl. XXII., Fig. 1.]

The Belik rises among the hills east of Orfa, about long. 39°, lat. 37° 10′. Its course is at first somewhat east of south; but it soon sweeps round, and, passing by the city of Harran—the Haran of Scripture and the classical Carrhæ[25]—proceeds nearly due south to its junction, a few miles below Rakkah, with the Euphrates. It is a small stream throughout its whole course,[26] which may be reckoned at 100 or 120 miles.

The Khabour is a much more considerable river. It collects the waters which flow southward from at least two-thirds of the Mons Masius,[27] and has, besides, an important source, which the Arabs regard as the true "head of the spring,"[28] derived apparently from a spur of the Sinjar range. This stream, which rises about lat. 36° 40′, long. 40°, flows a little south of east to its junction near Koukab with the Jerujer or river Nisibis, which comes down from Mons Masius with a course not much west of south. Both of these branches are formed by

the union of a number of streams. Neither of them is fordable for some distance above their junction; and below it, they constitute a river of such magnitude as to be navigable for a considerable distance by steamers.[29] The course of the Khabour below Koukab is tortuous;[30] but its general direction is S.S.W. The entire length of the stream is certainly not less than 200 miles.

The country between the "Mons Masius" and the Sinjar range is an undulating plain, from 60 to 70 miles in width, almost as devoid of geographical features as the alluvium of Babylonia. From a height the whole appears to be a dead level:[31] but the traveller finds, on descending, that the surface, like that of the American prairies and the Roman Campagna, really rises and falls in a manner which offers a decided contrast to the alluvial flats nearer the sea. Great portions of the tract are very deficient in water. Only small streams descend from the Sinjar range, and these are soon absorbed by the thirsty soil; so that except in the immediate vicinity of the hills north and south, and along the courses of the Khabour, the Belik, and their affluents, there is little natural fertility, and cultivation is difficult. The soil too is often gypsiferous, and its salt and nitrous exudations destroy vegetation;[32] while at the same time the streams and springs are from the same cause for the most part brackish and unpalatable.[33] Volcanic action probably did not cease in the region very much, if at all, before the historical period. Fragments of basalt in many places strew the plain; and near the confluence of the two chief branches of the Khabour, not only are old craters of volcanoes distinctly visible, but a cone still rises from the centre of one, precisely like the cones in the craters of Etna and Vesuvius, composed entirely of loose lava, scoriæ, and ashes, and rising to the height of 300 feet. The name of this remarkable hill, which is Koukab, is even thought to imply that the volcano may have been active within the time to which the traditions of the country extend.[34] [Pl. XXII., Fig. 2.]

Sheets of water are so rare in this region that the small lake of Khatouniyeh seems to deserve especial description. This lake is situated near the point where the Sinjar changes its character, and from a high rocky range subsides into low broken hills. It is of oblong shape, with its greater axis pointing nearly due east and west, in length about four miles, and in its greatest breadth somewhat less than three.[35] [Pl. XXIII., Fig. 1.] The banks are low and parts marshy, more especially

on the side towards the Khabour, which is not more than ten miles distant.[36] In the middle of the lake is a hilly peninsula, joined to the mainland by a narrow causeway, and beyond it a small island covered with trees. The lake abounds with fish and waterfowl; and its water, though brackish, is regarded as remarkably wholesome both for man and beast.

The Sinjar range, which divides Western Assyria into two plains, a northern and a southern, is a solitary limestone ridge, rising up abruptly from the flat country, which it commands to a vast distance on both sides. The limestone of which it is composed is white, soft, and fossiliferous; it detaches itself in enormous flakes from the mountain-sides, which are sometimes broken into a succession of gigantic steps, while occasionally they present the columnar appearance of basalt.[37] The flanks of the Sinjar are seamed with innumerable ravines, and from these small brooks issue, which are soon dispersed by irrigation, or absorbed in the thirsty plains.[38] The sides of the mountain are capable of being cultivated by means of terraces, and produce fair crops of corn and excellent fruit; the top is often wooded with fruit trees or forest-trees.[39] Geographically, the Sinjar may be regarded as the continuation of that range of hills which shuts in the Tigris on the west, from Tekrit nearly to Mosul, and then leaving the river strikes across the plain in a direction almost from east to west as far as the town of Sinjar. Here the mountains change their course and bend to the south-west, till having passed the little lake described above, they somewhat suddenly subside,[40] sinking from a high ridge into low undulating hills, which pass to the south of the lake, and then disappear in the plain altogether. According to some, the Sinjar here terminates; but perhaps it is best to regard it as rising again in the Abd-el-aziz hills,[41] which, intervening between the Khabour and the Euphrates, run on in the same south-west direction from Arban to Zelabi. If this be accepted as the true course of the Sinjar, we must view it as throwing out two important spurs. One of these is near its eastern extremity, and runs to the south-east, dividing the plain of Zerga from the great central level. Like the main chain, it is of limestone; and, though low, has several remarkable peaks which serve as landmarks from a vast distance. The Arabs call it Kebritiyeh, or "the Sulphur range," from a sulphurous spring which rises at its foot.[42] The other spur is thrown out near the western extremity, and runs towards the north-west, parallel to the course of the upper Khabour, which rises from

its flank at Ras-el-Ain.[43] The name of Abd-el-aziz is applied to this spur, as well as to the continuation of the Sinjar between Arban and Halebi. It is broken into innumerable valleys and ravines,[44] abounding with wild animals, and is scantily wooded with dwarf oak. Streams of water abound in it.

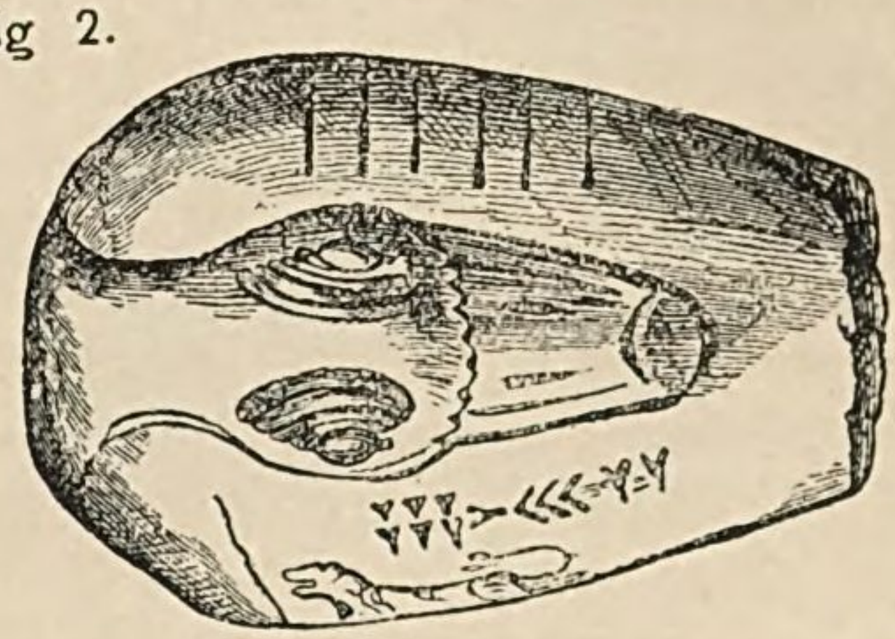
South of the Sinjar range, the country resumes the same level appearance which characterizes it between the Sinjar and the Mons Masius. A low limestone ridge skirts the Tigris valley from Mosul to Tekrit,[45] and near the Euphrates the country is sometimes slightly hilly;[46] but generally the eye travels over a vast slightly undulating level, unbroken by eminences, and supporting but a scanty vegetation. The description of Xenophon a little exaggerates the flatness, but is otherwise faithful enough:—"In these parts the country was a plain throughout, as smooth as the sea, and full of wormwood; if any other shrub or reed grew there, it had a sweet aromatic smell; but there was not a tree in the whole region."[47] Water is still more scarce than in the plains north of the Sinjar. The brooks descending from that range are so weak that they generally lose themselves in the plain before they have run many miles. In one case only do they seem sufficiently strong to form a river. The Tharthar, which flows by the ruins of El Hadhr, is at that place a considerable stream, not indeed very wide but so deep that horses have to swim across it.[48] Its course above El Hadhr has not been traced; but the most probable conjecture seems to be that it is a continuation of the Sinjar river, which rises about the middle of the range, in long. 41° 50′, and flows south-east through the desert. The Tharthar appears at one time to have reached the Tigris near Tekrit,[49] but it now ends in a marsh or lake to the south-west of that city.[50]

The political geography of Assyria need not occupy much of our attention. There is no native evidence that in the time of the great monarchy the country was formally divided into districts, to which any particular names were attached, or which were regarded as politically separate from one another; nor do such divisions appear in the classical writers until the time of the later geographers, Strabo, Dionysius, and Ptolemy. If it were not that mention is made in the Old Testament of certain districts within the region which has been here termed Assyria, we should have no proof that in the early times any divisions at all had been recognized. The names, however, of Padan-Aram, Aram-Naharaim, Gozan, Halah, and (perhaps)

Fig. 3.

Assyrians (Nimrud)

Fig 2.



Assyrian Duck (Nimrud)

Fig. 1.

Dog in relief, on a clay tablet.

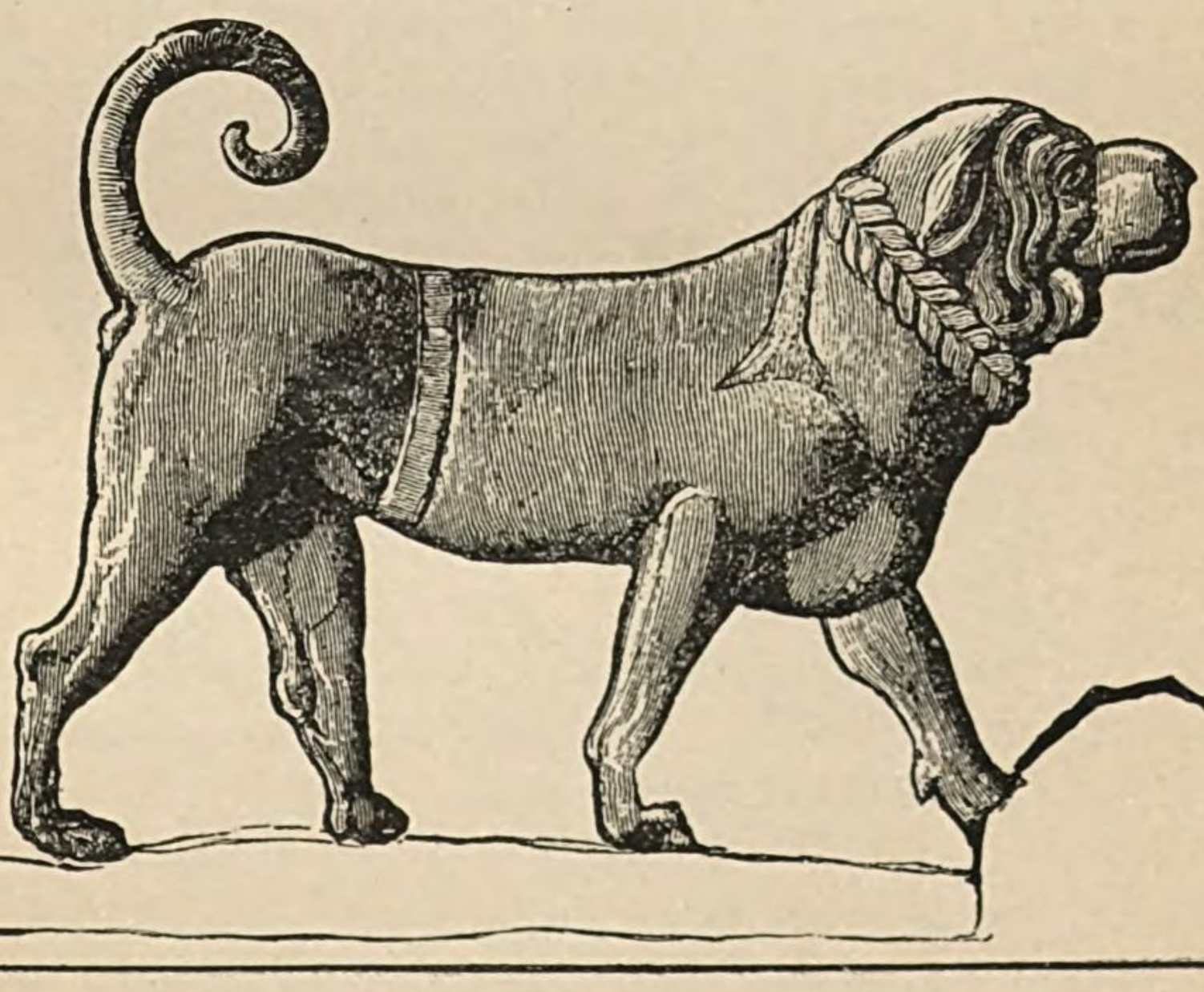
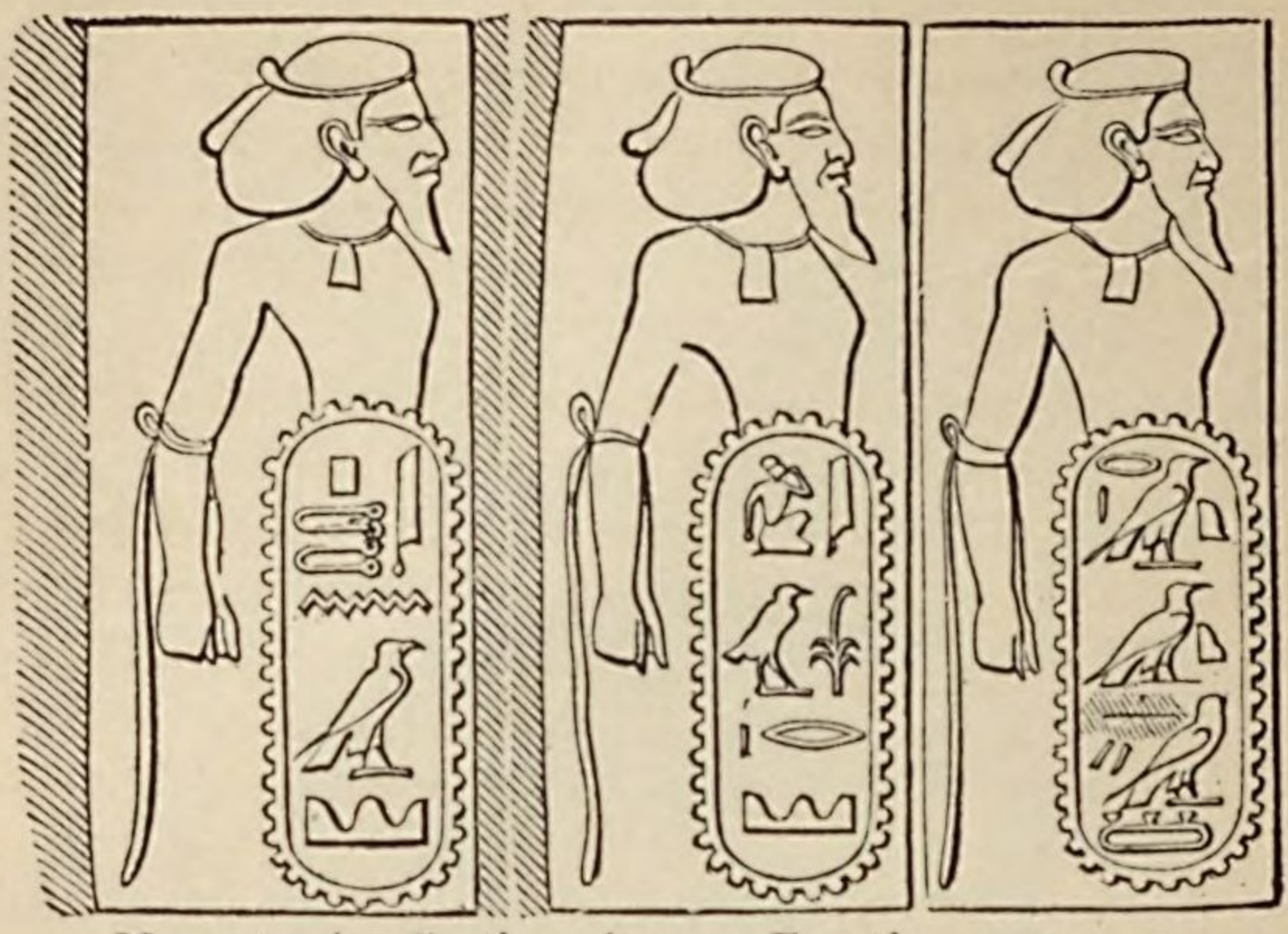
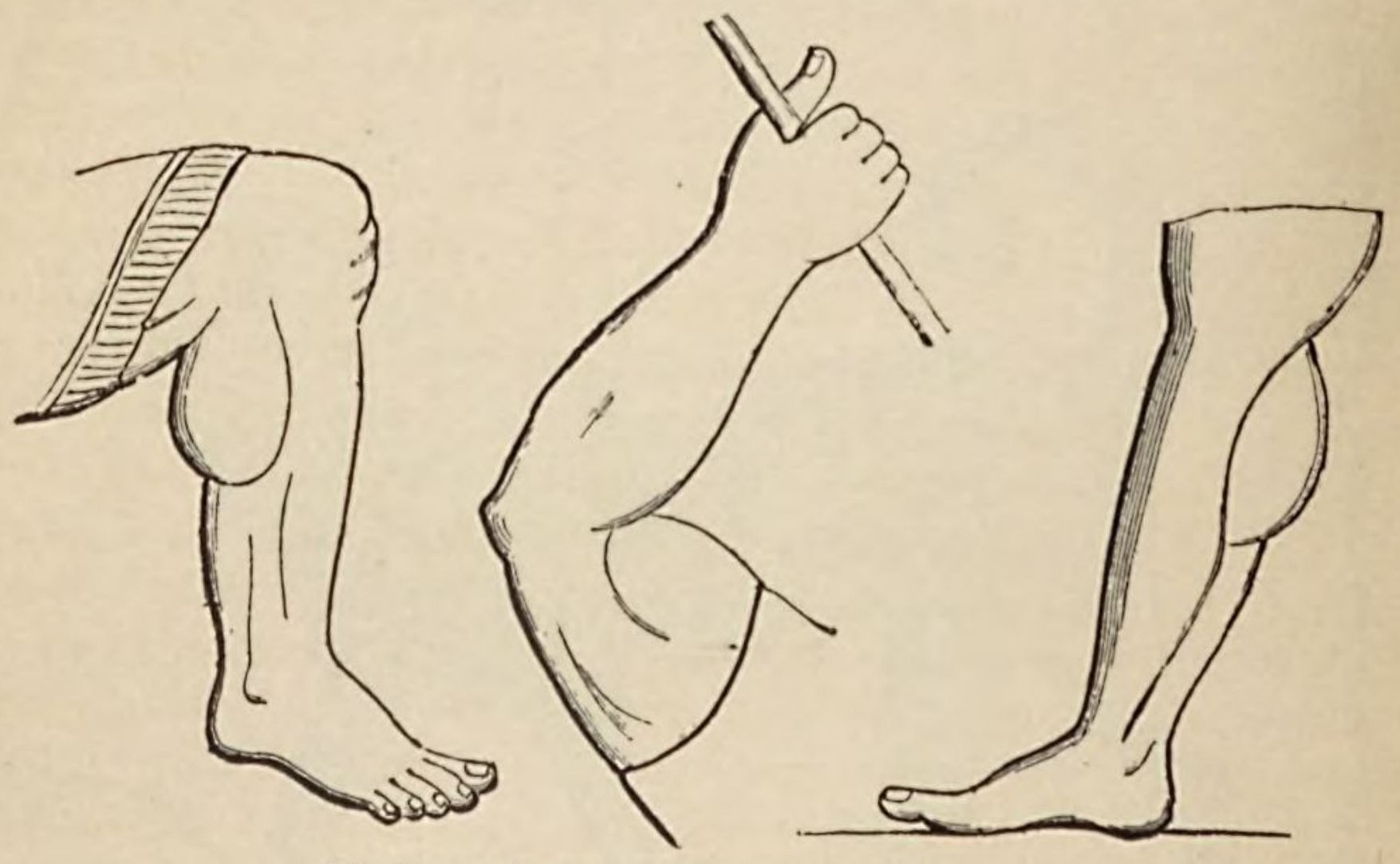


Fig. 1.



Mesopotamian Captives, from an Egyptian monument.

Fig. 2.



Limbs of Assyrians (from the sculptures).

Huzzab, designate in Scripture particular portions of the Assyrian territory; and as these portions appear to correspond in some degree with the divisions of the classical geographers, we are led to suspect that these writers may in many, if not in most cases, have followed ancient and native traditions or authorities. The principal divisions of the classical geographers will therefore be noticed briefly, so far at least as they are intelligible.

According to Strabo,[51] the district within which Nineveh stood was called Aturia, which seems to be the word Assyria slightly corrupted, as we know that it habitually was by the Persians.[52] The neighboring plain country he divides into four regions—Dolomené, Calachené, Chazené, and Adiabené. Of Dolomené, which Strabo mentions but in one place, and which is wholly omitted by other authors, no account can be given.[53] Calachené, which is perhaps the Calaciné of Ptolemy,[54] must be the tract about Calah (Nimrûd), or the country immediately north of the Upper Zab river. Chazené, like Dolomené, is a term which cannot be explained.[55] Adiabené, on the contrary, is a well-known geographical expression.[56] It is the country of the Zab or *Diab* rivers,[57] and either includes the whole of Eastern Assyria between the mountains and the Tigris,[58] or more strictly is applied to the region between the Upper and Lower Zab,[59] which consists of two large plains separated from each other by the Karachok hills. In this way Arbelitis, the plain between the Karachok and Zagros, would fall within Adiabené, but it is sometimes made a distinct region,[60] in which case Adiabené must be restricted to the flat between the two Zabs, the Tigris, and the Karachok. Chalonitis and Apolloniatis, which Strabo seems to place between these northern plains and Susiana,[61] must be regarded as dividing between them the country south of the Lesser Zab, Apolloniatis (so called from its Greek capital, Apollonia) lying along the Tigris, and Chalonitis along the mountains from the pass of Derbend to Gilan.[62] Chalonitis seems to have taken its name from a capital city called Chala,[63] which lay on the great route connecting Babylon with the southern Ecbatana, and in later times was known as Holwan.[64] Below Apolloniatis,[65] and (like that district) skirting the Tigris, was Sittacené, (so named from its capital, Sittacé,[66]) which is commonly reckoned to Assyria,[67] but seems more properly regarded as Susianian territory. Such are the chief divisions of Assyria east of the Tigris.

West of the Tigris, the name Mesopotamia is commonly used, like the Aram-Naharaim of the Hebrews, for the whole country between the two great rivers. Here are again several districts, of which little is known, as Acabené, Tigené, and Ancobaritis.[68] Towards the north, along the flanks of Mons Masius from Nisibis to the Euphrates, Strabo seems to place the Mygdonians, and to regard the country as Mygdonia.[69] Below Mygdonia, towards the west, he puts Anthemusia, which he extends as far as the Khabour river.[70] The region south of the Khabour and the Sinjar he seems to regard as inhabited entirely by Arabs.[71] Ptolemy has, in lieu of the Mygdonia of Strabo, a district which he calls Gauzanitis;[72] and this name is on good grounds identified with the Gozan[73] of Scripture,—the true original probably of the "Mygdonia" of the Greeks.[74] Gozan appears to represent the whole of the upper country from which the longer affluents of the Khabour spring; while Halah, which is coupled with it in Scripture,[75] and which Ptolemy calls Chalcitis, and makes border on Gauzanitis, may designate the tract upon the main stream, as it comes down from Ras-el-Ain.[76] The region about the upper sources of the Belik has no special designation in Strabo, but in Scripture it seems to be called Padan-Aram,[77] a name which has been explained as "the flat Syria," or "the country stretching out from the foot of the hills."[78] In the later Roman times it was known as Osrhoëné;[79] but this name was scarcely in use before the time of the Antonines.

The true heart of Assyria was the country close along the Tigris, from lat. 35° to 36° 30′. Within these limits were the four great cities, marked by the mounds at Khorsabad, Mosul, Nimrud, and Kileh-Sherghat, besides a multitude of places of inferior consequence. It has been generally supposed that the left bank of the river was more properly Assyria than the right;[80] and the idea is so far correct, as that the left bank was in truth of primary value and importance,[81] whence it naturally happened that three out of the four capitals were built on that side of the stream. Still the very fact that one early capital was on the right bank is enough to show that both shores of the stream were alike occupied by the race from the first; and this conclusion is abundantly confirmed by other indications throughout the region. Assyrian ruins, the remains of considerable towns, strew the whole country between the Tigris and Khabour, both north and south of the Sinjar range.[82] On the banks of the Lower Khabour are the remains of a royal

palace,[83] besides many other traces of the tract through which it runs having been permanently occupied by the Assyrian people.[84] Mounds, probably Assyrian, are known to exist along the course of the Khabour's great western affluent;[85] and even near Seruj, in the country between Harran and the Euphrates some evidence has been found not only of conquest but of occupation.[86] Remains are perhaps more frequent on the opposite side of the Tigris; at any rate they are more striking and more important. Bavian, Khorsabad, Shereef-Khan, Nebi-Yunus, Koyunjik, and Nimrud, which have furnished by far the most valuable and interesting of the Assyrian monuments, all lie east of the Tigris; while on the west two places only have yielded relics worthy to be compared with these, Arban and Kileh-Sherghat.

It is curious that in Assyria, as in early Chaldæa, there is a special pre-eminence of *four* cities. An indication of this might seem to be contained in Genesis, where Asshur is said to have "builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen;"[87] but on the whole it is more probable that we have here a mistranslation (which is corrected for us in the margin[88]), and that three cities only are ascribed by Moses to the great patriarch. In the flourishing period of the empire, however, we actually find four capitals, of which the native names seem to have been Ninua, Calah, Asshur, and Bit-Sargina, or Dur-Sargina (the city of Sargon)—all places of first-rate consequence. Besides these principal cities, which were the sole seats of government, Assyria contained a vast number of large towns, few of which it is possible to name, but so numerous that they cover the whole face of the country with their ruins.[89] Among them were Tarbisa, Arbil, Arapkha, and Khazeh, in the tract between the Tigris and Mount Zagros; Haran, Tel-Apni, Razappa (Rezeph), and Amida, towards the north-west frontier; Nazibina (Nisibis), on the eastern branch of the Khabour; Sirki (Circesium), at the confluence of the Khabour with the Euphrates; Anat, on the Euphrates, some way below this junction; Tabiti, Magarisi, Sidikan, Katni, Beth-Khalupi, etc., in the district south of the Sinjar, between the lower course of the Khabour and the Tigris. Here, again, as in the case of Chaldæa,[90] it is impossible at present to locate with accuracy all the cities. We must once more confine ourselves to the most important, and seek to determine, either absolutely or with a certain vagueness, their several positions.

It admits of no reasonable doubt that the ruins opposite Mo-

sul are those of Nineveh. The name of Nineveh is read on the bricks; and a uniform tradition, reaching from the Arab conquest to comparatively recent times,[91] attaches to the mounds themselves the same title. They are the most extensive ruins in Assyria; and their geographical position suits perfectly all the notices of the geographers and historians with respect to the great Assyrian capital.[92] As a subsequent chapter will be devoted to a description of this famous city,[93] it is enough in this place to observe that it was situated on the left or east bank of the Tigris, in lat. 36° 21′, at the point where a considerable brook, the Khosr-su, falls into the main stream. On its west flank flowed the broad and rapid Tigris, the "arrow-stream," as we may translate the word;[94] while north, east, and south, expanded the vast undulating plain which intervenes between the river and the Zagros mountain-range. Midway in this plain, at the distance of from 15 to 18 miles from the city, stood boldly up the Jabel Maklub and Ain Sufra hills, calcareous ridges rising nearly 2000 feet[95] above the level of the Tigris, and forming by far the most prominent objects in the natural landscape.[96] Inside the Ain Sufra, and parallel to it, ran the small stream of the Gomel, or Ghazir, like a ditch skirting a wall, an additional defence in that quarter. On the south-east and south, distant about fifteen miles, was the strong and impetuous current of the Upper Zab, completing the natural defences of the position, which was excellently chosen to be the site of a great capital.

South of Nineveh, at the distance of about twenty miles by the direct route and thirty by the course of the Tigris,[97] stood the second city of the empire, Calah, the site of which is marked by the extensive ruins at Nimrud.[98] [Pl. XXIV., Fig. 1.] Broadly, this place may be said to have been built at the confluence of the Tigris with the Upper Zab; but in strictness it was on the Tigris only, the Zab flowing five or six miles further to the south,[99] and entering the Tigris at least nine miles below the Nimrud ruins.[100] These ruins at present occupy an area somewhat short of a thousand English acres,[101] which is little more than one-half of the area of the ruins of Nineveh; but it is thought that the place was in ancient times considerably larger, and that the united action of the Tigris and some winter streams has swept away no small portion of the ruins.[102] They form at present an irregular quadrangle, the sides of which face the four cardinal points. On the north and east the rampart may still be distinctly traced. It was flanked

with towers along its whole course,[103] and pierced at uncertain intervals by gates, but was nowhere of very great strength or dimensions. On the south side it must have been especially weak, for there it has disappeared altogether. Here, however, it seems probable that the Tigris and the Shor Derreh stream, to which the present obliteration of the wall may be ascribed, formed in ancient times a sufficient protection. Towards the west, it seems to be certain that the Tigris (which is now a mile off) anciently flowed close to the city.[104] On this side, directly facing the river, and extending along it a distance of 600 yards,[105] or more than a third of a mile, was the royal quarter, or portion of the city occupied by the palaces of the kings. It consisted of a raised platform, forty feet above the level of the plain, composed in some parts of rubbish, in others of regular layers of sun-dried bricks, and cased on every side with solid stone masonry, containing an area of sixty English acres, and in shape almost a regular rectangle, 560 yards long, and from 350 to 450 broad.[106] The platform was protected at its edges by a parapet, and is thought to have been ascended in various places by wide staircases, or inclined ways, leading up from the plain.[107] The greater part of its area is occupied by the remains of palaces constructed by various native kings, of which a more particular account will be given in the chapter on the architecture and other arts of the Assyrians.[108] It contains also the ruins of two small temples, and abuts at its north-western angle on the most singular structure which has as yet been discovered among the remains of the Assyrian cities. This is the famous tower or pyramid which looms so conspicuously over the Assyrian plains, and which has always attracted the special notice of the traveller.[109] [Pl. XXIV., Fig. 2.] An exact description of this remarkable edifice will be given hereafter.

It appears from the inscriptions on its bricks to have been commenced by one of the early kings, and completed by another. Its internal structure has led to the supposition that it was designed to be a place of burial for one or other of these monarchs. Another conjecture is, that it was a watch-tower;[110] but this seems very unlikely, since no trace of any mode by which it could be ascended has been discovered.

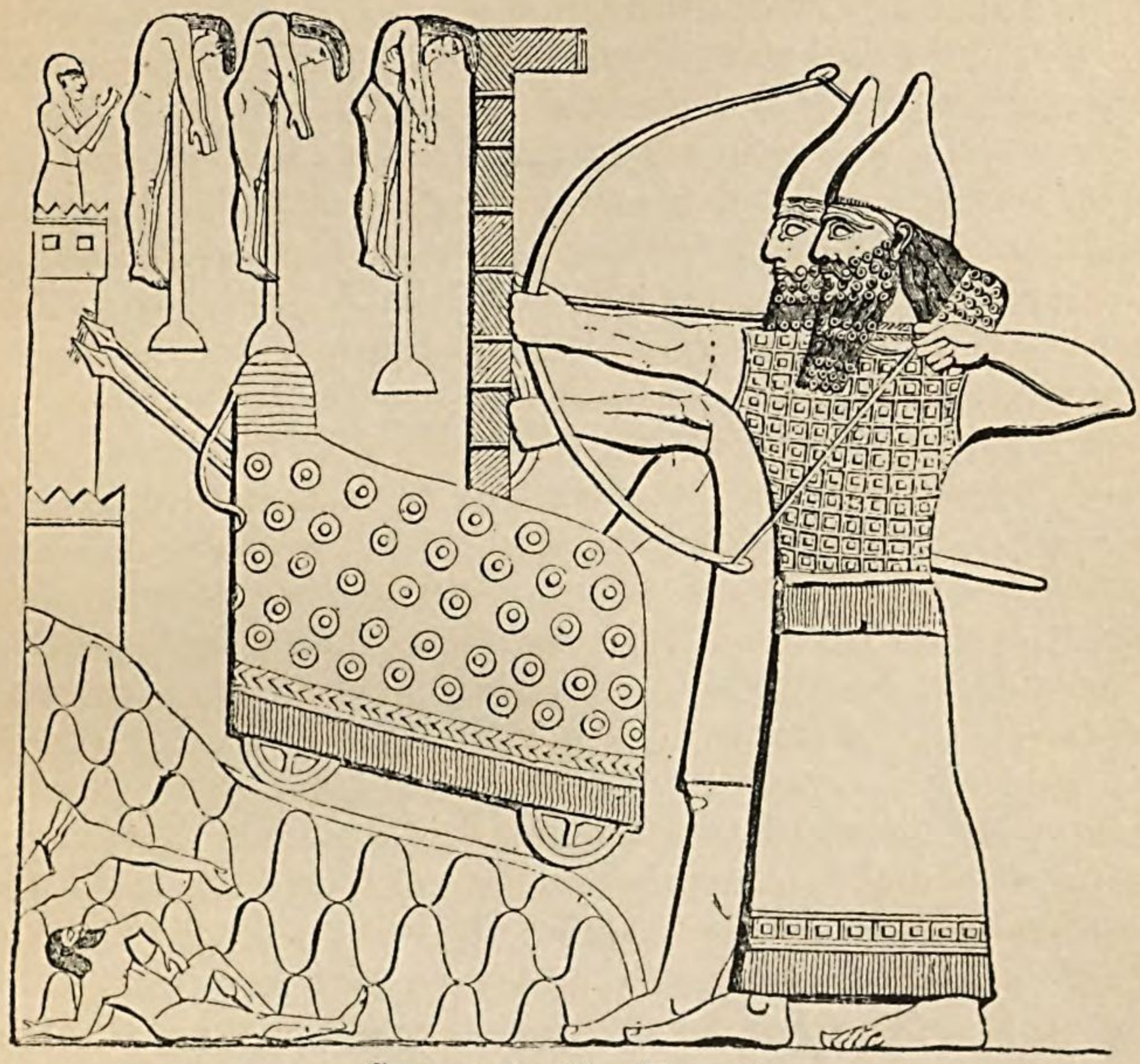
Forty miles below Calah, on the opposite bank of the Tigris, was a third great city, the native name of which appears to have been Asshur. This place is represented by the ruins at Kileh-Sherghat, which are scarcely inferior in extent to those

at Nimrud or Calah.[111] It will not be necessary to describe minutely this site, as in general character it closely resembles the other ruins of Assyria. Long lines of low mounds mark the position of the old walls, and show that the shape of the city was quadrangular. The chief object is a large square mound or platform, two miles and a half in circumference, and in places a hundred feet above the level of the plain, composed in part of sun-dried bricks, in part of natural eminences, and exhibiting occasionally remains of a casing of hewn stone, which may once have encircled the whole structure. About midway on the north side of the platform, and close upon its edge, is a high cone or pyramid. The rest of the platform is covered with the remains of walls and with heaps of rubbish, but does not show much trace of important buildings. This city has been supposed to represent the Biblical Resen; but the description of that place as lying "*between* Nineveh and Calah" seems to render the identification worse than uncertain.

The ruins at Kileh-Sherghat are the last of any extent towards the south, possessing a decidedly Assyrian character. To complete our survey, therefore, of the chief Assyrian towns, we must return northwards, and, passing Nineveh, direct our attention to the magnificent ruins on the small stream of the Khosrsu, which have made the Arab village of Khorsabad one of the best known names in Oriental topography. About nine miles from the north-east angle of the wall of Nineveh, in a direction a very little east of north, stands the ruin known as Khorsabad, from a small village which formerly occupied its summit[112] —the scene of the labors of M. Botta, who was the first to disentomb from among the mounds of Mesopotamia the relics of an Assyrian palace. The enclosure at Khorsabad is nearly square in shape, each side being about 2000 yards long.[113] No part of it is very lofty, but the walls are on every side well marked. Their angles point towards the cardinal points, or nearly so; and the walls themselves consequently face the north-east, the north-west, the south-west, and the south-east. Towards the middle of the north-west wall, and projecting considerably beyond it, was a raised platform of the usual character; and here stood the great palace, which is thought to have been open to the plain, and on that side quite undefended.[114]

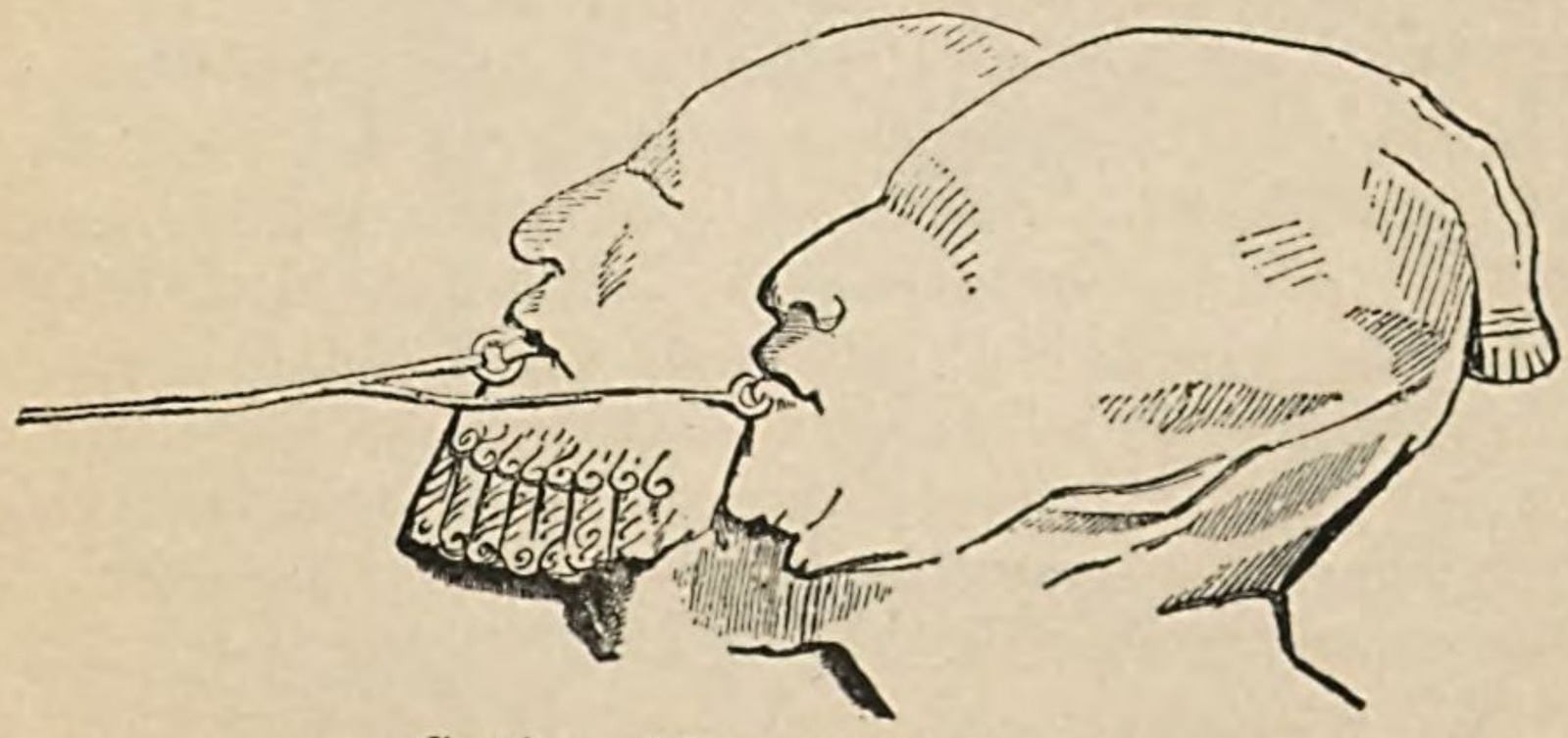
Four miles only from Khorsabad, in a direction a little west of north, are the ruins of a smaller Assyrian city, whose native name appears to have been Tarbisa, situated not far from

Fig. 1.



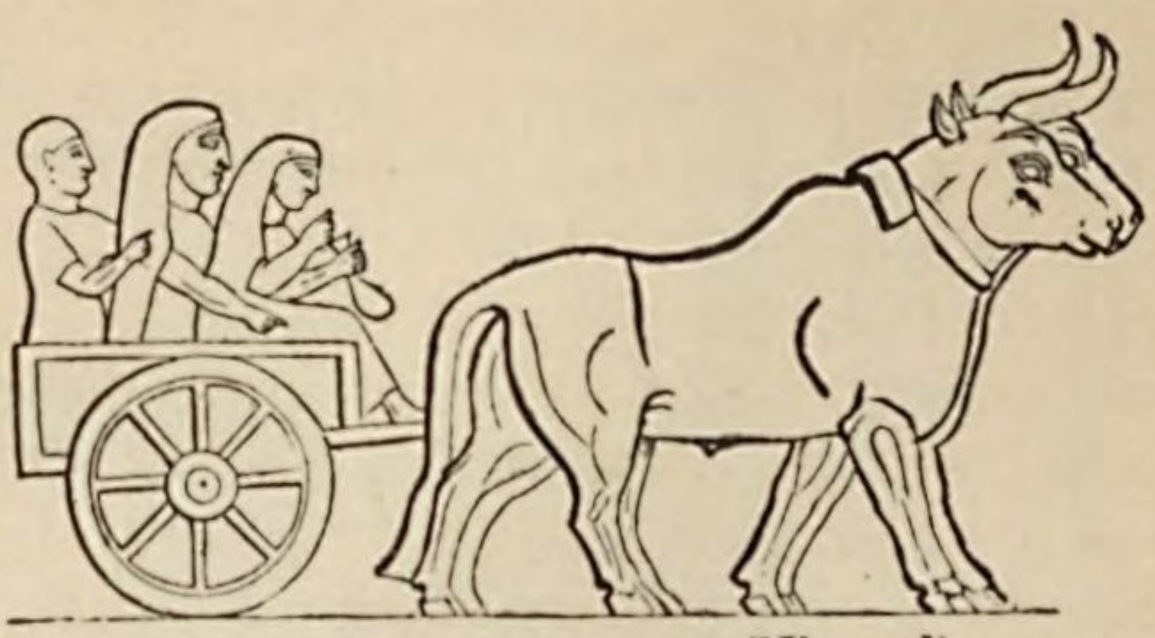
Capture of a City (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



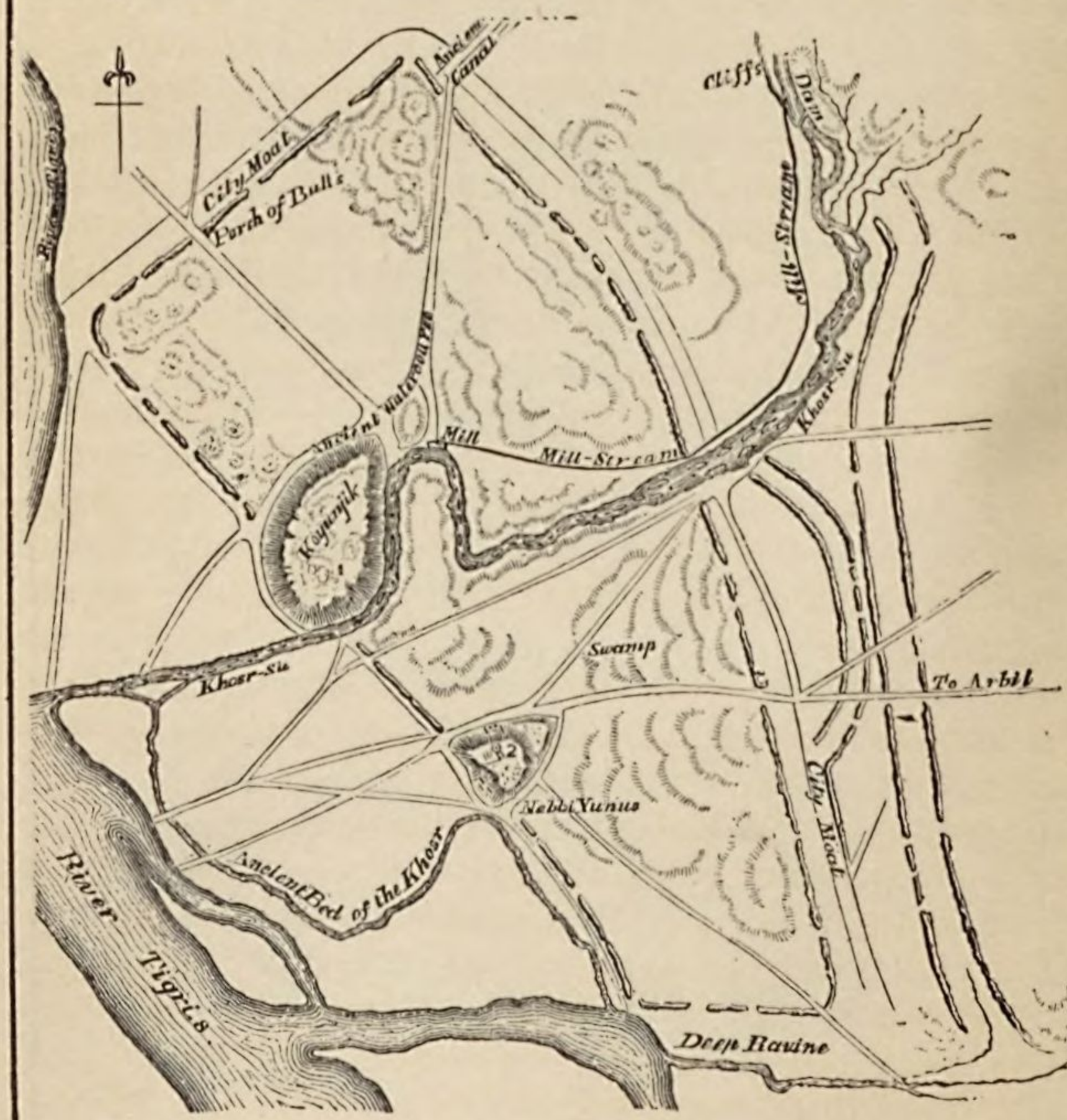
Captives of Sargon (Khorsabad).

Fig. 1.



Captive women in a cart (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



Ruins of Nineveh.

1. Palace of Sennacherib. 2. Supposed Tomb of Jonah.

the modern village of Sherif-khan. Here was a palace, built by Esarhaddon for one of his sons, as well as several temples and other edifices. In the opposite direction at the distance of about twenty miles, is Keremles, an Assyrian ruin, whose name cannot yet be rendered phonetically.[115] West of this site, and about half-way between the ruins of Nineveh and Nimrud or Calah, is Selamiyah, a village of some size, the walls of which are thought to be of Assyrian construction.[116] We may conjecture that this place was the Resen, or Dasé,[117] of Holy Scripture, which is said to have been a large city, interposed between Nineveh and Calah.[118] In the same latitude, but considerably further to the east, was the famous city of Arabil or Arbil,[119] known to the Greeks as Arbela, and to this day retaining its ancient appellation. These were the principal towns, whose positions can be fixed, belonging to Assyria Proper, or the tract in the immediate vicinity of Nineveh.

Besides these places, the inscriptions mention a large number of cities which we cannot definitely connect with any particular site. Such are Zaban and Zadu, beyond the Lower Zab, probably somewhere in the vicinity of Kerkuk; Kurban, Tidu (?), Napulu, Kapa, in Adiabené; Arapkha and Khaparkhu, the former of which names recalls the Arrapachitis of Ptolemy,[120] in the district about Arbela; Hurakha, Sallat (?), Dur-Tila, Dariga, Lupdu, and many others, concerning whose situations it is not even possible to make any reasonable conjecture. The whole country between the Tigris and the mountains was evidently studded thickly with towns, as it is at the present day with ruins;[121] but until a minute and searching examination of the entire region has taken place, it is idle to attempt an assignment to particular localities of these comparatively obscure names.

In Western Assyria, or the tract on the right bank of the Tigris, while there is reason to believe that population was as dense, and that cities were as numerous, as on the opposite side of the river,[122] even fewer sites can be determinately fixed, owing to the early decay of population in those parts, which seem to have fallen into their present desert condition shortly after the destruction of the Assyrian empire by the conquering Medes. Besides Asshur, which is fixed to the ruins at Kileh-Sherghat, we can only locate with certainty some half-dozen places. These are Nazibina, which is the modern Nisibin, the Nisibis of the Greeks; Amidi, which is Amida or Diarbekr; Haran,[123] which retains its name unchanged; Sirki, which is

the Greek Circesium,[124] now Kerkesiyeh; Anat, now Anah, on an island in the Euphrates; and Sidikan, now Arban, on the Lower Khabour. The other known towns of this region, whose exact position is more or less uncertain, are the following:—Tavnusir, which is perhaps Dunisir, near Mardin; Guzana, or Gozan,[125] in the vicinity of Nisibin; Razappa, or Rezeph, probably not far from Harran; Tel-Apni, about Orfah or Ras-el-Ain; Tabiti and Magarisi, on the Jerujer, or river of Nisibin; Katni and Beth-Khalupi, on the Lower Khabour; Tsupri and Nakarabani, on the Euphrates, between its junction with the Khabour and Anah; and Khuzirina, in the mountains near the source of the Tigris. Besides these, the inscriptions contain a mention of some scores of towns wholly obscure, concerning which we cannot even determine whether they lay west or east of the Tigris.

Such are the chief geographical features of Assyria. It remains to notice briefly the countries by which it was bordered. To the east lay the mountain region of Zagros, inhabited principally, during the earlier times of the Empire, by the Zimri, and afterwards occupied by the Medes, and known as a portion of Media. This region is one of great strength, and at the same time of much productiveness and fertility. Composed of a large number of parallel ridges, Zagros contains, besides rocky and snow-clad summits, a multitude of fertile valleys, watered by the great affluents of the Tigris or their tributaries, and capable of producing rich crops with very little cultivation. The sides of the hills are in most parts clothed with forests of walnut, oak, ash, plane, and sycamore, while mulberries, olives, and other fruit-trees abound; in many places the pasturage is excellent; and thus, notwithstanding its mountainous character. the tract will bear a large population.[126] Its defensive strength is immense, equalling that of Switzerland before military roads were constructed across the High Alps. The few passes by which it can be traversed seem, according to the graphic phraseology of the ancients, to be carried up ladders;[127] they surmount six or seven successive ridges, often reaching the elevation of 10,000 feet,[128] and are only open during seven months of the year. Nature appears to have intended Zagros as a seven fold wall for the protection of the fertile Mesopotamian lowland from the marauding tribes inhabiting the bare plateau of Iran.

North of Assyria lays a country very similar to the Zagros region. Armenia, like Kurdistan, consists, for the most part,

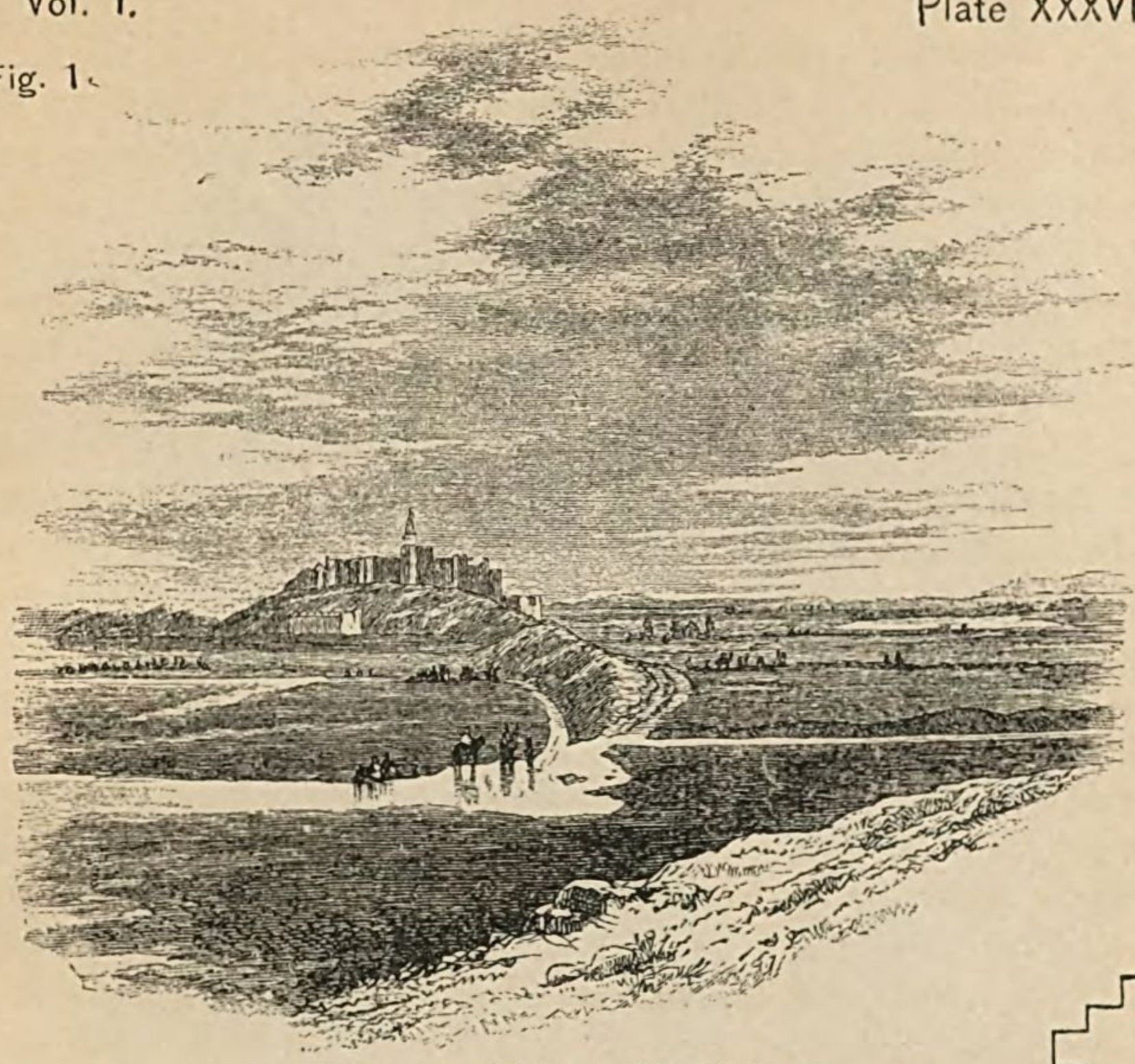
of a number of parallel mountain ranges,[129] with deep valleys between them, watered by great rivers or their affluents. Its highest peaks, like those of Zagros, ascend considerably above the snow-line.[130] It has the same abundance of wood, especially in the more northern parts; and though its valleys are scarcely so fertile, or its products so abundant and varied, it is still a country where a numerous population may find subsistence. The most striking contrast which it offers to the Zagros region is in the direction of its mountain ranges. The Zagros ridges run from north-west to south-east, like the principal mountains of Italy, Greece, Arabia, Hindustan, and Cochin China; those of Armenia have a course from a little north of east to a little south of west, like the Spanish Sierras, the Swiss and Tyrolese Alps, the Southern Carpathians, the Greater Balkan, the Cilician Taurus, the Cyprian Olympus, and the Thian Chan. Thus the axes of the two chains are nearly at right angles to one another, the triangular basin of Vau occurring at the point of contact, and softening the abruptness of the transition. Again, whereas the Zagros mountains present their gradual slope to the Mesopotamian lowland, and rise in higher and higher ridges as they recede from it, the mountains of Armenia ascend at once to their full height from the level of the Tigris, and the ridges then gradually decline towards the Euxine. It follows from this last contrast, that, while Zagros invites the inhabitants of the Mesopotamian plain to penetrate its recesses, which are at first readily accessible, and only grow wild and savage towards the interior, the Armenian mountains repel by presenting their greatest difficulties and most barren aspect at once, seeming, with their rocky sides and snow-clad summits, to form an almost insurmountable obstacle to an invading host. Assyrian history bears traces of this difference; for while the mountain region to the east is gradually subdued and occupied by the people of the plain, that on the north continues to the last in a state of hostility and semi-independence.

West of Assyria (according to the extent which has here been given to it), the border countries were, towards the south, Arabia, and towards the north, Syria. A desert region, similar to that which bounds Chaldæa in this direction, extends along the Euphrates as far north as the 36th parallel, approaching commonly within a very short distance of the river. This has been at all times the country of the wandering Arabs. It is traversed in places by rocky ridges of a low elevation, and

intercepted by occasional *wadys;* but otherwise it is a continuous gravelly or sandy plain,[131] incapable of sustaining a settled population. Between the desert and the river intervenes commonly a narrow strip of fertile territory, which in Assyrian times was held by the Tsukhi or Shuhites, and the Aramæans or Syrians. North of the 36th parallel, the general elevation of the country west of the Euphrates rises. There is an alternation of bare undulating hills and dry plains, producing wormwood and other aromatic plants.[132] Permanent rivers are found, which either terminate in salt lakes or run into the Euphrates. In places the land is tolerably fertile, and produces good crops of grain, besides mulberries, pears, figs, pomegranates, olives, vines, and pistachio-nuts.[133] Here dwelt, in the time of the Assyrian Empire, the Khatti, or Hittites, whose chief city, Carchemish, appears to have occupied the site of Hierapolis, now Bambuk. In a military point of view, the tract is very much less strong than either Armenia or Kurdistan, and presents but slight difficulties to invading armies.

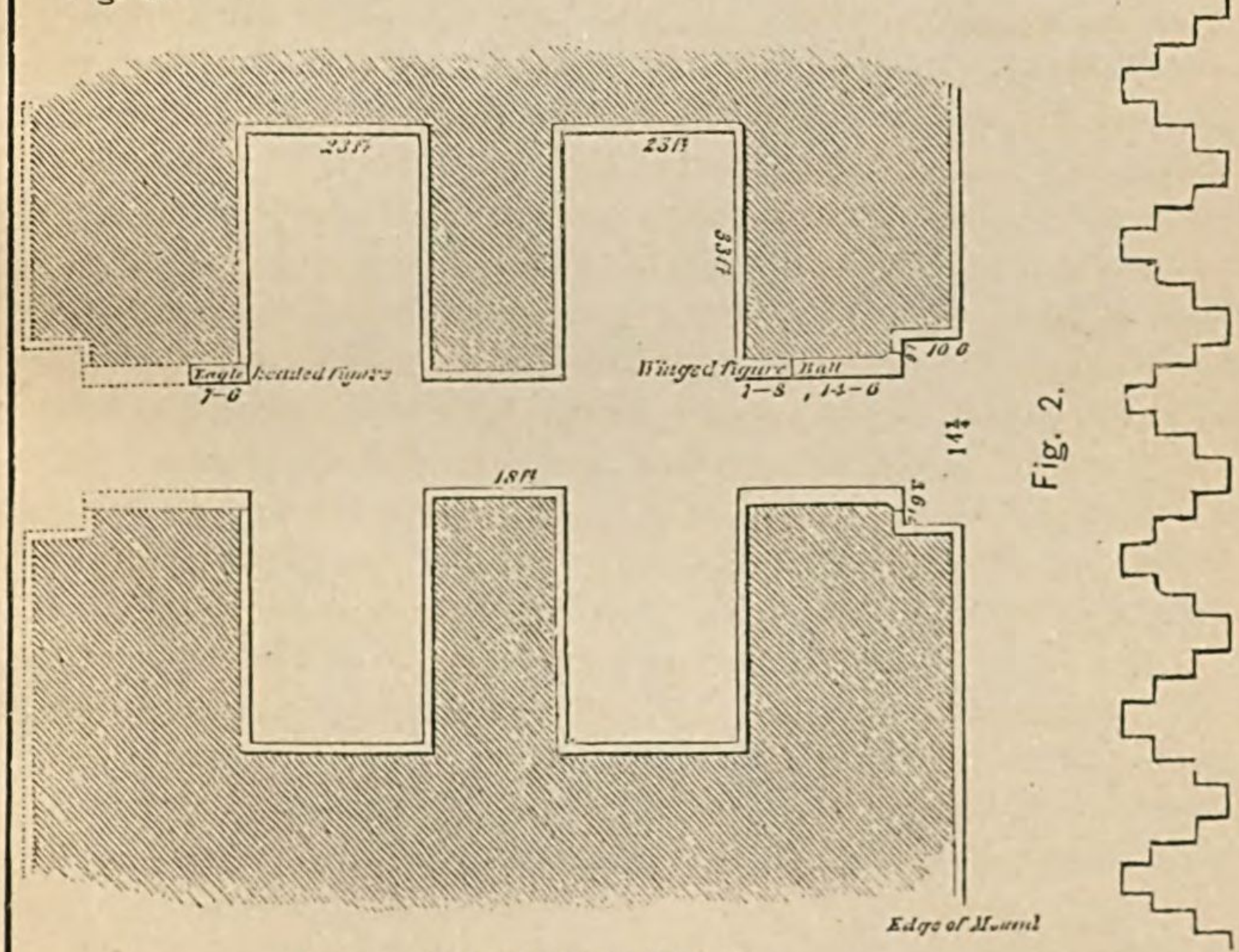
The tract south of Assyria was Chaldæa, of which a description has been given in an earlier portion of this volume.[134] Naturally it was at once the weakest of the border countries, and the one possessing the greatest attractions to a conqueror. Nature had indeed left it wholly without defence; and though art was probably soon called in to remedy this defect, yet it could not but continue the most open to attack of the various regions by which Assyria was surrounded. Syria was defended by the Euphrates—at all times a strong barrier; Arabia, not only by this great stream, but by her arid sands and burning climate; Armenia and Kurdistan had the protection of their lofty mountain ranges. Chaldæa was naturally without either land or water barrier; and the mounds and dykes whereby she strove to supply her wants were at the best poor substitutes for Nature's bulwarks. Here again geographical features will be found to have had an important bearing on the course of history, the close connection of the two countries, in almost every age, resulting from their physical conformation.

Fig. 1.



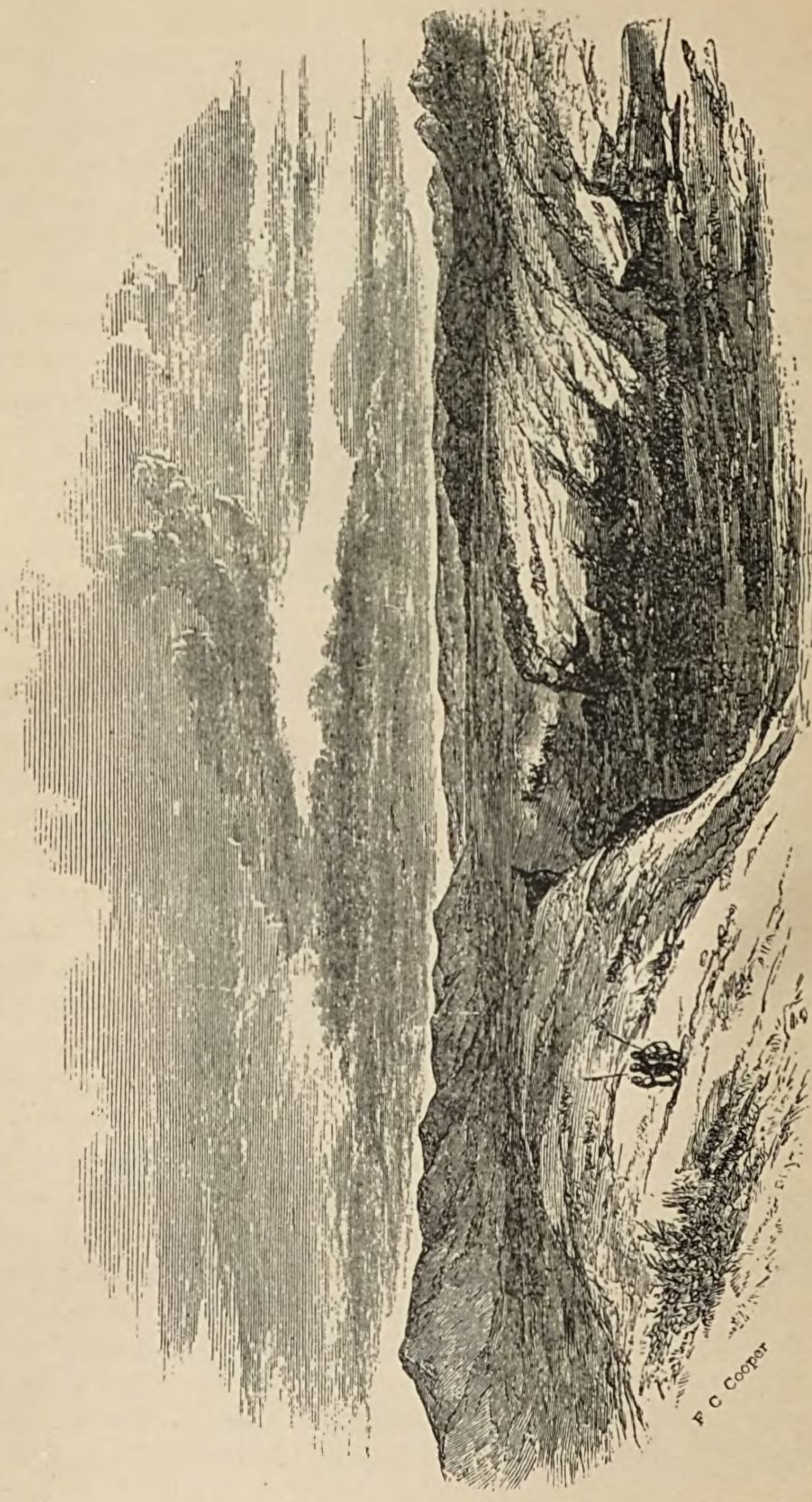
Khosr-Su and Mound of Nebbi-Yunus.

Fig. 3.



Gate in the North Wall, Nineveh.

Fig. 2.



Outer defences of Nineveh, in their present condition.

F C Cooper

CHAPTER II.

CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS.

"Assyria, celebritate et magnitudine, et multiformi feracitate ditissima."—AMM. MARC. xxiii. 6.

IN describing the climate and productions of Assyria, it will be necessary to divide it into regions, since the country is so large, and the physical geography so varied, that a single description would necessarily be both incomplete and untrue. Eastern Assyria has a climate of its own, the result of its position at the foot of Zagros. In Western Assyria we may distinguish three climates, that of the upper or mountainous country extending from Bir to Til and Jezireh, that of the middle region on either side of the Sinjar range, and that of the lower region immediately bordering on Babylonia. The climatic differences depend in part on latitude; but probably in a greater degree on differences of elevation, distance or vicinity of mountains, and the like.

Eastern Assyria, from its vicinity to the high and snow-clad range of Zagros, has a climate at once cooler and moister than Assyria west of the Tigris. The summer heats are tempered by breezes from the adjacent mountains, and, though trying to the constitution of an European, are far less oppressive than the torrid blasts which prevail on the other side of the river.[1] A good deal of rain falls in the winter, and even in the spring; while, after the rains are past, there is frequently an abundant dew,[2] which supports vegetation and helps to give coolness to the air. The winters are moderately severe.[3]

In the most southern part of Assyria, from lat. 34° to 35° 30′, the climate scarcely differs from that of Babylonia, which has been already described.[4] The same burning summers, and the same chilly but not really cold winters, prevail in both districts; and the time and character of the rainy season is alike in each. The summers are perhaps a little less hot, and the winters a little colder than in the more southern and alluvial region; but the difference is inconsiderable, and has never been accurately measured.

In the central part of Western Assyria, on either side of the Sinjar range, the climate is decidedly cooler than in the region

adjoining Babylonia. In summer, though the heat is great, especially from noon to sunset,[5] yet the nights are rarely oppressive, and the mornings enjoyable. The spring-time in this region is absolutely delicious;[6] the autumn is pleasant; and the winter, though cold and accompanied by a good deal of rain and snow,[7] is rarely prolonged and never intensely rigorous. Storms of thunder and lightning are frequent[8] especially in spring, and they are often of extraordinary violence: hailstones fall of the size of pigeon's eggs;[9] the lightning is incessant; and the wind rages with fury. The force of the tempest is, however, soon exhausted; in a few hours' time it has passed away, and the sky is once more cloudless; a delightful calm and freshness pervade the air, producing mingled sensations of pleasure and repose.[10]

The mountain tract, which terminates Western Assyria to the north, has a climate very much more rigorous than the central region. The elevation of this district is considerable,[11] and the near vicinity of the great mountain country of Armenia, with its eternal snows and winters during half the year, tends greatly to lower the temperature, which in the winter descends to eight or ten degrees below zero.[12] Much snow then falls, which usually lies for some weeks; the spring is wet and stormy, but the summer and the autumn are fine; and in the western portion of the region about Harran and Orfah, the summer heat is great. The climate is here an "extreme" one, to use an expression of Humboldt's—the range of the thermometer being even greater than it is in Chaldæa, reaching nearly (or perhaps occasionally exceeding) 120 degrees.[13]

Such is the present climate of Assyria, west and east of the Tigris. There is no reason to believe that it was very different in ancient times. If irrigation was then more common and cultivation more widely extended, the temperature would no doubt have been somewhat lower and the air more moist. But neither on physical nor on historical grounds can it be argued, that the difference thus produced was more than slight. The chief causes of the remarkable heat of Mesopotamia—so much exceeding that of many countries under the same parallels of latitude—are its near vicinity to the Arabian and Syrian deserts, and its want of trees, those great refrigerators.[14] While the first of these causes would be wholly untouched by cultivation, the second would be affected in but a small degree. The only tree which is known to have been anciently cultivated in Mesopotamia is the date-palm; and as this ceases to

bear fruit[15] about lat. 35°, its greater cultivation could have prevailed only in a very small portion of the country, and so would have affected the general climate but little. Historically, too, we find, among the earliest notices which have any climatic bearing, indications that the temperature and the consequent condition of the country were anciently very nearly what they now are. Xenophon speaks of the barrenness of the tract between the Khabour and Babylonia, and the entire absence of forage, in as strong terms as could be used at the present day.[16] Arrian, following his excellent authorities, notes that Alexander, after crossing the Euphrates, kept close to the hills, "because the heat there was not so scorching as it was lower down, and because he could then procure green food for his horses."[17] The animals too which Xenophon found in the country are either such as now inhabit it,[18] or where not such, they are the denizens of hotter rather than colder climates and countries.[19]

The fertility of Assyria is a favorite theme with the ancient writers.[20] Owing to the indefiniteness of their geographical terminology, it is however uncertain, in many cases, whether the praise which they bestow upon Assyria is really intended for the country here called by that name, or whether it does not rather apply to the alluvial tract, already described, which is more properly termed Chaldæa or Babylonia. Naturally Babylonia is very much more fertile than the greater part of Assyria, which being elevated above the courses of the rivers, and possessing a saline and gypsiferous soil, tends, in the absence of a sufficient water supply, to become a bare and arid desert. Trees are scanty in both regions except along the river courses; but in Assyria, even grass fails after the first burst of spring; and the plains, which for a few weeks have been carpeted with the tenderest verdure and thickly strewn with the brightest and loveliest flowers,[21] become, as the summer advances, yellow, parched, and almost herbless. Few things are more remarkable than the striking difference between the appearance of the same tract in Assyria at different seasons of the year. What at one time is a garden, glowing with brilliant hues and heavy with luxuriant pasture, on which the most numerous flocks can scarcely make any sensible impression, at another is an absolute waste, frightful and oppressive from its sterility.[22]

If we seek the cause of this curious contrast, we shall find it in the productive qualities of the soil, wherever there is suffi-

cient moisture to allow of their displaying themselves, combined with the fact, already noticed, that the actual supply of water is deficient. Speaking generally, we may say with truth, as was said by Herodotus more than two thousand years ago—that "but little rain falls in Assyria,"[23] and, if water is to be supplied in adequate quantity to the thirsty soil, it must be derived from the rivers. In most parts of Assyria there are occasional rains during the winter, and, in ordinary years, frequent showers in early spring. The dependence of the present inhabitants both for pasture and for grain is on these. There is scarcely any irrigation;[24] and though the soil is so productive that wherever the land is cultivated, good crops are commonly obtained by means of the spring rains, while elsewhere nature at once spontaneously robes herself in verdure of the richest kind, yet no sooner does summer arrive than barrenness is spread over the scene; the crops ripen and are gathered in; "the grass withereth, the flower fadeth;"[25] the delicate herbage of the plains shrinks back and disappears; all around turns to a uniform dull straw-color; nothing continues to live but what is coarse, dry, and sapless; and so the land, which was lately an Eden, becomes a desert.

Far different would be the aspect of the region were a due use made of that abundant water supply—actually most lavish in the summer time, owing to the melting of the snows[26]—which nature has provided in the two great Mesopotamian rivers and their tributaries. So rapid is the fall of the two main streams in their upper course, that by channels derived from them, with the help perhaps of dams thrown across them at certain intervals, the water might be led to almost any part of the intervening country, and a supply kept up during the whole year. Or, even without works of this magnitude, by hydraulic machines of a very simple construction, the life-giving fluid might be raised from the great streams and their affluents in sufficient quantity to maintain a broad belt on either side of the river-courses in perpetual verdure. Anciently, we know that recourse was had to both of these systems. In the tract between the Tigris and the Upper Zab, which is the only part of Assyria that has been minutely examined, are distinct remains of at least one Assyrian canal, wherein much ingenuity and hydraulic skill is exhibited, the work being carried through the more elevated ground by tunnelling, and the canal led for eight miles contrary to the natural course of every stream in the district.[27] Sluices and dams, cut sometimes

in the solid rock, regulated the supply of the fluid at different seasons, and enabled the natives to make the most economical application of the great fertilizer. The use of the hand-swipe was also certainly known, since it is mentioned by Herodotus,[28] and even represented upon the sculptures. [Pl. XXV., Fig. 1.] Very probably other more elaborate machines were likewise employed, unless the general prevalency of canals superseded their necessity. It is certain that over wide districts, now dependent for productive power wholly on the spring rains, and consequently quite incapable of sustaining a settled population, there must have been maintained in Assyrian times some effective water-system, whereby regions that at present with difficulty furnish a few months' subsistence to the wandering Arab tribes, were enabled to supply to scores of populous cities sufficient food for their consumption.[29]

We have not much account of the products of Assyria Proper in early times. Its dates were of small repute, being greatly inferior to those of Babylon.[30] It grew a few olives in places,[31] and some spicy shrubs,[32] which cannot be identified with any certainty. Its cereal crops were good, and may perhaps be regarded as included in the commendations bestowed by Herodotus[33] and Strabo[34] on the grain of the Mesopotamian region. The country was particularly deficient in trees, large tracts growing nothing but wormwood and similar low shrubs,[35] while others were absolutely without either tree or bush.[36] The only products of Assyria which acquired such note as to be called by its name were its silk[37] and its citron trees. The silk, according to Pliny, was the produce of a large kind of silkworm not found elsewhere.[38] The citron trees obtained a very great celebrity. Not only were they admired for their perpetual fruitage, and their delicious odor;[39] but it was believed that the fruit which they bore was an unfailing remedy against poisons.[40] Numerous attempts were made to naturalize the tree in other countries; but up to the time when Pliny wrote, every such attempt had failed, and the citron was still confined to Assyria, Persia, and Media.[41]

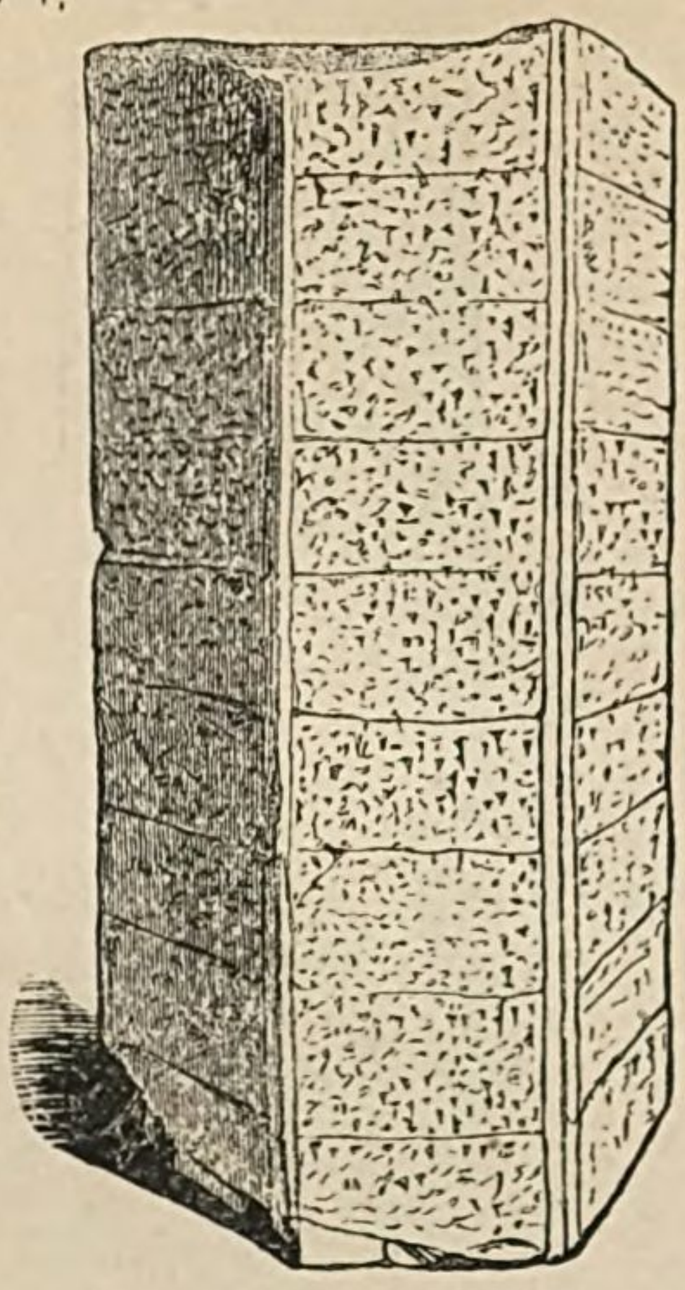
It is not to be imagined that the vegetable products of Assyria were confined within the narrow compass which the ancient notices might seem to indicate. Those notices are casual, and it is evident that they are incomplete; nor will a just notion be obtained of the real character of the region, unless we take into account such of the present products as may be reasonably supposed to be indigenous. Now, setting aside a

few plants of special importance to man, the cultivation of which may have been introduced, such as tobacco, rice, Indian corn, and cotton, we may fairly say that Assyria has no exotics, and that the trees, shrubs, and vegetables now found within her limits are the same in all probability as grew there anciently. In order to complete our survey, we may therefore proceed to inquire what are the chief vegetable products of the region at the present time.

In the south the date-palm grows well as far as Anah on the Euphrates and Tekrit on the Tigris. Above that latitude it languishes, and ceases to give fruit altogether about the junction of the Khabour with the one stream and the Lesser Zab with the other.[42] The unproductive tree, however, which the Assyrians used for building purposes,[43] will grow and attain a considerable size to the very edge of the mountains.[44] Of other timber trees the principal are the sycamore and the Oriental plane, which are common in the north; the oak, which abounds about Mardin[45] (where it yields gall-nuts and the rare product manna), and which is also found in the Sinjar and Abd-el-Aziz ranges;[46] the silver poplar, which often fringes the banks of the streams;[47] the sumac, which is found on the Upper Euphrates;[48] and the walnut, which grows in the Jebel Tur, and is not uncommon between the foot of Zagros and the outlying ranges of hills.[49] Of fruit-trees the most important are the orange, lemon, pomegranate, apricot, olive, vine, fig, mulberry, and pistachio-nut. The pistachio-nut grows wild in the northern mountains, especially between Orfah and Diarbekr.[50] The fig is cultivated with much care in the Sinjar.[51] The vine is also grown in that region,[52] but bears better on the skirts of the hills above Orfah and Mardin.[53] Pomegranates flourish in various parts of the country. Oranges and lemons belong to its more southern parts, where it verges on Babylonia.[54] The olive clothes the flanks of Zagros in places.[55] Besides these rarer fruits, Assyria has chestnuts, pears, apples, plums, cherries, wild and cultivated, quinces, apricots, melons and filberts.

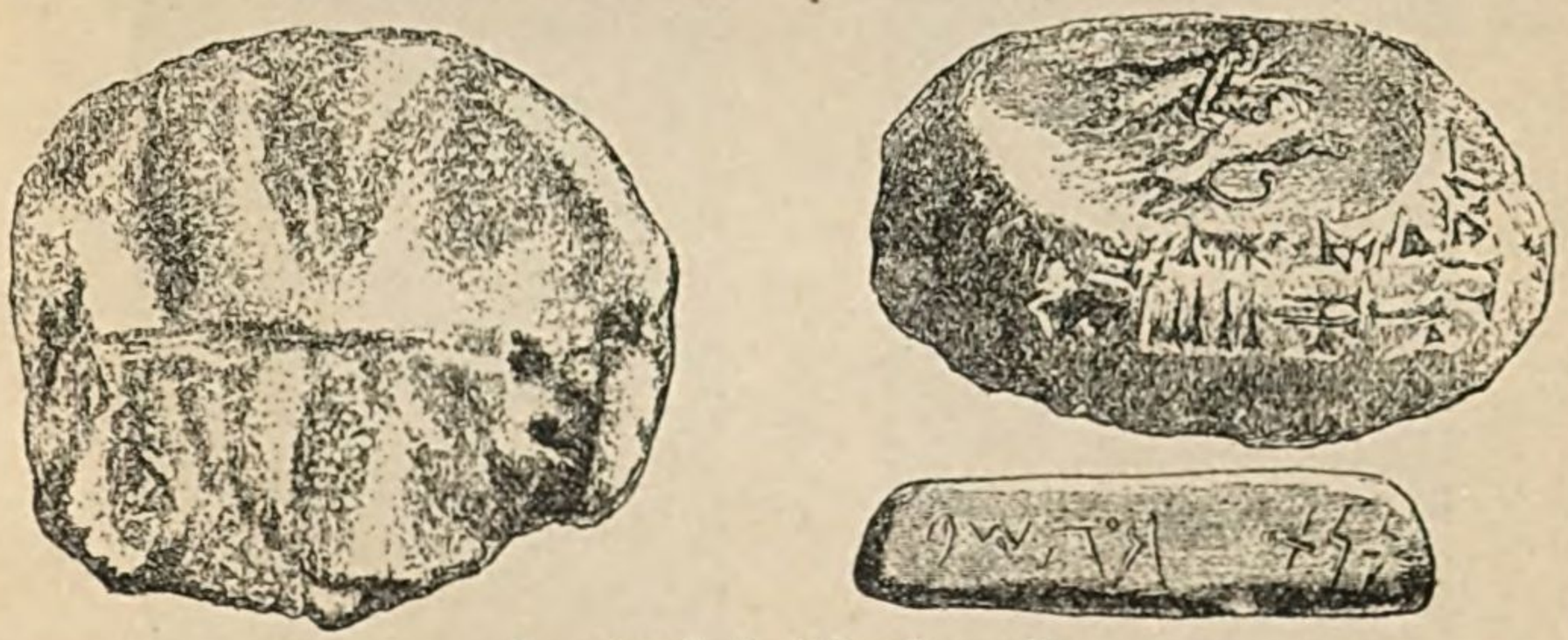
The commonest shrubs are a kind of wormwood—the *apsinthium* of Xenophon—which grows over much of the plain extending south of the Khabour[56]—and the tamarisk. Green myrtles, and oleanders with their rosy blossoms, clothe the banks of some of the smaller streams between the Tigris and Mount Zagros;[57] and a shrub of frequent occurrence is the liquorice plant.[58] Of edible vegetables there is great abundance. Truffles[59] and capers[60] grow wild; while peas, beans,

Fig. 1.



Assyrian Cylinder.

Fig. 2



Assyrian Seals (after Layard).

Fig 1.

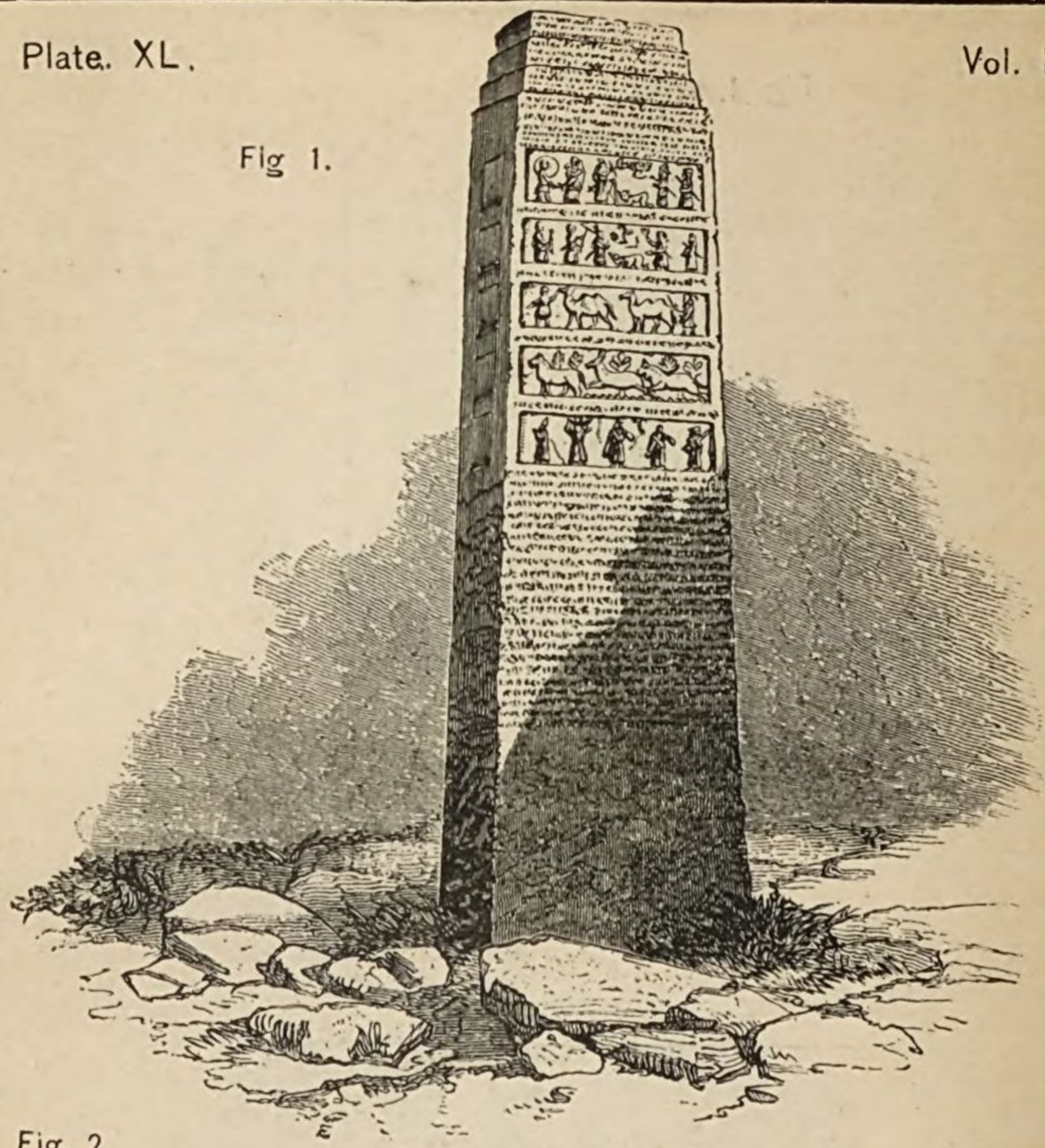
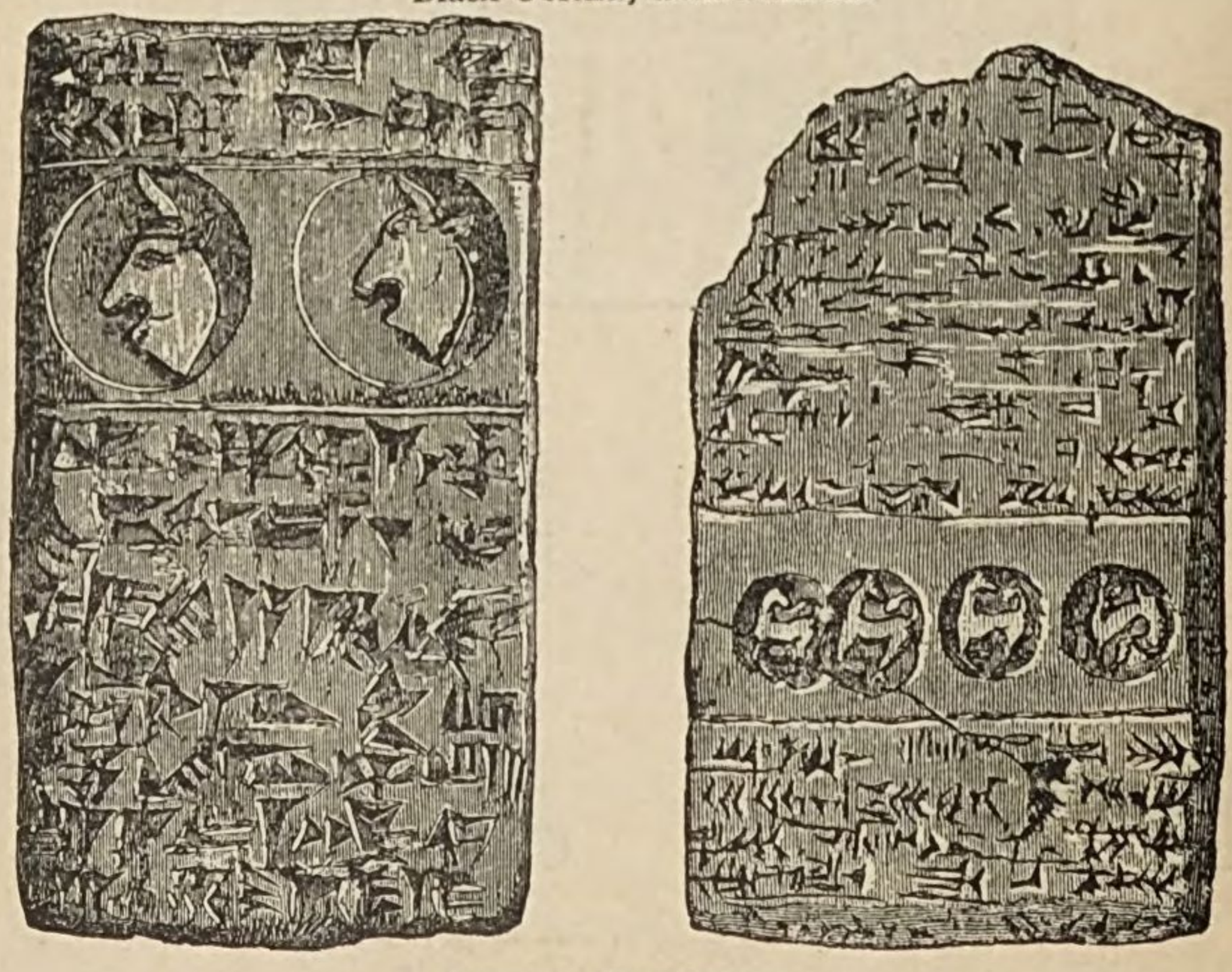


Fig. 2.

Black Obelisk, from Nimrud.



Assyrian Clay Tablets.

onions, spinach, cucumbers, and lentils are cultivated successfully.[61] The carob (*Ceratonia Siliqua*) must also be mentioned as among the rarer products of this region.[62]

It was noticed above that manna is gathered in Assyria from the dwarf oak. It is abundant in Zagros, and is found also in the woods about Mardin, and again between Orfah and Diarbekr. According to Mr. Rich, it is not confined to the dwarf oak, or even to trees and shrubs, but is deposited also on sand, rocks, and stone.[63] It is most plentiful in wet seasons, and especially after fogs;[64] in dry seasons it fails almost totally. The natives collect it in spring and autumn. The best and purest is that taken from the ground; but by far the greater quantity is obtained from the trees, by placing cloths under them and shaking the branches. The natives use it as food both in its natural state and manufactured into a kind of paste. It soon corrupts; and in order to fit it for exportation, or even for the storeroom of the native housewife, it has to undergo the process of boiling.[65] When thus prepared, it is a gentle purgative; but, in its natural state and when fresh, it may be eaten in large quantities without any unpleasant consequences.[66]

Assyria is far better supplied with minerals than Babylonia. Stone of a good quality, either limestone, sandstone, or conglomerate, is always at hand; while a tolerable clay is also to be found in most places. If a more durable material is required, basaltic rock may be obtained from the Mons Masius—a substance almost as hard as granite.[67] On the left bank of the Tigris a soft gray alabaster abounds which is easily cut into slabs, and forms an excellent material for the sculptor.[68] The neighboring mountains of Kurdistan contain marbles of many different qualities; and these could be procured without much difficulty by means of the rivers. From the same quarter it was easy to obtain the most useful metals. Iron, copper, and lead are found in great abundance in the Tiyari Mountains within a short distance of Nineveh,[69] where they crop out upon the surface, so that they cannot fail to be noticed. Lead and copper are also obtainable from the neighborhood of Diarbekr.[70] The Kurdish Mountains may have supplied other metals. They still produce silver and antimony;[71] and it is possible that they may anciently have furnished gold and tin. As their mineral riches have never been explored by scientific persons, it is very probable that they may contain many other metals besides those which they are at present known to yield.[72]

Among the mineral products of Assyria, bitumen, naphtha,

petroleum, sulphur, alum, and salt have also to be reckoned. The bitumen pits of Kerkuk, in the country between the Lesser Zab and the Adhem, are scarcely less celebrated than those of Hit;[73] and there are some abundant springs of the same character close to Nimrud, in the bed of the Shor Derreh torrent.[74] The Assyrian palaces furnish sufficient evidence that the springs were productive in old times; for the employment of bitumen as a cement, though not so frequent as in Babylonia, is yet occasionally found in them.[75] With the bitumen are always procured both naphtha and petroleum;[76] while at Kerkuk there is an abundance of sulphur also.[77] Salt is obtained from springs in the Kerkuk country;[78] and is also formed in certain small lakes lying between the Sinjar and Babylonia.[79] Alum is plentiful in the hills about Kifri.[80]

The most remarkable wild animals of Assyria are the following: the lion, the leopard, the lynx, the wild-cat, the hyæna, the wild ass, the bear, the deer, the gazelle, the ibex, the wild sheep, the wild boar, the jackal, the wolf, the fox, the beaver, the jerboa, the porcupine, the badger, and the hare. The Assyrian lion is of the maneless kind, and in general habits resembles the lion of Babylonia. The animal is comparatively rare in the eastern districts, being seldom found on the banks of the Tigris above Baghdad, and never above Kileh-Sherghat.[81] On the Euphrates it has been seen as high as Bir; and it is frequent on the banks of the Khabour, and in the Sinjar.[82] It has occasionally that remarkable peculiarity—so commonly represented on the sculptures—a short horny claw at the extremity of the tail in the middle of the ordinary tuft of hair.[83] The ibex or wild goat—also a favorite subject with the Assyrian sculptors—is frequent in Kurdistan, and moreover abounds on the highest ridges of the Abd-el-Aziz and the Sinjar, where it is approached with difficulty by the hunter.[84] The gazelle, wild boar, wolf, jackal, fox, badger, porcupine, and hare are common in the plains, and confined to no particular locality. The jerboa is abundant near the Khabour.[85] Bears and deer are found on the skirts of the Kurdish hills. The leopard, hyæna, lynx, and beaver are comparatively rare. The last named animal, very uncommon in Southern Asia, was at one time found in large numbers on the Khabour; but in consequence of the value set upon its musk bag, it has been hunted almost to extermination, and is now very seldom seen. The Khabour beavers are said to be a different species from the American. Their tail is not large and broad, but sharp and pointed; nor

do they build houses, or construct dams across the stream, but live in the banks, making themselves large chambers above the ordinary level of the floods, which are entered by holes beneath the water-line.[86]

The rarest of all the animals which are still found in Assyria is the wild ass (*Equus hemionus*). Till the present generation of travellers, it was believed to have disappeared altogether from the region, and to have "retired into the steppes of Mongolia and the deserts of Persia."[87] But a better acquaintance with the country between the rivers has shown that wild asses, though uncommon, still inhabit the tract where they were seen by Xenophon.[88] [Pl. XXVI., Fig. 1.] They are delicately made, in color varying from a grayish-white in winter to a bright bay, approaching to pink, in the summer-time; they are said to be remarkably swift. It is impossible to take them when full grown; but the Arabs often capture the foals, and bring them up with milk in their tents. They then become very playful and docile; but it is found difficult to keep them alive; and they have never, apparently, been domesticated. The Arabs usually kill them and eat their flesh.[89]

It is probable that all these animals, and some others, inhabited Assyria during the time of the Empire. Lions of two kinds, with and without manes, abound in the sculptures, the former, which do not now exist in Assyria, being the more common. [Pl. XXV., Fig. 2.] They are represented with a skill and a truth which shows the Assyrian sculptor to have been familiar not only with their forms and proportions, but with their natural mode of life, their haunts, and habits. The leopard is far less often depicted, but appears sometimes in the ornamentation of utensils,[90] and is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. The wild ass is a favorite subject with the sculptors of the late Empire, and is represented with great spirit, though not with complete accuracy. [Pl. XXVI., Fig. 3.] The ears are too short, the head is too fine, the legs are not fine enough, and the form altogether approaches too nearly to the type of the horse. The deer, the gazelle, and the ibex all occur frequently; and though the forms are to some extent conventional, they are not wanting in spirit. [Pl. XXVII.] Deer are apparently of two kinds. That which is most commonly found appears to represent the gray deer, which is the only species existing at present within the confines of Assyria.[91] The other sort is more delicate in shape, and spotted, seeming to represent the fallow deer, which is not now known in As-

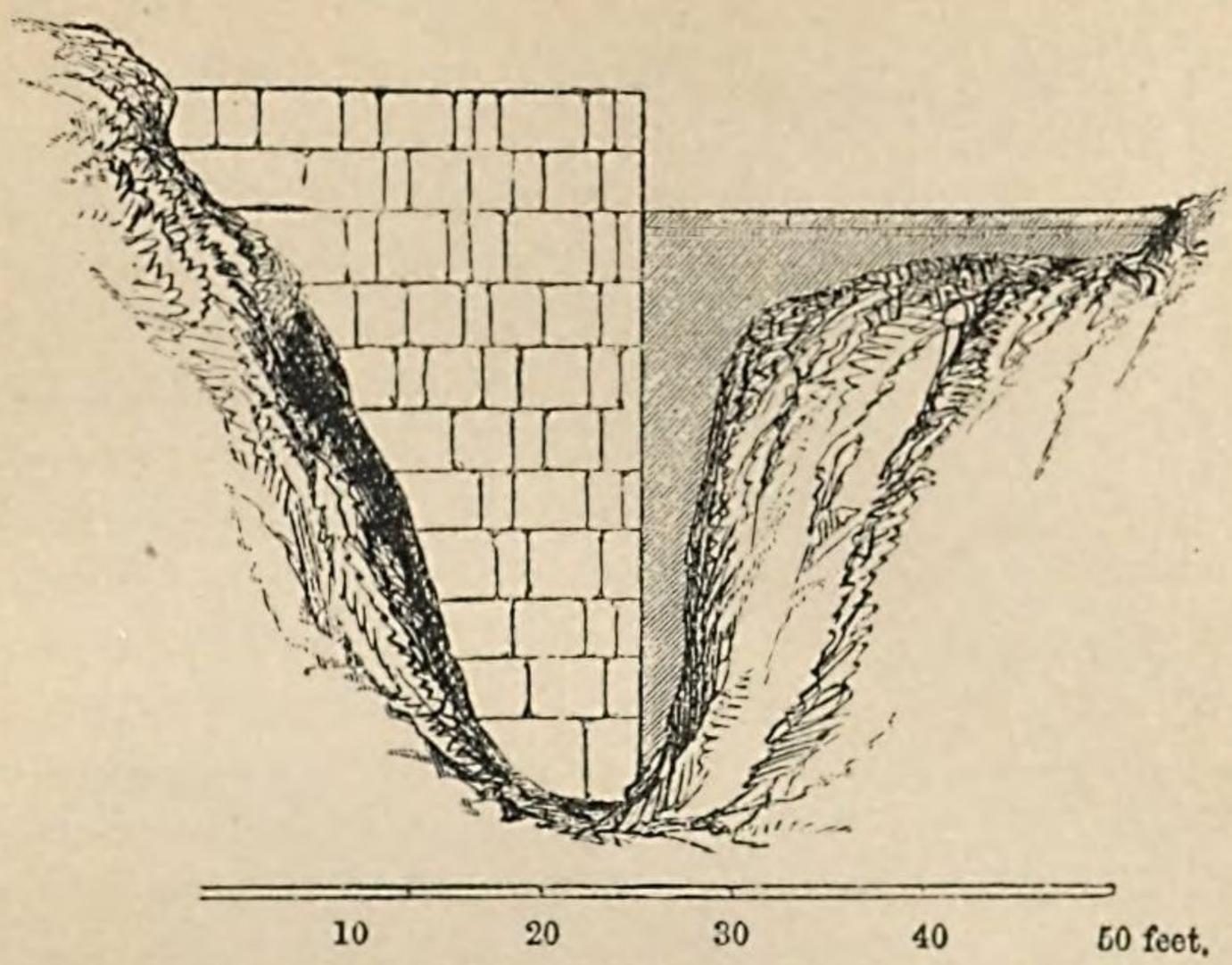
syria or the adjacent countries. It sometimes appears wild, lying among the reeds; sometimes tame, in the arms of a priest or of a winged figure. There is no representation in the sculptures of the wild boar; but a wild sow and pigs are given in one bas-relief,[92] sufficiently indicating the Assyrian acquaintance with this animal. Hares are often depicted, and with much truth; generally they are carried in the hands of men, but sometimes they are being devoured by vultures or eagles.[93] [Pl. XXVIII., Figs. 1, 2.] No representations have been found of bears, wild cats, hyænas, wolves, jackals, wild sheep, foxes, beavers, jerboas, porcupines, or badgers.

There is reason to believe that two other animals, which have now altogether disappeared from the country, inhabited at least some parts of Assyria during its flourishing period. One of these is the wild bull—often represented on the bas-reliefs as a beast of chase, and perhaps mentioned as such in the inscriptions.[94] This animal, which is sometimes depicted as engaged in a contest with the lion,[95] must have been of vast strength and boldness. It is often hunted by the king, and appears to have been considered nearly as noble an object of pursuit as the lion. We may presume, from the practice in the adjoining country, Palestine, [96] that the flesh was eaten as food.

The other animal, once indigenous, but which has now disappeared, was called by the Assyrians the *mithin*, and is thought to have been the tiger. Tigers are not now found nearer to Assyria than the country south of the Caspian, Ghilan, and Mazanderan; but as there is no conceivable reason why they should not inhabit Mesopotamia,[97] and as the *mithin* is constantly joined with the lion, as if it were a beast of the same kind, and of nearly equal strength and courage, we may fairly conjecture that the tiger is the animal intended. If this seem too bold a theory, we must regard the *mithin* as the larger leopard,[98] an animal of considerable strength and ferocity, which, as well as the hunting leopard, is still found in the country.[99] [Pl. XXVI., Fig. 2.]

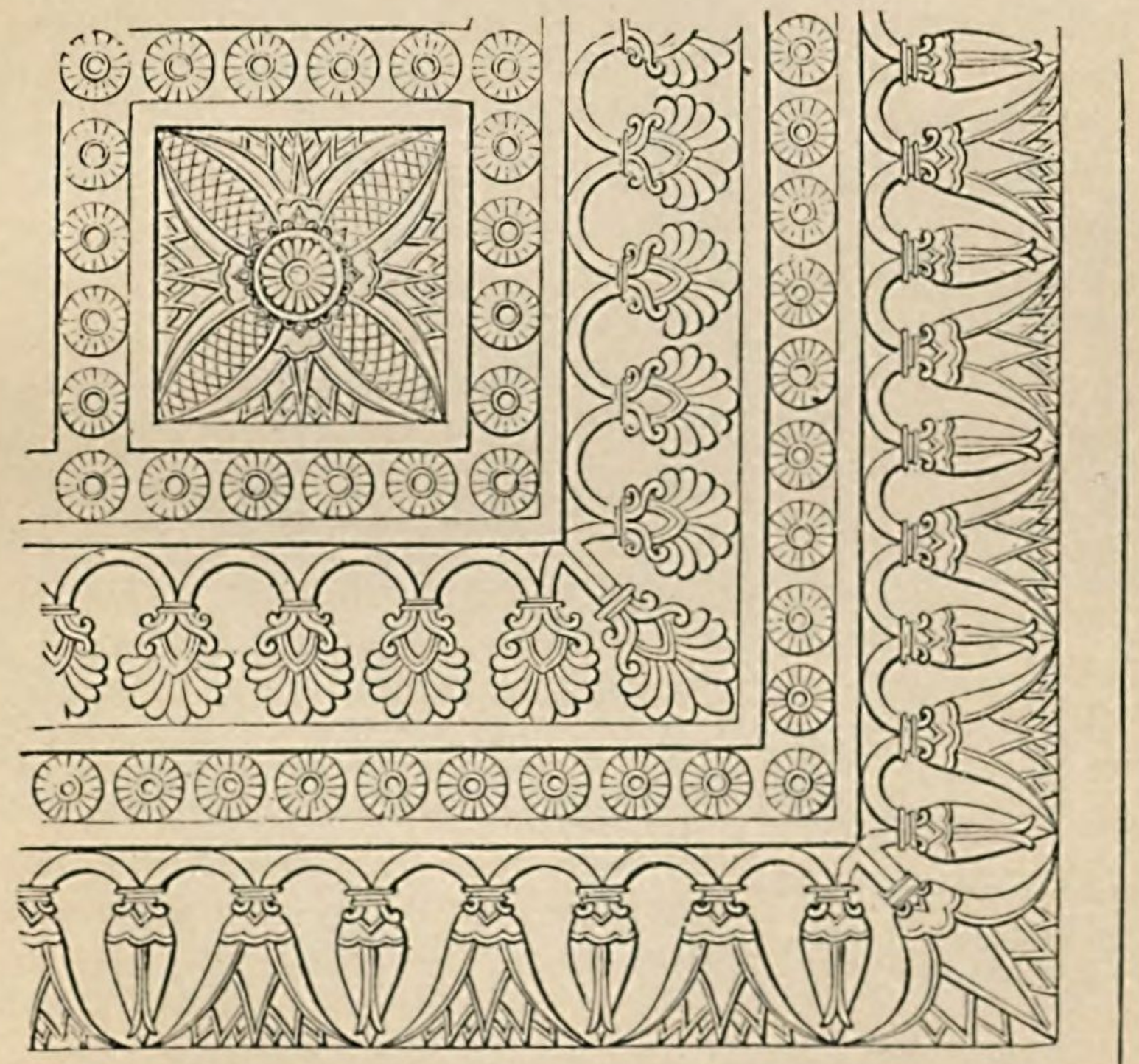
The birds at present frequenting Assyria are chiefly the following: the bustard (which is of two kinds—the great and the middle-sized), the egret, the crane, the stork, the pelican, the flamingo, the red partridge, the black partridge or francolin, the parrot, the Seleucian thrush (*Turdus Seleucus*), the vulture, the falcon or hunting-hawk, the owl, the wild swan, the bramin goose, the ordinary wild goose, the wild duck, the teal,

Fig. 1.



Terrace Wall at Khorsabad.

Fig 2.



Pavement-slab, from the Northern Palace, Koyunjik.

Fig. 1.

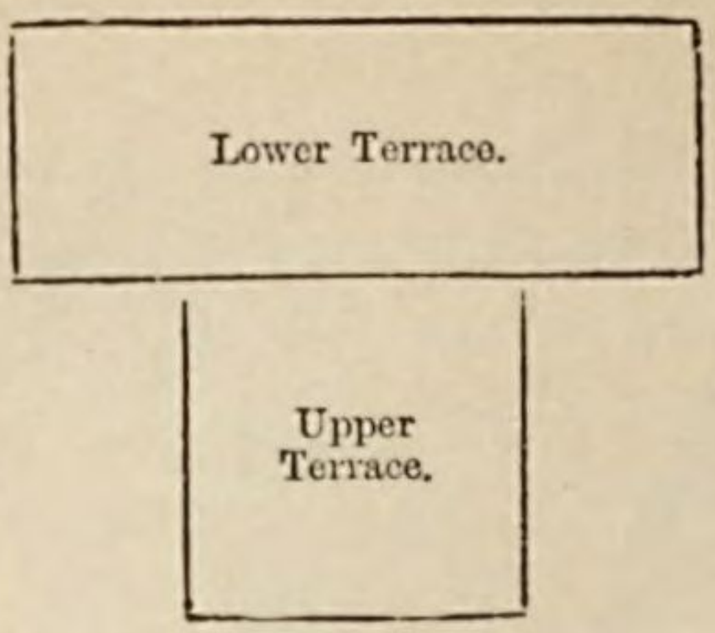
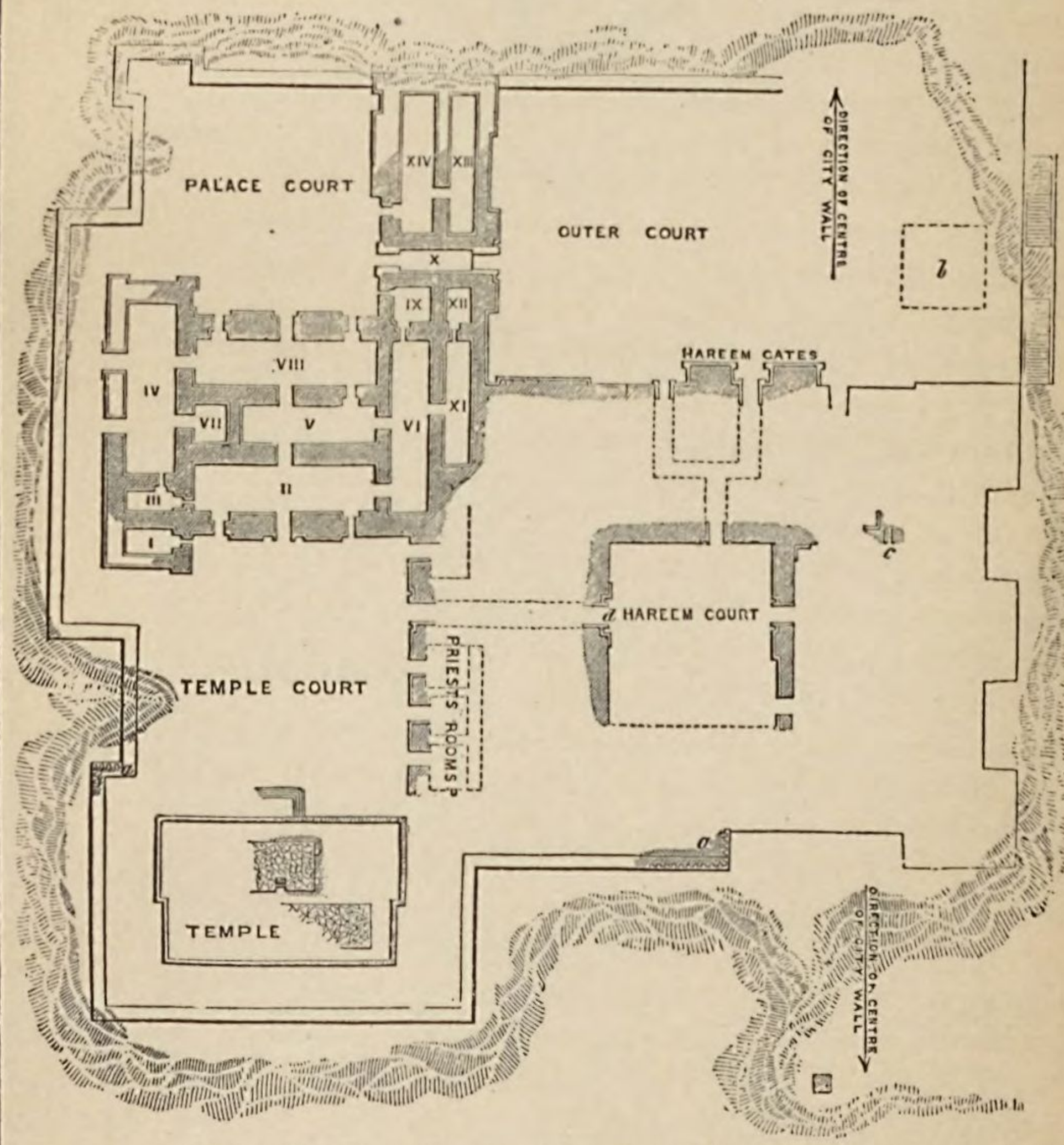


Fig. 2.



Plan of the Palace of Sargon, Khorsabad (after Fergusson)

the tern, the sand-grouse, the turtle dove, the nightingale, the jay, the plover, and the snipe.[100] There is also a large kite or eagle, called "agab," or "the butcher," by the Arabs, which is greatly dreaded by fowlers, as it will attack and kill the falcon no less than other birds.

We have little information as to which of these birds frequented the country in ancient times. The Assyrian artists are not happy in their delineation of the feathered tribe; and though several forms of birds are represented upon the sculptures of Sargon and elsewhere, there are but three which any writer has ventured to identify—the vulture, the ostrich, and the partridge. The vulture is commonly represented flying in the air, in attendance upon the march and the battle—sometimes devouring, as he flies, the entrails of one of Assyria's enemies. Occasionally he appears upon the battle-field, perched upon the bodies of the slain, and pecking at their eyes or their vitals.[101] [Pl. XXVIII., Fig. 4.] The ostrich, which we know from Xenophon to have been a former inhabitant of the country on the left bank of the Euphrates, [102] but which has now retreated into the wilds of Arabia, occurs frequently upon cylinders, dresses, and utensils; sometimes stalking along apparently unconcerned; sometimes hastening at full speed, as if pursued by the hunter, and, agreeably to the description of Xenophon, using its wing for a sail.[103] [Pl. XXIX., Figs. 1, 2.] The partridge is still more common than either of these. He is evidently sought as food. We find him carried in the hand of sportsmen returning from the chase, or see him flying above their heads as they beat the coverts,[104] or finally observe him pierced by a successful shot, and in the act of falling a prey to his pursuers.[105] [Pl. XXIX., Fig. 3.]

The other birds represented upon the sculptures, though occasionally possessing some marked peculiarities of form or habit, have not yet been identified with any known species. [Pl. XXIX., Fig. 2.] They are commonly represented as haunting the fir-woods, and often as perched upon the trees.[106] One appears, in a sculpture of Sargon's, in the act of climbing the stem of a tree, like the nut-hatch or the woodpecker.[107] Another has a tail like a pheasant, but in other respects cannot be said to resemble that bird. The artist does not appear to aim at truth in these delineations, and it probably would be a waste of ingenuity to conjecture which species of bird he intended.

We have no direct evidence that bustards inhabited Meso-

potamia in Assyrian times; but as they have certainly been abundant in that region from the time of Xenophon[108] to our own, there can be little doubt that they existed in some parts of Assyria during the Empire. Considering their size, their peculiar appearance, and the delicacy of their flesh, it is remarkable that the Assyrian remains furnish no trace of them. Perhaps, as they are extremely shy, they may have been comparatively rare in the country when the population was numerous, and when the greater portion of the tract between the rivers was brought under cultivation.

The fish most plentiful in Assyria are the same as in Babylonia,[109] namely, barbel and carp. They abound not only in the Tigris and Euphrates, but also in the lake of Khutaniyeh, and often grow to a great size.[110] Trout are found in the streams which run down from Zagros;[111] and there may be many other sorts which have not yet been observed. The sculptures represent all the waters, whether river, pond, or marsh, as full of fish; but the forms are for the most part too conventional to admit of identification. [Pl. XXIX., Fig. 3.]

The domestic animals now found in Assyria are camels, horses, asses, mules, sheep, goats, oxen, cows, and dogs. The camels are of three colors—white, yellow, and dark brown or black.[112] They are probably all of the same species, though commonly distinguished into camels proper, and *delouls* or dromedaries, the latter differing from the others as the English race-horse from the cart-horse. The Bactrian or two-humped camel, though known to the ancient Assyrians,[113] is not now found in the country. [Pl. XXX., Fig. 1.] The horses are numerous, and of the best Arab blood. Small in stature, but of exquisite symmetry and wonderful powers of endurance, they are highly prized throughout the East,[114] and constitute the chief wealth of the wandering tribes who occupy the greater portion of Mesopotamia. The sheep and goats are also of good breeds, and produce wool of an excellent quality.[115] [Pl. XXX., Fig. 2.] The cows and oxen cannot be commended.[116] The dogs kept are chiefly grayhounds,[117] which are used to course the hare and the gazelle.

It is probable that in ancient times the animals domesticated by the Assyrians were not very different from these. The camel appears upon the monuments both as a beast of burden and also as ridden in war, but only by the enemies of the Assyrians. [Pl. XXX., Fig. 3.] The horse is used both for draught and for riding, but seems never degraded to ignoble

purposes.[118] His breed is good, though he is not so finely or delicately made as the modern Arab. The head is small and well shaped, the nostrils large and high, the neck arched, but somewhat thick, the body compact, the loins strong, the legs moderately slender and sinewy. [Pl. XXX., Fig. 4; Pl. XXXI., Fig. 1.] The ass is not found; but the mule appears, sometimes ridden by women, sometimes used as a beast of burden, sometimes employed in drawing a cart. [Pl. XXXI., Fig. 2; Pl. XXXII., Figs. 1, 2.] Cows, oxen, sheep, and goats are frequent; but they are foreign rather than Assyrian, since they occur only among the spoil taken from conquered countries. The dog is frequent on the later sculptures; and has been found modelled in clay, and also represented in relief on a clay tablet. [Pl. XXXII., Fig. 3; Pl. XXXIII., Fig. 1.] Their character is that of a large mastiff or hound, and there is abundant evidence that they were employed in hunting.[119]

If the Assyrians domesticated any bird, it would seem to have been the duck. Models of the duck are common, and seem generally to have been used for weights.[120] [Pl. XXXIII., Fig. 2.] The bird is ordinarily represented with its head turned upon its back, the attitude of the domestic duck when asleep. The Assyrians seem to have had artificial ponds or stews, which are always represented as full of fish, but the forms are conventional, as has been already observed.[121] Considering the size to which the carp and barbel actually grow at the present day, the ancient representations are smaller than might have been expected.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

"The Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, fair of branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs. . . . . Nor was any tree in the garden of God like unto him in his beauty."—EZEK. xxxi. 3 and 8.

THE ethnic character of the ancient Assyrians, like that of the Chaldæans, was in former times a matter of controversy. When nothing was known of the original language of the people beyond the names of certain kings, princes, and generals, believed to have belonged to the race, it was difficult to arrive at any determinate conclusion on the subject. The ingenuity

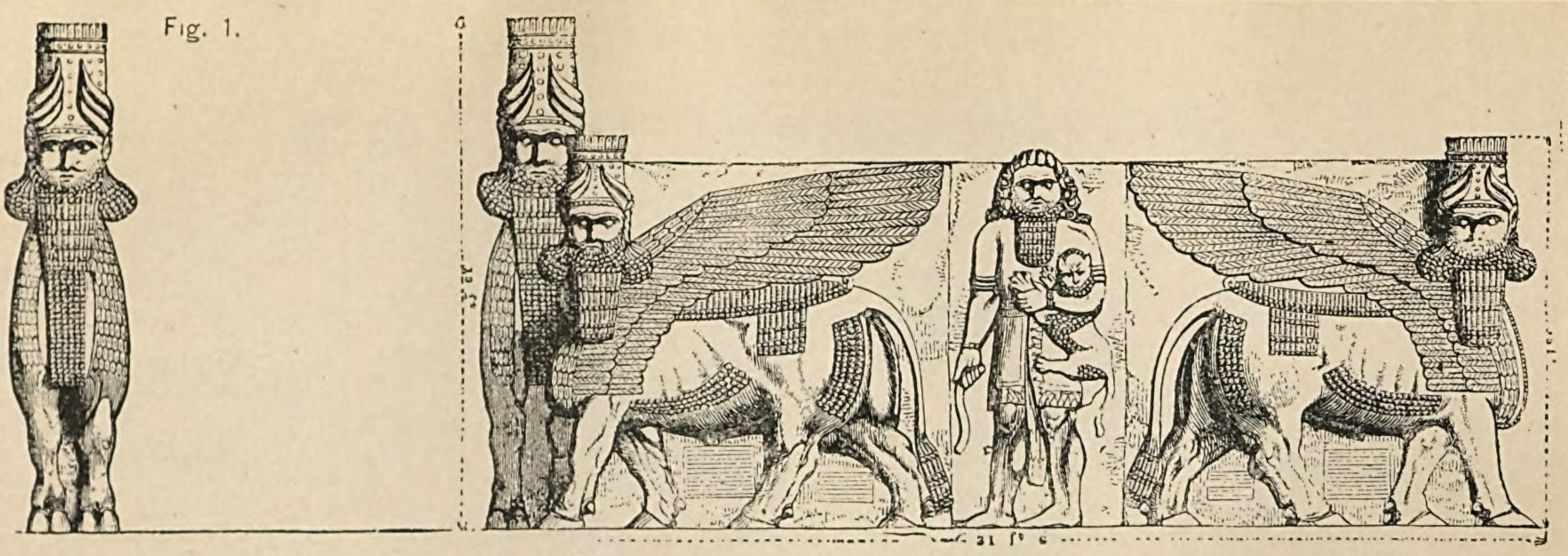
of etymologists displayed itself in suggesting derivations for the words in question,[1] which were sometimes absurd, sometimes plausible, but never more than very doubtful conjectures. No sound historical critic could be content to base a positive view on any such unstable foundation, and nothing remained but to decide the controversy on other than linguistic considerations.

Various grounds existed on which it was felt that a conclusion could be drawn. The Scriptural genealogies[2] connected Asshur with Aram, Eber, and Joktan, the allowed progenitors of the Aramæans or Syrians, the Israelites or Hebrews, and the northern or Joktanian Arabs. The languages, physical type, and moral characteristics of these races were well known; they all belonged evidently to a single family—the family known to ethnologists as the Semitic. Again, the manners and customs, especially the religious customs, of the Assyrians connected them plainly with the Syrians and Phœnicians, with whose practices they were closely allied.[3] Further it was observed that the modern Chaldæans of Kurdistan, who regard themselves as descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the neighboring Assyria, still speak a Semitic dialect.[4] These three distinct and convergent lines of testimony were sufficient to justify historians in the conclusion, which they commonly drew,[5] that the ancient Assyrians belonged to the Semitic family, and were more or less closely connected with the Syrians,[6] the (later) Babylonians, the Phœnicians, the Israelites, and the Arabs of the northern portion of the peninsula.

Recent linguistic discoveries have entirely confirmed the conclusion thus arrived at. We now possess in the engraved slabs, the clay tablets, the cylinders, and the bricks, exhumed from the ruins of the great Assyrian cities, copious documentary evidence of the character of the Assyrian language, and (so far as language is a proof) of the ethnic character of the race. It appears to be doubted by none who have examined the evidence,[7] that the language of these records is Semitic. However imperfect the acquaintance which our best Oriental archæologists have as yet obtained with this ancient and difficult form of speech, its connection with the Syriac, the later Babylonian, the Hebrew, and the Arabic does not seem to admit of a doubt.

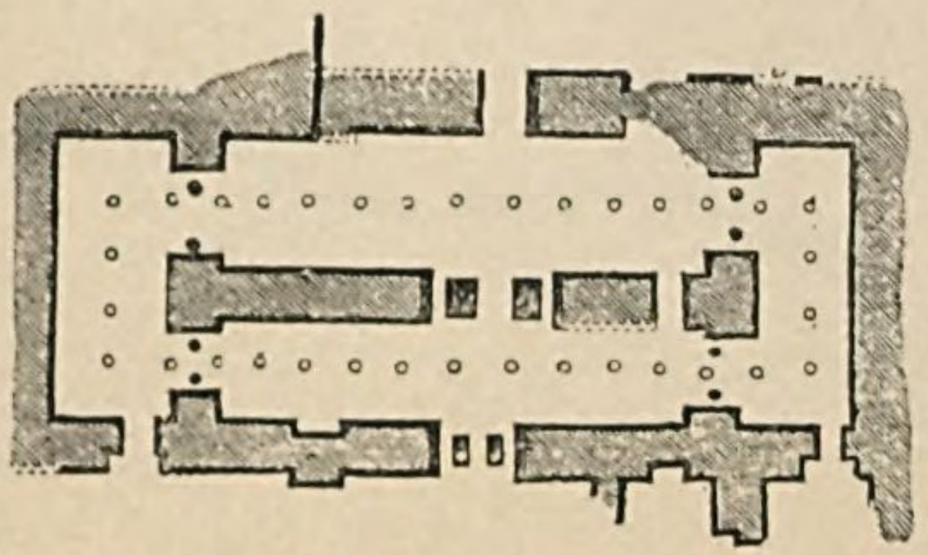
Another curious confirmation of the ordinary belief is to be found in the physical characteristics of the people, as revealed to us by the sculptures. Few persons in any way familiar with

Fig. 1.



Remains of Propylæum, or Outer Gateway, Khorsabad

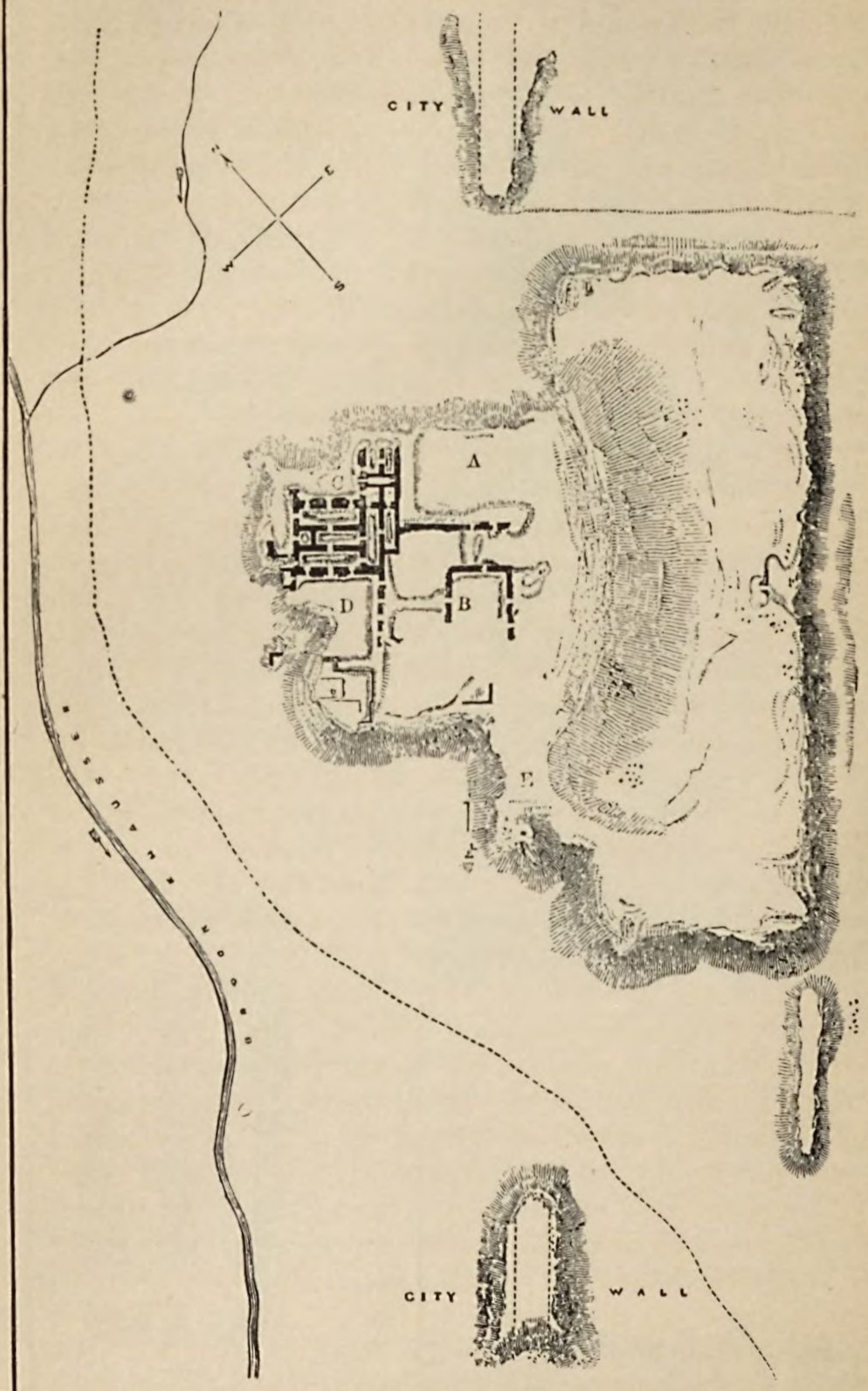
Fig. 2.



Hall of Esar-haddon's Palace, Nimrud.
(Scale of 10 ft. to an inch.)

Fig. 3.

King and attendants, Khorsabad.



Plan of the Palace of Sargon, Khorsabad (after Fergusson).

these works of art can have failed to remark the striking resemblance to the Jewish physiognomy which is presented by the sculptured effigies of the Assyrians. The forehead straight but not high, the full brow, the eye large and almond-shaped, the aquiline nose, a little coarse at the end, and unduly depressed, the strong, firm mouth, with lips somewhat over-thick, the well-formed chin—best seen in the representation of eunuchs—the abundant hair and ample beard, both colored as black—all these recall the chief peculiarities of the Jew, more especially as he appears in southern countries. [Pl. XXXIII., Fig. 3.] They are less like the traits of the Arab, though to them also they bear a considerable resemblance. Chateaubriand's description of the Bedouin—"la tête ovale, le front haut et arqué, le nez *aquilin*, les yeux *grands* et *coupés en amandes*, le régard humide et singulièrement doux"[8]—would serve in many respects equally well for a description of the physiognomy of the Assyrians, as they appear upon the monuments. The traits, in fact, are for the most part common to the Semitic race generally, and not distinctive of any particular subdivision of it. They are seen now alike in the Arab, the Jew, and the Chaldæan of Kurdistan; while anciently they not only characterized the Assyrians, but probably belonged also to the Phœnicians, the Syrians, and other minor Semitic races. It is evident, even from the mannered and conventional sculptures of Egypt, that the physiognomy was regarded as characteristic of the western Asiatic races. Three captives on the monuments of Amenophis III.,[9] represented as belonging to the Patana (people of Bashan?), the Asuru (Assyrians), and the Karukamishi (people of Carchemish), present to us the same style of face, only slightly modified by Egyptian ideas. [Pl. XXXIV., Fig. 1.]

While in face the Assyrians appear thus to have borne a most close resemblance to the Jews, in shape and make they are perhaps more nearly represented by their descendants, the Chaldæans of Kurdistan. While the Oriental Jew has a spare form and a weak muscular development, the Assyrian, like the modern Chaldæan,[10] is robust, broad-shouldered, and large-limbed. Nowhere have we a race represented to us monumentally of a stronger or more muscular type than the ancient Assyrian. The great brawny limbs are too large for beauty; but they indicate a physical power which we may well believe to have belonged to this nation—the Romans of Asia—the resolute and sturdy people which succeeded in imposing its yoke upon all its neighbors. [Pl. XXXIV., Fig. 2.]

If from physical we proceed to mental characteristics, we seem again to have in the Jewish character the best and closest analogy to the Assyrian. In the first place, there is observable in each a strong and marked prominency of the religious principle. Inscriptions of Assyrian kings begin and end, almost without exception, with praises, invocations, and prayers to the principal objects of their adoration. All the monarch's successes, all his conquests and victories, and even his good fortune in the chase,[11] are ascribed continually to the protection and favor of guardian deities. Wherever he goes, he takes care to "set up the emblems of Asshur," or of "the great gods;" and forces the vanquished to do them homage. The choicest of the spoil is dedicated as a thank-offering in the temples. The temples themselves are adorned, repaired, beautified, enlarged, increased in number, by almost every monarch. The kings worship them in person,[12] and offer sacrifices.[13] They embellish their palaces, not only with representations of their own victories and hunting expeditions, but also with religious figures—the emblems of some of the principal deities,[14] and with scenes in which are portrayed acts of adoration. Their signets, and indeed those of the Assyrians generally,[15] have a religious character. In every way religion seems to hold a marked and prominent place in the thoughts of the people, who fight more for the honor of their gods than even of their king, and aim at extending their belief as much as their dominion.

Again, combined with this prominency of the religious principle, is a sensuousness—such as we observe in Judaism continually struggling against a higher and purer element—but which in this less favored branch of the Semitic family reigns uncontrolled, and gives to its religion a gross, material, and even voluptuous character. The ideal and the spiritual find little favor with this practical people, which, not content with symbols, must have gods of wood and stone whereto to pray, and which in its complicated mythological system, its priestly hierarchy, its gorgeous ceremonial, and finally in its lascivious ceremonies,[16] is a counterpart to that Egypt, from which the Jew was privileged to make his escape.

The Assyrians are characterized in Scripture as "a fierce people."[17] Their victories seem to have been owing to their combining individual bravery and hardihood with a skill and proficiency in the arts of war not possessed by their more uncivilized neighbors. This bravery and hardihood were kept

up, partly (like that of the Romans) by their perpetual wars, partly by the training afforded to their manly qualities by the pursuit and destruction of wild animals. The lion—the king of beasts—abounded in their country,[18] together with many other dangerous and ferocious animals. Unlike the ordinary Asiatic, who trembles before the great beasts of prey and avoids a collision by flight if possible,[19] the ancient Assyrian sought out the strongest and fiercest of the animals, provoked them to the encounter, and engaged with them in hand-to-hand combats. The spirit of Nimrod, the "mighty hunter before the Lord," not only animated his own people, but spread on from them to their northern neighbors; and, as far as we can judge by the monuments, prevailed even more in Assyria than in Chaldæa itself. The favorite objects of chase with the Assyrians seem to have been the lion and the wild bull, both beasts of vast strength and courage, which could not be attacked without great danger to the bold assailant.

No doubt the courage of the Assyrians was tinged with ferocity. The nation was "a mighty and a strong one, which, as a tempest of hail and a destroying storm, as a flood of mighty waters overflowing, cast down to the earth with the hand."[20] Its capital might well deserve to be called "a bloody city," or "a city of bloods."[21] Few conquering races have been tender-hearted, or much inclined to spare; and undoubtedly carnage, ruin, and desolation followed upon the track of an Assyrian army, and raised feelings of fear and hatred among their adversaries. But we have no reason to believe that the nation was especially bloodthirsty or unfeeling. The mutilation of the slain—not by way of insult, but in proof of their slayer's prowess[22]—was indeed practised among them; but otherwise there is little indication of any barbarous, much less of any really cruel, usages. The Assyrian listens to the enemy who asks for quarter; he prefers making prisoners to slaying; he is very terrible in the battle and the assault, but afterwards he forgives, and spares. Of course in some cases he makes exceptions. When a town has rebelled and been subdued, he impales some of the most guilty [Pl. XXXV., Fig. 1];[23] and in two or three instances prisoners are represented[24] as led before the king by a rope fastened to a ring which passes through the under lip, while now and then one appears in the act of being flayed with a knife.[25] [Pl. XXXV., Fig. 2.] But, generally, captives are either released, or else transferred, without unnecessary suffering,[26] from their own country to some

other portion of the empire. There seems even to be something of real tenderness in the treatment of captured women, who are never manacled, and are often allowed to ride on mules,[27] or in carts. [Pl. XXXVI., Fig. 1.]

The worst feature in the character of the Assyrians was their treachery. "Woe to thee that spoilest, though thou wast not spoiled, and dealest treacherously, though they dealt not treacherously with thee!" is the denunciation of the evangelical prophet.[28] And in the same spirit the author of "The Burthen of Nineveh" declares that city to be "full of lies and robbery"[29]—or, more correctly, full of lying and violence."[30] Falsehood and treachery are commonly regarded as the vices of the weak, who are driven to defend themselves against superior strength by the weapon of cunning; but they are perhaps quite as often employed by the strong as furnishing short cuts to success, and even where the moral standard is low, as being in themselves creditable.[31] It certainly was not necessity which made the Assyrians covenant-breakers; it seems to have been in part the wantonness of power—because they "despised the cities and regarded no man;"[32] perhaps it was in part also their imperfect moral perception, which may have failed to draw the proper distinction between craft and cleverness.

Another unpleasant feature in the Assyrian character—but one at which we can feel no surprise—was their pride. This is the quality which draws forth the sternest denunciations of Scripture, and is expressly declared to have called down the Divine judgments upon the race.[33] Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah alike dwell upon it.[34] It pervades the inscriptions. Without being so rampant or offensive as the pride of some Orientals—as, for instance, the Chinese—it is of a marked and decided color: the Assyrian feels himself infinitely superior to all the nations with whom he is brought into contact; he alone enjoys the favor of the gods; he alone is either truly wise or truly valiant; the armies of his enemies are driven like chaff before him; he sweeps them away, like heaps of stubble; either they fear to fight, or they are at once defeated; he carries his victorious arms just as far as it pleases him, and never under any circumstances admits that he has suffered a reverse. The only merit that he allows to foreigners is some skill in the mechanical and mimetic arts, and his acknowledgment of this is tacit rather than express, being chiefly known from the recorded fact that he employs foreign artists to ornament his edifices.

According to the notions which the Greeks derived from Ctesias,[35] and passed on to the Romans, and through them to the moderns generally, the greatest defect in the Assyrian character—the besetting sin of their leading men—was luxuriousness of living and sensuality. From Ninyas to Sardanapalus—from the commencement to the close of the Empire—a line of voluptuaries, according to Ctesias and his followers, held possession of the throne; and the principle was established from the first, that happiness consisted in freedom from all cares or troubles, and unchecked indulgence in every species of sensual pleasure.[36] This account, intrinsically suspicious, is now directly contradicted by the authentic records which we possess of the warlike character and manly pursuits of so many of the kings. It probably, however, contains a germ of truth. In a flourishing kingdom like Assyria, luxury must have gradually advanced; and when the empire fell under the combined attack of its two most powerful neighbors, no doubt it had lost much of its pristine vigor. The monuments lend some support to the view that luxury was among the causes which produced the fall of Assyria; although it may be questioned whether, even to the last, the predominant spirit was not warlike and manly, or even fierce and violent. Among the many denunciations of Assyria in Scripture, there is only one which can even be thought to point to luxury as a cause of her downfall; and that is a passage of very doubtful interpretation.[37] In general it is her violence, her treachery, and her pride that are denounced. When Nineveh repented in the time of Jonah, it was by each man "turning from his evil way and from the *violence* which was in their hands."[38] When Nahum announces the final destruction, it is on "the *bloody* city, full of lies and *robbery*."[39] In the emblematic language of prophecy, the *lion* is taken as the fittest among animals to symbolize Assyria, even at this late period of her history.[40] She is still "the lion that did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lioness, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin." The favorite national emblem, if it may be so called,[41] is accepted as the true type of the people; and blood, ravin, and robbery are their characteristics in the mind of the Hebrew prophet.

In mental power the Assyrians certainly deserve to be considered as among the foremost of the Asiatic races. They had not perhaps so much originality as the Chaldæans, from whom they appear to have derived the greater part of their

civilization; but in many respects it is clear that they surpassed their instructors, and introduced improvements which gave a greatly increased value and almost a new character to arts previously discovered. The genius of the people will best be seen from the accounts hereafter to be given of their language, their arts, and their system of government. If it must be allowed that these have all a certain smack of rudeness and primitive simplicity, still they are advances upon aught that had previously existed—not only in Mesopotamia —but in the world. Fully to appreciate the Assyrians, we should compare them with the much-lauded Egyptians, who in all important points are very decidedly their inferiors. The spirit and progressive character of their art offers the strongest contrast to the stiff, lifeless, and unchanging conventionalism of the dwellers on the Nile. Their language and alphabet are confessedly in advance of the Egyptian.[42] Their religion is more earnest and less degraded. In courage and military genius their superiority is very striking; for the Egyptians are essentially an unwarlike people. The one point of advantage to which Egypt may fairly lay claim is the grandeur and durability of her architecture. The Assyrian palaces, magnificent as they undoubtedly were, must yield the palm to the vast structures of Egyptian Thebes.[43] No nation, not even Rome, has equalled Egypt in the size and solemn grandeur of its buildings. But, except in this one respect, the great African kingdom must be regarded as inferior to her Asiatic rival—which was indeed "a cedar in Lebanon, exalted above *all* the trees of the field—fair in greatness and in the length of his branches—so that all the trees that were in the garden of God envied him, and not one was like unto him in his beauty."[44]

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAPITAL.

"Fuit et Ninus, imposita Tigri, ad solis occasum spectans, quondam clarissima."
—PLIN. *H. N.* vi. 13.

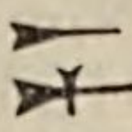
THE site of the great capital of Assyria had generally been regarded as fixed with sufficient certainty to the tract immediately opposite Mosul, alike by local tradition and by the statements of ancient writers,[1] when the discovery by modern travellers of architectural remains of great magnificence at

some considerable distance from this position, threw a doubt upon the generally received belief, and made the true situation of the ancient Nineveh once more a matter of controversy. When the noble sculptures and vast palaces of Nimrud were first uncovered, it was natural to suppose that they marked the real site; for it seemed unlikely that any mere provincial city should have been adorned by a long series of monarchs with buildings at once on so grand a scale and so richly ornamented. A passage of Strabo, and another of Ptolemy,[2] were thought to lend confirmation to this theory, which placed the Assyrian capital nearly at the junction of the Upper Zab with the Tigris; and for awhile the old opinion was displaced, and the name of Nineveh was attached very generally in this country to the ruins at Nimrud.

Shortly afterwards a rival claimant started up in the regions further to the north. Excavations carried on at the village of Khorsabad showed that a magnificent palace and a considerable town had existed in Assyrian times at that site. In spite of the obvious objection that the Khorsabad ruins lay at the distance of fifteen miles from the Tigris, which according to every writer of weight[3] anciently washed the walls of Nineveh, it was assumed by the excavator that the discovery of the capital had been reserved for himself, and the splendid work representing the Khorsabad bas-reliefs and inscriptions, which was published in France under the title of "Monument de Ninive," caused the reception of M. Botta's theory in many parts of the Continent.

After awhile an attempt was made to reconcile the rival claims by a theory, the grandeur of which gained it acceptance, despite its improbability. It was suggested that the various ruins, which had hitherto disputed the name, were in fact all included within the circuit of the ancient Nineveh; which was described as a rectangle, or oblong square, eighteen miles long and twelve broad. The remains of Khorsabad, Koyunjik, Nimrud, and Keremles marked the four corners of this vast quadrangle,[4] which contained an area of 216 square miles—about ten times that of London! In confirmation of this view was urged, first, the description in Diodorus,[5] derived probably from Ctesias, which corresponded (it was said) both with the proportions and with the actual distances; and next, the statements contained in the book of Jonah,[6] which (it was argued) implied a city of some such dimensions. The parallel of Babylon, according to the description given by Herodotus,[7]

might fairly have been cited as a further argument; since it might have seemed reasonable to suppose that there was no great difference of size between the chief cities of the two kindred empires.

Attractive, however, as this theory is from its grandeur, and harmonious as it must be allowed to be with the reports of the Greeks, we have nevertheless to reject it on two grounds, the one historical and the other topographical. The ruins of Khorsabad, Keremles, Nimrud, and Koyunjik bear on their bricks distinct local titles; and these titles are found attaching to distinct cities in the historical inscriptions. Nimrud, as already observed, is Calah; and Khorsabad is Dur-Sargina, or "the city of Sargon." Keremles has also its own appellation Dur-***, "the city of the God  ." Now the Assyrian writers do not consider these places to be parts of Nineveh, but speak of them as distinct and separate cities. Calah for a long time is the capital, while Nineveh is mentioned as a provincial town. Dur-Sargina is built by Sargon, not at Nineveh, but "*near* to Nineveh." Scripture, it must be remembered, similarly distinguishes Calah as a place separate from Nineveh, and so far from it that there was room for "a great city" between them.[8] And the geographers, while they give the name of Aturia or Assyria Proper to the country about the one town,[9] call the region which surrounds the other by a distinct name, Calachené.[10] Again, when the country is closely examined, it is found, not only that there are no signs of any continuous town over the space included within the four sites of Nimrud, Keremles, Khorsabad, and Koyunjik, nor any remains of walls or ditches connecting them,[11] but that the four sites themselves are as carefully fortified on what, by the theory we are examining, would be the inside of the city as in other directions.[12] It perhaps need scarcely be added, unless to meet the argument drawn from Diodorus, that the four sites in question are not so placed as to form the "oblong square" of his description,[13] but mark the angles of a rhombus very much slanted from the perpendicular.

The argument derived from the book of Jonah deserves more attention than that which rests upon the authority of Diodorus and Ctesias. Unlike Ctesias, Jonah saw Nineveh while it still stood; and though the writer of the prophetical book may not have been Jonah himself,[14] he probably lived not very many years later.[15] Thus his evidence is that of a contemporary,

Fig. 1.

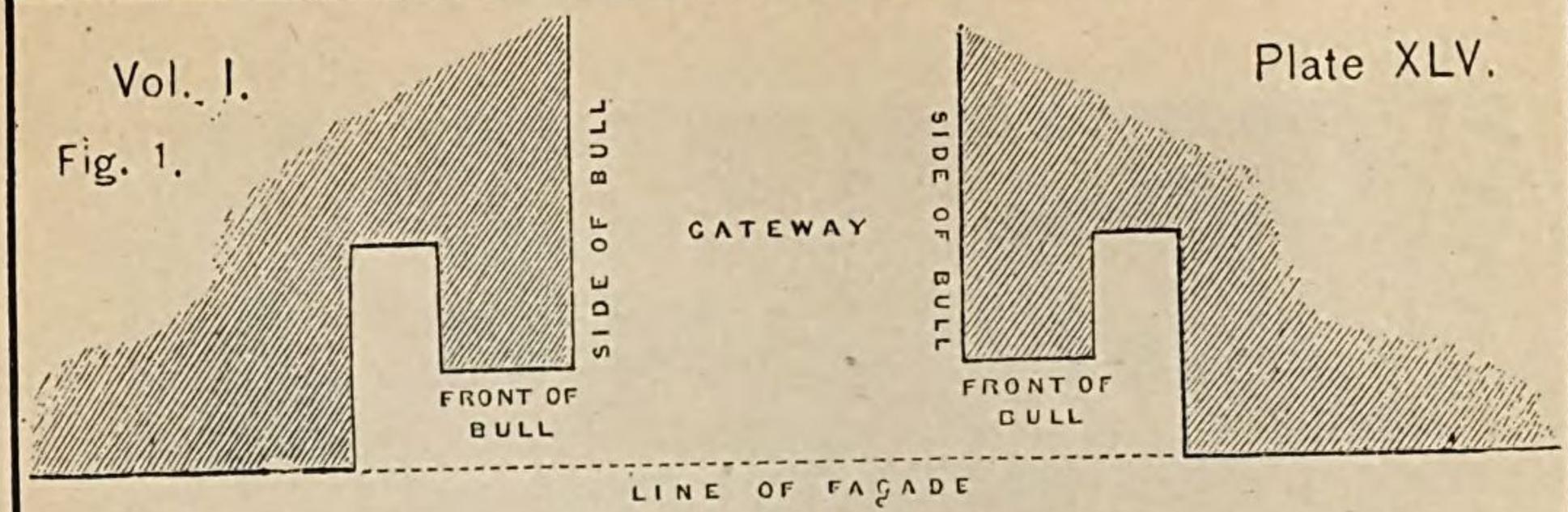
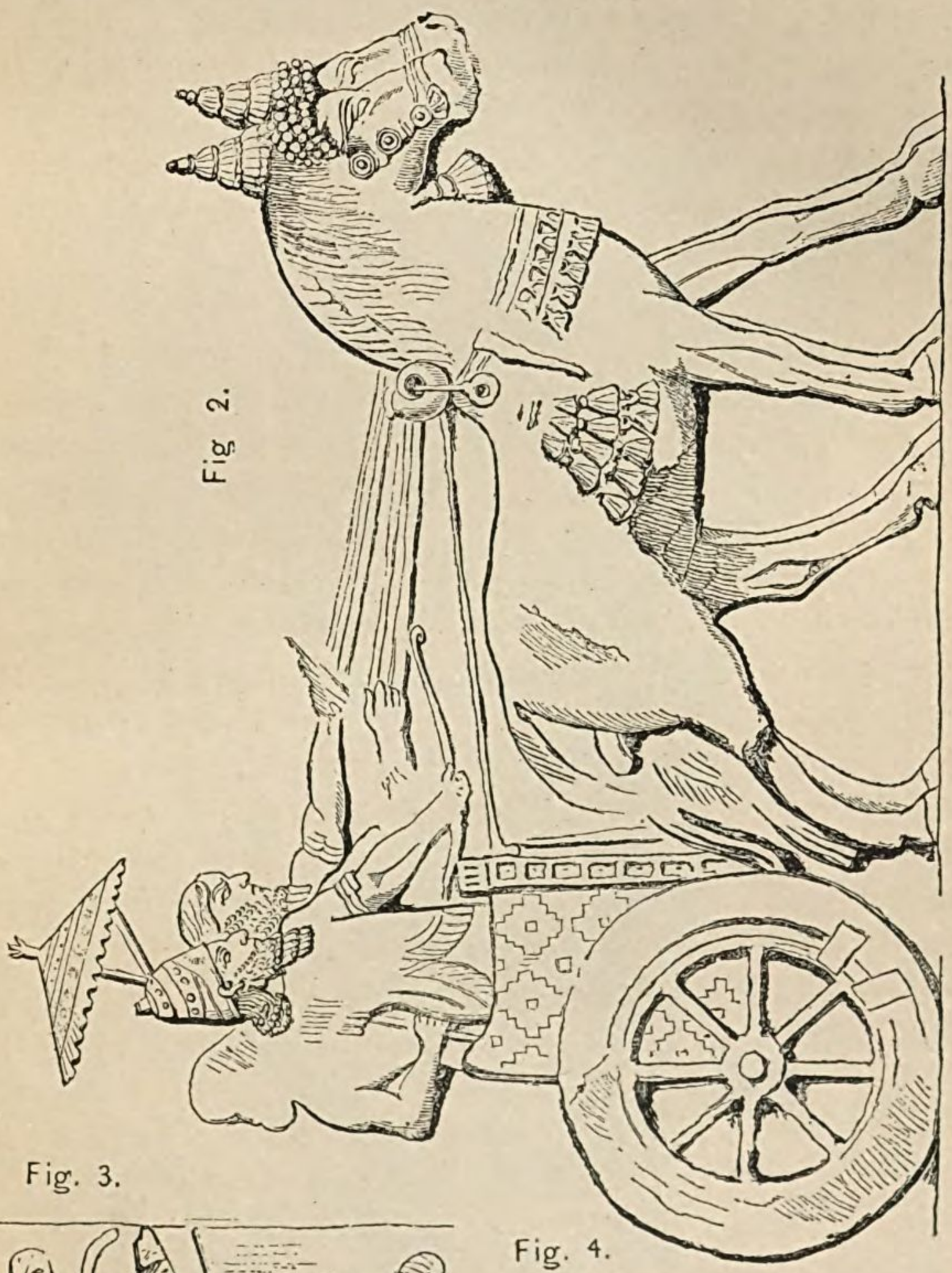


Fig 2.

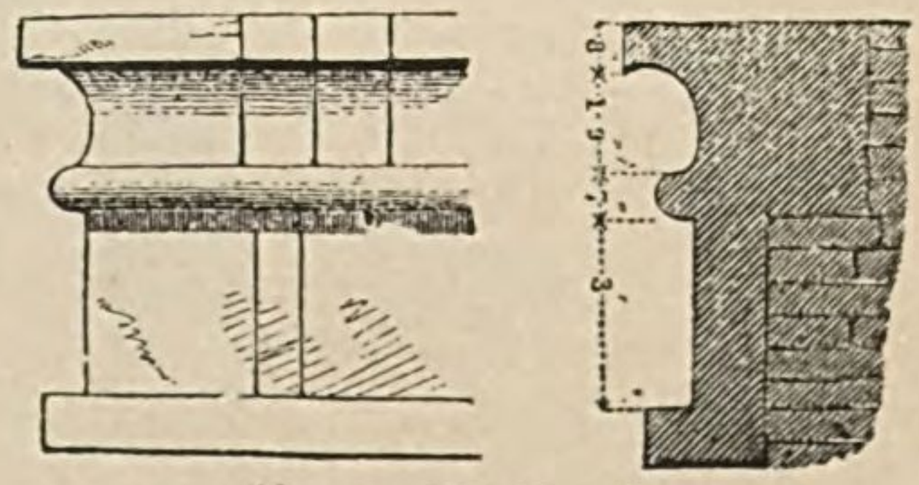


Sargon in his war-chariot, Khorsabad.

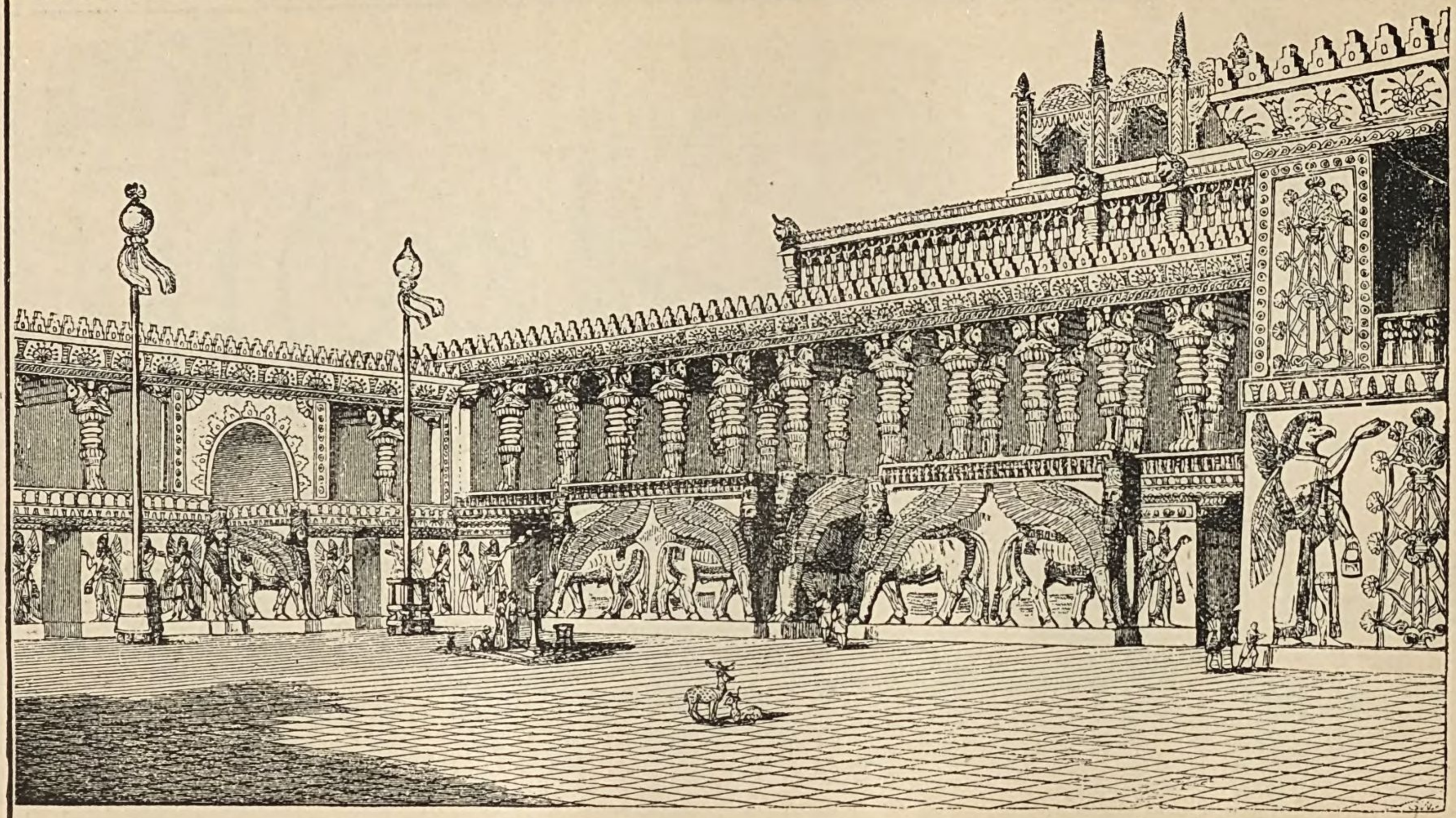
Fig. 3.

King punishing Prisoners, Khorsabad.

Fig. 4.



Cornice of Temple, Khorsabad.



North-West Court of Sargon's Palace at Khorsabad, restored (After Fergusson.)

though (it may be) not that of an eye-witness; and, even apart from the inspiration which guided his pen, he is entitled to be heard with the utmost respect. Now the statements of this writer, which have a bearing on the size of Nineveh, are two. He tells us, in one place, that it was "an exceeding great city, of three days' journey;[16] in another, that "in it were more than 120,000 persons who could not discern between their right hand and their left."[17] These passages are clearly intended to describe a city of a size unusual at the time; but both of them are to such an extent vague and indistinct, that it is impossible to draw from either separately, or even from the two combined, an exact definite notion. "A city of three days' journey" may be one which it requires three days to traverse from end to end, or one which is three days' journey in circumference, or, lastly, one which cannot be thoroughly visited and explored by a prophet commissioned to warn the inhabitants of a coming danger in less than three days' time. Persons not able to distinguish their right hand from their left may (if taken literally) mean children, and 120,000 such persons may therefore indicate a total population of 600,000; or, the phrase may perhaps with greater probability be understood of moral ignorance, and the intention would in that case be to designate by it all the inhabitants. If Nineveh was in Jonah's time a city containing a population of 120,000, it would sufficiently deserve the title of "an exceeding great city;" and the prophet might well be occupied for three days in traversing its squares and streets. We shall find hereafter that the ruins opposite Mosul have an extent more than equal to the accommodation of this number of persons.

The weight of the argument from the supposed parallel case of Babylon must depend on the degree of confidence which can be reposed in the statement made by Herodotus, and on the opinion which is ultimately formed with regard to the real size of that capital. It would be improper to anticipate here the conclusions which may be arrived at hereafter concerning the real dimensions of "Babylon the Great;" but it may be observed that grave doubts are entertained in many quarters as to the ancient statements on the subject, and that the ruins do not cover much more than one twenty-fifth of the space which Herodotus assigns to the city.

We may, therefore, without much hesitation, set aside the theory which would ascribe to the ancient Nineveh dimensions nine or ten times greater than those of London, and proceed to

a description of the group of ruins believed by the best judges to mark the true site.

The ruins opposite Mosul consist of two principal mounds, known respectively as Nebbi-Yunus and Koyunjik. [Pl. XXXVI., Fig. 2.] The Koyunjik mound, which lies to the north-west of the other, at the distance of 900 yards, or a little more than half a mile, is very much the more considerable of the two. Its shape is an irregular oval, elongated to a point towards the north-east, in the line of its greater axis. The surface is nearly flat; the sides slope at a steep angle, and are furrowed with numerous ravines, worn in the soft material by the rains of some thirty centuries. The greatest height of the mound above the plain is towards the south-eastern extremity, where it overhangs the small stream of the Khosr; the elevation in this part being about ninety-five feet. The area covered by the mound is estimated at a hundred acres, and the entire mass is said to contain 14,500,000 tons of earth. The labor of a man would scarcely excavate and place in position more than 120 tons of earth in a year; it would require, therefore, the united exertions of 10,000 men for twelve years, or 20,000 men for six years, to complete the structure.[18] On this artificial eminence were raised in ancient times the palaces and temples of the Assyrian monarchs, which are now imbedded in the *débris* of their own ruins.

The mound of Nebbi-Yunus is at its base nearly triangular. [Pl. XXXVII., Fig. 1.] It covers an area of about forty acres. It is loftier, and its sides are more precipitous, than Koyunjik, especially on the west, where it abutted upon the wall of the city. The surface is mostly flat, but is divided about the middle by a deep ravine, running nearly from north to south, and separating the mound into an eastern and a western portion. The so-called tomb of Jonah is conspicuous on the north edge of the western portion of the mound, and about it are grouped the cottages of the Kurds and Turcomans to whom the site of the ancient Nineveh belongs. The eastern portion of the mound forms a burial-ground, to which the bodies of Mahometans are brought from considerable distances. The mass of earth is calculated at six and a half millions of tons; so that its erection would have given full employment to 10,000 men for the space of five years and a half.

These two vast mounds—the platforms on which palaces and temples were raised—are both in the same line, and abutted, both of them, on the western wall of the city. Their position

in that wall is thought to have been determined, not by chance, but by design; since they break the western face of the city into three nearly equal portions.[19] The entire length of this side of Nineveh was 13,600 feet, or somewhat more than two and a half miles. Anciently it seems to have immediately overhung the Tigris, which has now moved off to the west, leaving a plain nearly a mile in width between its eastern edge and the old rampart of the city. This rampart followed, apparently, the natural course of the river-bank; and hence, while on the whole it is tolerably straight, in the most southern of the three portions it exhibits a gentle curve, where the river evidently made a sweep, altering its course from south-east nearly to south.

The western wall at its northern extremity approaches the present course of the Tigris, and is here joined, exactly at right angles, by the northern, or rather the north-western, rampart, which runs in a perfectly straight line to the north-eastern angle of the city, and is said to measure exactly 7000 feet.[20] This wall is again divided, like the western, but with even more preciseness, into three equal portions. Commencing at the north-eastern angle, one-third of it is carried along comparatively high ground, after which for the remaining two-thirds of its course it falls by a gentle decline towards the Tigris. Exactly midway in this slope the rampart is broken by a road, adjoining which is a remarkable mound, covering one of the chief gates of the city.[21]

At its other extremity the western wall forms a very obtuse angle with the southern, which impends over a deep ravine formed by a winter torrent, and runs in a straight line for about 1000 yards, when it meets the eastern wall, with which it forms a slightly acute angle.

It remains to describe the eastern wall, which is the longest and the least regular of the four. This barrier skirts the edge of a ridge of conglomerate rock, which here rises somewhat above the level of the plain, and presents a slightly convex sweep to the north-east. At first it runs nearly parallel to the western, and at right angles to the northern wall; but, after pursuing this course for about three quarters of a mile, it is forced by the natural convexity of the ridge to retire a little, and curving gently inwards it takes a direction much more southerly than at first, thus drawing continually nearer to the western wall, whose course is almost exactly south-east. The entire length of this wall is 16,000 feet, or above three miles.

It is divided into two portions, whereof the southern is somewhat the longer, by the stream of the Khosr-Su; which coming from the north-west, finds its way through the ruins of the city, and then runs on across the low plain to the Tigris.

The enceinte of Nineveh forms thus an irregular trapezium, or a "triangle with its apex abruptly cut off to the south."[22] The breadth, even in the broadest part—that towards the north—is very disproportionate to the length, standing to it as four to nine, or as 1 to 2·25. The town is thus of an oblong shape, and so far Diodorus truly described it;[23] though his dimensions greatly exceed the truth. The circuit of the walls is somewhat less than eight miles, instead of being more than *fifty;* and the area which they include is 1800 English acres, instead of being 112,000!

It is reckoned that in a populous Oriental town we may compute the inhabitants at nearly, if not quite, a hundred per acre. This allows a considerable space for streets, open squares, and gardens, since it assigns but one individual to every space of fifty square yards. According to such a mode of reckoning, the population of ancient Nineveh, within the enceinte here described, may be estimated at 175,000 souls. No city of Western Asia is at the present day so populous.

In the above description of the ramparts surrounding Nineveh, no account has been given of their width or height. According to Diodorus, the wall wherewith Ninus surrounded his capital was 100 feet high, and so broad that three chariots might drive side by side along the top. Xenophon, who passed close to the ruins on his retreat with the Ten Thousand, calls the height 150 feet, and the width 50 feet.[24] The actual greatest height at present seems to be 46 feet;[25] but the *débris* at the foot of the walls are so great, and the crumbled character of the walls themselves is so evident, that the chief modern explorer inclines to regard the computation of Diodorus as probably no exaggeration of the truth.[26] The width of the walls, in their crumbled condition, is from 100 to 200 feet.

The mode in which the walls were constructed seems to have been the following. Up to a certain height--fifty feet, according to Xenophon[27]--they were composed of neatly-hewn blocks of a fossiliferous limestone, smoothed and polished on the outside.[28] Above this, the material used was sun-dried brick. The stone masonry was certainly ornamented along its top by a continuous series of battlements or gradines in the same material[29] [Pl. XXXVII., Fig. 2]; and it is not unlikely that

a similar ornamentation crowned the upper brick structure.[30] The wall was pierced at irregular intervals by gates, above which rose lofty towers; while towers, probably of lesser elevation, occurred also in the portions of the wall intervening between one gate and another. A gate in the north-western rampart has been cleared by means of excavation, the form and construction of which will best appear from the annexed ground-plan. [Pl. XXXVII., Fig. 3.] It seems to have consisted of three gateways, whereof the inner and outer were ornamented with colossal human-headed bulls and other figures, while the central one was merely panelled with slabs of alabaster. Between the gateways were two large chambers, 70 feet long by 23 feet wide, which were thus capable of containing a considerable body of soldiers. The chambers and gateways are supposed to have been arched over, like the castles' gates on the bas-reliefs. The gates themselves have wholly disappeared; but the *débris* which filled both the chambers and the passages contained so much charcoal that it is thought they must have been made, not of bronze, like the gates of Babylon,[31] but of wood. The ground within the gateway was paved with large slabs of limestone, still bearing the marks of chariot wheels.[32]

The castellated rampart which thus surrounded and guarded Nineveh did not constitute by any means its sole defence. Outside the stone basement wall lay on every side a water barrier, consisting on the west and south of natural river courses; on the north and east, of artificial channels into which water was conducted from the Khosr-su. The northern and eastern walls were skirted along their whole length by a broad and deep moat, into which the Khosr-su was made to flow by occupying its natural bed with a strong dam, carried across it in the line of the eastern wall, and at the point where the stream now enters the enclosure. On meeting this obstruction, of which there are still some remains, the waters divided, and while part flowed to the south-east, and reached the Tigris by the ravine immediately to the south of the city, which is a natural water-course, part turned at an acute angle to the north-west, and, washing the remainder of the eastern and the whole of the northern wall, gained the Tigris at the north-west angle of the city, where a second dam kept it at a sufficient height. Moreover, on the eastern face, which appears to have been regarded as the weakest, a series of outworks were erected for the further defence of the city. North of the Khosr, between

the city wall and that river, which there runs parallel to the wall, and forms a sort of second or outer moat, there are traces of a detached fort of considerable size, which must have greatly strengthened the defences in that quarter. South and south-east of the Khosr, the works are still more elaborate. In the first place, from a point where the Khosr leaves the hills and debouches upon comparatively low ground, a deep ditch, 200 feet broad, was carried through compact silicious conglomerate for upwards of two miles, till it joined the ravine which formed the natural protection of the city upon the south. On either side of this ditch, which could be readily supplied with water from the Khosr at its northern extremity, was built a broad and lofty wall; the eastern one, which forms the outermost of the defences, rises even now a hundred feet above the bottom of the ditch on which it adjoins. Further, between this outer barrier and the city moat was interposed a species of demi-lune, guarded by a double wall and a broad ditch, and connected (as is thought) by a covered way with Nineveh itself.[33] Thus the city was protected on this, its most vulnerable side, towards the centre by five walls and three broad and deep moats; towards the north, by a wall, a moat, the Khosr, and a strong outpost; towards the south, by two moats, and three lines of rampart. The breadth of the whole fortification on this side is 2200 feet, or not far from half a mile.[34] [Pl. XXXVIII.]

Such was the site, and such were the defences, of the capital of Assyria. Of its internal arrangements but little can be said at present, since no general examination of the space within the ramparts has been as yet made, and no ancient account of the interior has come down to us. We can only see that the side of the city which was most fashionable was the western, which immediately overhung the Tigris; since here were the palaces of the kings, and here seem also to have been the dwellings of the richer citizens; at least, it is on this side, in the space intervening between Koyunjik and the northern ramparts, that the only very evident remains of edifices—besides the great mounds of Koyunjik and Nebbi-Yunus—are found.[35] The river was no doubt the main attraction; but perhaps the western side was also considered the most secure, as lying furthest from the quarter whence alone the inhabitants expected to be attacked, namely, the east. It is impossible at present to give any account of the character of the houses or the direction of the streets. Perhaps the time may not be far distant

when more systematic and continuous efforts will be made by the enterprise of Europe to obtain full knowledge of all the remains which still lie buried at this interesting site. No such discoveries are indeed to be expected as those which have recently startled the world; but patient explorers would still be sure of an ample reward, were they to glean after Layard in the field from which he swept so magnificent a harvest.

CHAPTER V.

LANGUAGE AND WRITING.

"*Γράμματα Ἀσσύρια.*"—HEROD. iv. 87.

THERE has never been much difference of opinion among the learned with regard to the language spoken by the Assyrians. As the Biblical genealogy connected Asshur with Eber and Aram,[1] while the Greeks plainly regarded the Syrians, Assyrians, and Babylonians as a single race,[2] it was always supposed that the people thus associated must have possessed a tongue allied, more or less closely, to the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Chaldee. These tongues were known to be dialectic varieties of a single form of speech—the Semitic; and it was consequently the general belief, before any Assyrian inscriptions had been disinterred, that the Assyrian language was of this type, either a sister tongue to the three above mentioned, or else identical with some one of them. The only difficulty in the way of this theory was the supposed Medo-Persic or Arian character of a certain number of Assyrian royal names; but this difficulty was thought to be sufficiently met by a suggestion that the ruling tribe might have been of Median descent, and have maintained its own national appellatives, while the mass of the population belonged to a different race.[3] Recent discoveries have shown that this last suggestion was needless, as the difficulty which it was intended to meet does not exist. The Assyrian names which either *history* or the monuments have handed down to us are Semitic, and not Arian. It is only among the fabulous accounts of the Assyrian Empire put forth by Ctesias that Arian names, such as Xerxes, Arius, Armamithres, Mithræus, etc., are to be found.

Together with the true names of the Assyrian kings, the mounds of Mesopotamia have yielded up a mass of documents

in the Assyrian language, from which it is possible that we may one day acquire as full a knowledge of its structure and vocabulary as we possess at present of Greek or Latin. These documents have confirmed the previous belief that the tongue is Semitic. They consist, in the first place, of long inscriptions upon the slabs of stone with which the walls of palaces were panelled, sometimes occupying the stone to the exclusion of any sculpture, sometimes carried across the dress of figures, always carefully cut, and generally in good preservation.[4] Next in importance to these memorials are the hollow cylinders, or, more strictly speaking, hexagonal or octagonal prisms, made in extremely fine and thin terra cotta,[5] which the Assyrian kings used to deposit at the corners of temples, inscribed with an account of their chief acts and with numerous religious invocations. [Pl. XXXIX., Fig. 1.] These cylinders vary from a foot and a half to three feet in height, and are covered closely with a small writing, which it often requires a good magnifying glass to decipher. A cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser I. (about B.C. 1180) contains thirty lines in a space of six inches, or five lines to an inch, which is nearly as close as the type of the present volume. This degree of closeness is exceeded on a cylinder of Asshur-bani-pal's (about B.C. 660), where the lines are six to the inch, or as near together as the type of the *Edinburgh Review*. If the complexity of the Assyrian characters be taken into account, and if it be remembered that the whole inscription was in every case impressed by the hand, this minuteness must be allowed to be very surprising. It is not favorable to legibility; and the patience of cuneiform scholars has been severely tried by a mode of writing which sacrifices everything to the desire of crowding the greatest possible quantity of words into the smallest possible space. In one respect, however, facility of reading is consulted, for the inscriptions on the cylinders are not carried on in continuous lines round all the sides, but are written in columns, each column occupying a side. The lines are thus tolerably short; and the whole of a sentence is brought before the eye at once.

Besides slabs and cylinders, the written memorials of Assyria comprise inscribed bulls and lions, stone obelisks, clay tablets, bricks, and engraved seals. The seals generally resemble those of the Chaldæans, which have been already described;[6] but are somewhat more elaborate, and more varied in their character. [Pl. XXXIX., Fig. 2.] They do not very often exhibit any writing; but occasionally they are inscribed with

Armenian Buildings (from Koyunjik).

Fig 1.

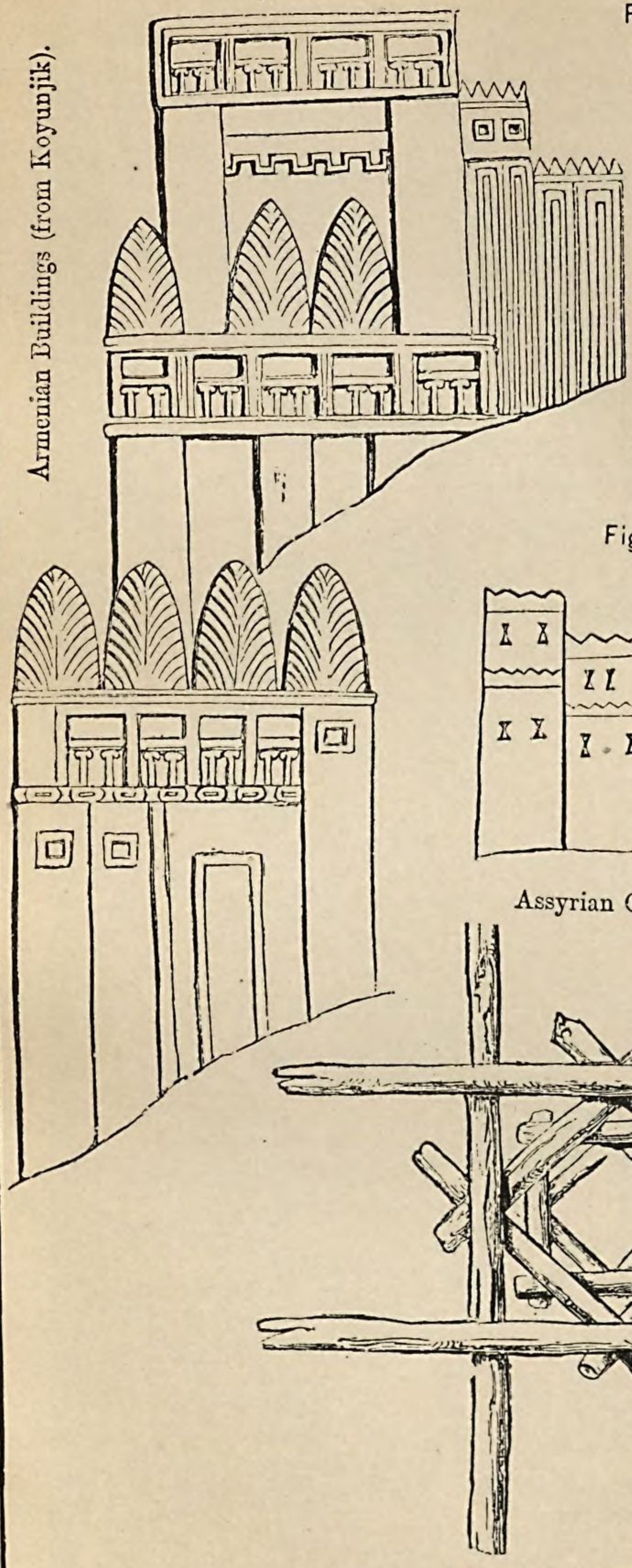
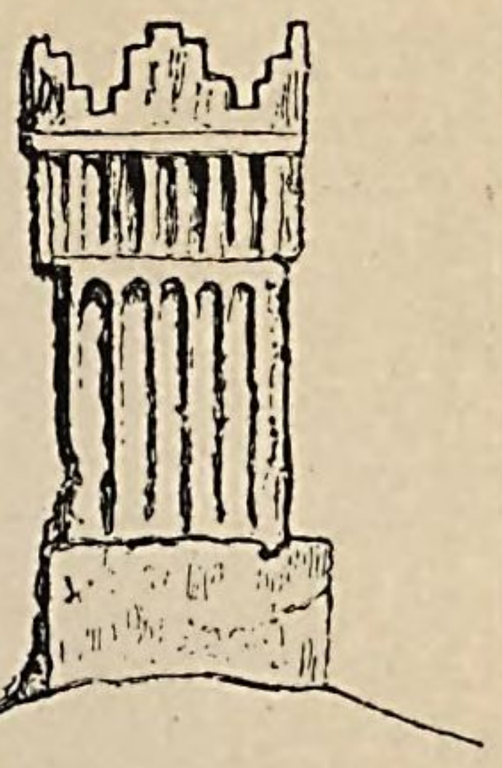
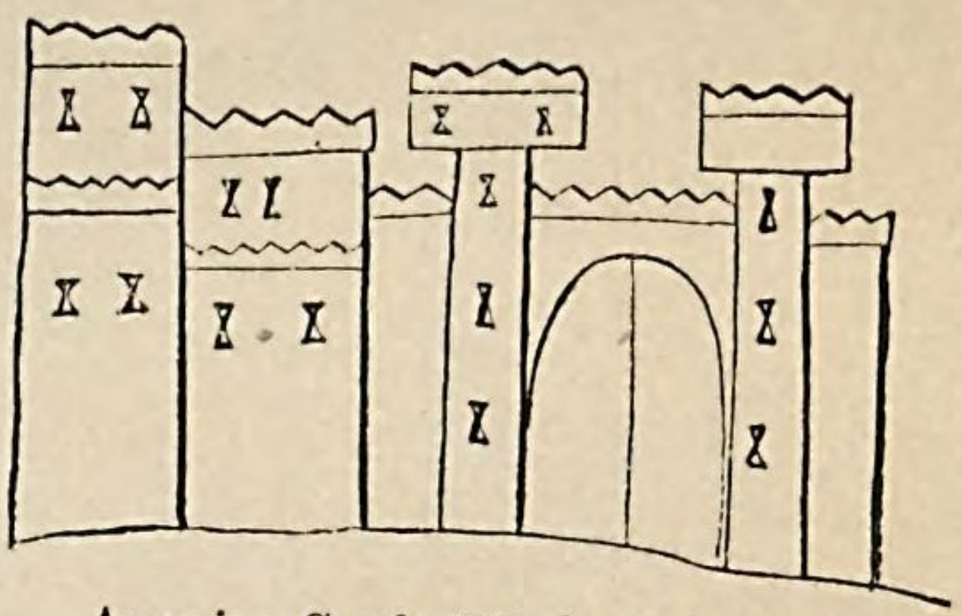


Fig. 4



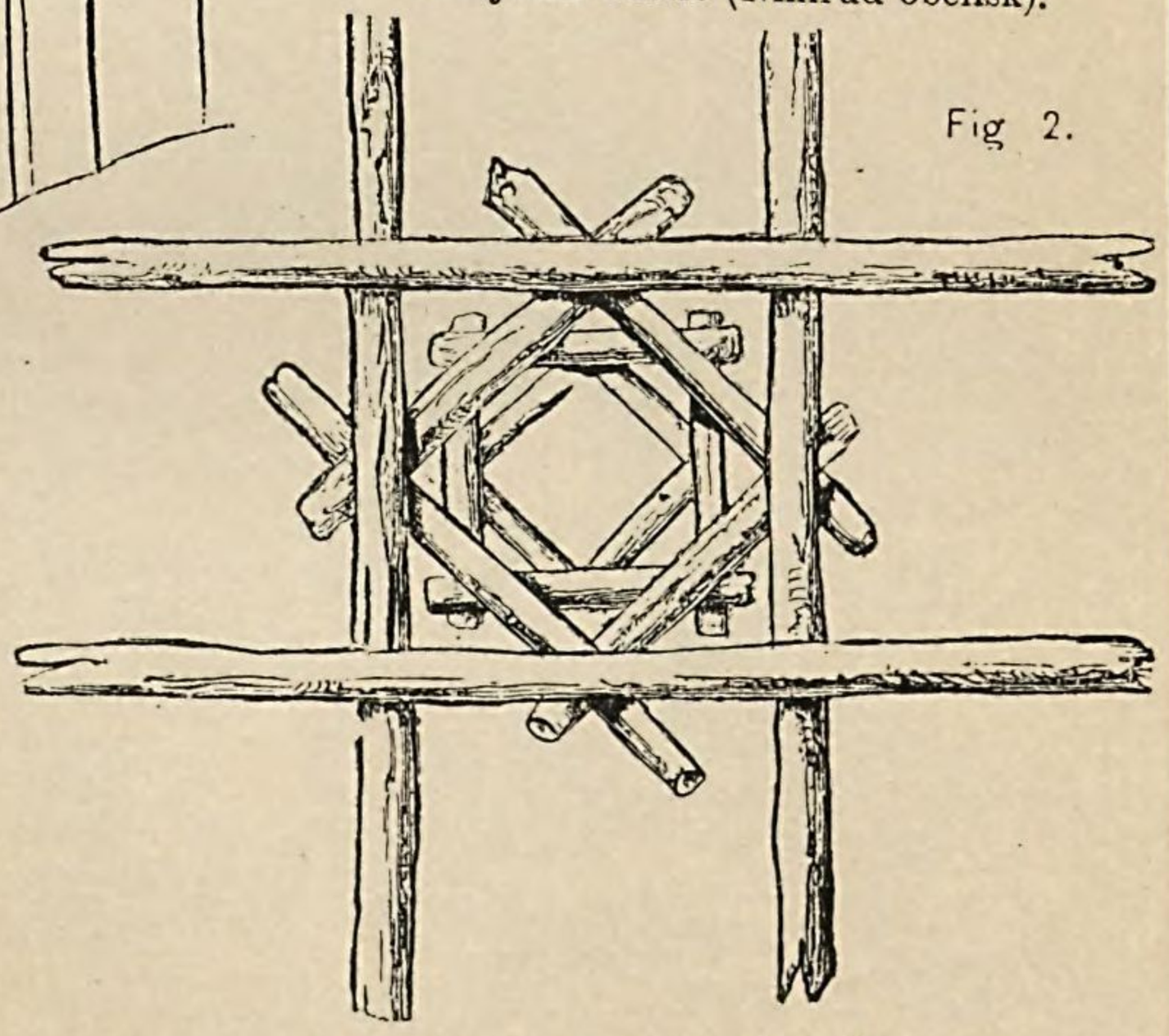
No. I.—Assyrian Altar (?), from a bas-relief, Khorsabad.

Fig. 3.



Assyrian Castle (Nimrud obelisk).

Fig 2.



Armenian *Louvre* (after Botta).

Interior of an Assyrian Palace, restored (after Layard).

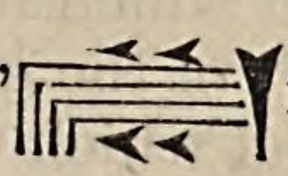
the name of their owner,[7] while in a few instances they show an inscription of some length. The clay tablets are both numerous and curious. They are of various sizes, ranging from nine inches long by six and a half wide, to an inch and a half long by an inch wide, or even less.[8] [Pl. XL., Fig. 2.] Sometimes they are entirely covered with writing; while sometimes they exhibit on a portion of their surface the impressions of seals, mythological emblems, and the like. Some thousands of them have been recovered; and they are found to be of the most varied character. Many are historical, still more mythological; some are linguistic, some geographic, some again astronomical. It is anticipated that, when they are deciphered, we shall obtain a complete encyclopædia of Assyrian science, and shall be able by this means to trace a large portion of the knowledge of the Greeks to an Oriental source. Here is a mine still very little worked, from which patient and cautious investigators may one day extract the most valuable literary treasures. The stone obelisks are but few, and are mostly in a fragmentary condition. One alone is perfect—the obelisk in black basalt, discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud, which has now for many years been in the British Museum. [Pl. XL., Fig. 1.] This monument is sculptured on each of its four sides, in part with writing and in part with bas-reliefs. It is about seven feet high, and two feet broad at the base, tapering gently towards the summit, which is crowned with three low steps, or gradines. The inscription, which occupies the upper and lower portion of each side, and is also carried along the spaces between the bas-reliefs, consists of 210 clearly cut lines, and is one of the most important documents that has come down to us. It gives an account of various victories gained by the monarch who set it up, and of the tribute brought him by several princes.[9] The inscribed lions and bulls are numerous. They commonly guard the portals of palaces, and are raised in a bold relief on alabaster slabs. The writing does not often trench upon the sculpture, but covers all those portions of the slabs which are not occupied by the animal. It is usually a full account of some particular campaign, which was thus specially commemorated, giving in detail what is far more briefly expressed in the obelisk and slab inscriptions.[10]

This review of the various kinds of documents which have been discovered in the ancient cities of Assyria, seems to show that two materials were principally in use among the people

for literary purposes, namely, stone and moist clay. The monarchs used the former most commonly, though sometimes they condescended for some special object to the coarser and more fragile material. Private persons in their business transactions, literary and scientific men in their compositions, employed the latter, on which it was possible to write rapidly with a triangular instrument, and which was no doubt far cheaper than the slabs of fine stone, which were preferred for the royal inscriptions. The clay documents, when wanted for instruction or as evidence, were carefully baked; and thus it is that they have come down to us, despite their fragility, often in as legible a condition, with the letters as clear and sharp, as any legend on marble, stone, or metal that we possess belonging to Greek or even to Roman times. The best clay, skilfully baked, is a material quite as enduring as either stone or metal,[11] resisting many influences better than either of those materials.

It may still be asked, did not the Assyrians use other materials also? Did they not write with ink of some kind on paper, or leather, or parchment? It is certain that the Egyptians had invented a kind of thick paper many centuries before the Assyrian power arose;[12] and it is further certain that the later Assyrian kings had a good deal of intercourse with Egypt. Under such circumstances, can we suppose that they did not import paper from that country? Again, the Persians, we are told, used parchment for their public records.[13] Are not the Assyrians a much more ingenious people, likely to have done the same, at any rate to some extent? There is no direct evidence by which these questions can be determinately answered. No document on any of the materials suggested has been found. No ancient author states that the Assyrians or the Babylonians used them.[14] Had it not been for one piece of indirect evidence, it would have seemed nearly certain that they were not employed by the Mesopotamian races. In some of the royal palaces, however, small lumps of fine clay have been found, bearing the impressions of seals, and exhibiting traces of the string by which they were attached to documents, while the documents themselves, being of a different material, have perished.[15] It seems probable that in these instances some substance like paper or parchment was used; and thus we are led to the conclusion that, while clay was the most common, and stone an ordinary writing material among

the Assyrians, some third substance, probably Egyptian paper, was also known, and was used occasionally, though somewhat rarely, for public documents.

We may now proceed to consider the style and nature of the Assyrian writing. Derived evidently from the Chaldæan, it is far less archaic in type, presenting no pictorial representations of objects, and but a few characters where the pictorial representations can be traced. It is in no case wholly rectilinear; and indeed preserves the straight line only in a very few characters, as in for "house,"  for "gate," for "temple, altar," and for "fish," all which are in the later inscriptions superseded by simpler forms. The wedge may thus be said to be almost the sole element of the writing—the wedge, however, under a great variety of forms—sometimes greatly elongated, as thus ➢——, sometimes contracted to a triangle ➢, sometimes broadened out ➢, sometimes doubled in such a way as to form an arrow-head ❮, and placed in every direction—horizontal, perpendicular, and diagonal.

The number of characters is very great. Sir H. Rawlinson, in the year 1851, published a list of 246, or, including variants, 366 characters, as occurring in the inscriptions known to him.[16] M. Oppert, in 1858, gave 318 forms as those "most in use."[17] Of course it is at once evident that this alphabet cannot represent elementary sounds. The Assyrian characters do, in fact, correspond, not to letters, according to our notion of letters, but to syllables. These syllables are either mere vowel sounds, such as we represent by our vowels and diphthongs, or such sounds accompanied by one or two consonants.

The vowels are not very numerous. The Assyrians recognize three only as fundamental—*a*, *i*, and *u*. Besides these they

have the diphthongs *ai*, nearly equivalent to *e*, and *au*, nearly equivalent to *o*.[18] The vowels *i* and *u* have also the powers, respectively, of *y* and *v*.

The consonant sounds recognized in the language are sixteen in number. They are the labial, guttural, and dental *tenues*, *p*, *k*, *t*; the labial, guttural, and dental *mediæ*, *b*, *g*, *d*; the guttural and dental aspirates *kh* (= Heb. ח) and *th* (= Greek Θ); the liquids *l*, *m*,[19] *n*, *r*; and the sibilants, *s*, *sh* (= Heb. שׁ), *ts* (= Heb. צ), and *z*. The system here is nearly that of the Hebrews, from which it differs only by the absence of the simple aspirate ה,[20] of the guttural ע, and of the aspirated כ (*ph*). It has no sound which the Hebrew has not.

From these sounds, combined with the simple vowels, comes the Assyrian syllabarium, to which, and not to the consonants themselves, the characters were assigned. In the first place, each consonant being capable of two combinations with each simple vowel, could give birth naturally to six simple syllables, each of which would be in the Assyrian system represented by a character. Six characters, for instance, entirely different from one another, represented *pa*, *pi*, *pu*, *ap*, *ip*, *up*; six others, *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, *ak*, *ik*, *uk*; six others again, *ta*, *ti*, *tu*, *at*, *it*, *ut*.

If this rule were carried out in every case, the sixteen consonant sounds would, it is evident, produce ninety-six characters. the actual number, however, formed in this way, is only seventy-five, since there are seven of the consonants which only combine with the vowels in one way. Thus we have *ba*, *bi*, *bu*, but not *ab*, *ib*, *ub*; *ga*, *gi*, *gu*, but not *ag*, *ig*, *ug*; and so on. The sounds regarded as capable of only one combination are the *mediæ*, *b*, *g*, *d*; the aspirates *kh*, *th*; and the sibilants *ts* and *z*.

Such is the first and simplest syllabarium: but the Assyrian system does not stop here. It proceeds to combine with each simple vowel sound two consonants, one preceding the vowel and the other following it. If this plan were followed out to the utmost possible extent, the result would be an addition to the syllabarium of seven hundred and sixty-eight sounds, each having its proper character, which would raise the number of characters to between eight and nine hundred! Fortunately for the student, phonetic laws and other causes have intervened to check this extreme luxuriance; and the combinations of this kind which are known to exist, instead of amounting to the full limit of seven hundred and sixty-eight,

are under one hundred and fifty. The known Assyrian alphabet is, however, in this way raised from eighty, or, including variants, one hundred, to between two hundred and forty and two hundred and fifty characters.

Further, there is another kind of character quite different from these, which Orientalists have called "determinatives." Certain classes of words have a sign prefixed or suffixed to them, most commonly the former, by which their general character is indicated. The names of gods, of men, of cities, of tribes, of wild animals, of domestic animals, of metals, of months, of the points of the compass, and of dignities, are thus accompanied. The sign prefixed or suffixed may have originally represented a word; but when used in the way here spoken of, it is believed that it was not sounded, but served simply to indicate to the reader the sort of word which was placed before him. Thus a single perpendicular wedge, , indicates that the next word will be the name of a man; such a wedge, preceded by two horizontal ones, , tells us to expect the appellative of a god; while other more complicated combinations are used in the remaining instances. There are about ten or twelve characters of this description.

Finally, there are a certain number of characters which have been called "ideographs," or "monograms." Most of the gods, and various cities and countries, are represented by a group of wedges, which is thought not to have a real phonetic force, but to be a conventional sign for an idea, much as the Arabic numerals, 1, 2, 3, etc., are non-phonetic signs representing the ideas, one, two, three, etc. The known characters of this description are between twenty and thirty.

The known Assyrian characters are thus brought up nearly to three hundred! There still remain a considerable number which are either wholly unknown, or of which the meaning is known, while the phonetic value cannot at present be determined. M. Oppert's Catalogue contains fourteen of the former and fifty-nine of the latter class.

It has already been observed that the monumental evidence accords with the traditional belief in regard to the character of the Assyrian language, which is unmistakably Semitic. Not only does the vocabulary present constant analogies to other Semitic dialects, but the phonetic laws and the grammatical

forms are equally of this type. At the same time the language has peculiarities of its own, which separate it from its kindred tongues, and constitute it a distinct form of Semitic speech, not a mere variety of any known form. It is neither Hebrew, nor Arabic, nor Phœnician, nor Chaldee, nor Syriac, but a sister tongue to these, having some analogies with all of them, and others, more or fewer, with each. On the whole, its closest relationship seems to be with the Hebrew, and its greatest divergence from the Aramaic or Syriac, with which it was yet, locally, in immediate connection.

To attempt anything like a full illustration of these statements in the present place would be manifestly unfitting. It would be to quit the province of the historian and archæologist, in order to enter upon that of the comparative philologer or the grammarian. At the same time a certain amount of illustration seems necessary, in order to show that the statements above made are not mere theories, but have a substantial basis.

The Semitic character of the vocabulary will probably be felt to be sufficiently established by the following lists:—

NOUNS SUBSTANTIVE.

Abu, "a father." Compare Heb. אב, אבי; Arabic *abou*.

Ummu, "a mother." Comp. Heb. אם, and Arabic *um*.

Akhu, "a brother." Comp. Heb. אח, אחי.

Pal or *bal*, "a son." Comp. Syriac *bar*, and perhaps Heb. בן.

Ilu, "God." Comp. Heb. אל, אלוה; Arabic *Allah*.

Sarru, "a king." Comp. Heb. שר.

Malik, "a prince." Comp. Heb. מלך, and Arabic *malik*.

Bilu, "a lord." Comp. Heb. בעל.

Nisu, "a man." Comp. Heb. אנוש, "a mortal," and Chald. נשים, "women."

Dayan, "a judge." Comp. Heb. דין, from הון, *judicare*.

Sumu, "a name." Comp. Heb. שם.

Sami, "heaven." Comp. Heb. שמים, "the heavens."

Irtsit, "the earth." Comp. Heb. ארץ.

Shamas, "the sun." Comp. Heb. שמש.

Tsin, "the moon." Comp. Syriac *sin*.

Marrat, or *varrat*, "the sea." Comp. Arabic *bahr*, "a lake" (?). Or may the root be מר, "bitter"? Comp. Lat. *mare*, *a-marus*.

Nahar, "a river." Comp. Heb. נהר, and Arabic *nahr*.

Yumu, "day." Comp. Heb. יום.

Ilamu, "the world." Comp. Heb. עוֹלָם.
'Ir, "a city." Comp. Heb. עִיר.
Bit, "a house." Comp. Heb. בַּיִת.
Bab, "a gate." Comp. Chald. בְּבָה, and Arabic *bab*.
Lisan, "a tongue," or "language." Comp. Heb. לָשׁוֹן; Chald. לְשָׁן.
Asar, "a place." Comp. Chald. אַתַר.
Mitu, "death." Comp. Heb. מָוֶת.
Susu, "a horse." Comp. Heb. סוּס.

ADJECTIVES.

Rabu, "great." Comp. Heb. רַב; whence the well-known Rabbi (רַבִּא), "a great one, a doctor."

Tabu, "good." Comp. Chald. טַב, and Heb. טוֹב.

Bashu, "bad." Comp. Heb. מְבִישׁ, "a base one," from בּוֹשׁ. "to be ashamed."

Madut, "many." Comp. Heb. מְאֹד, "exceedingly."

Ruk, "far, wide." Comp. Heb. רָחוֹק.

NUMERALS.

[The forms marked with an asterisk are conjectural.]

Ishtin, "one" (masc.) Comp. Heb. אַשְׁתִּי, in אַשְׁתֵּי־עָשָׂר, "eleven."
Ikhit, "one" (fem.) Comp. Heb. אַחַת.
Shanai, "two" (masc.) Comp. Heb. שְׁנַיִם, שֵׁנִי.
Shalshat, "three" (masc.) Comp. Heb. שָׁלֹשׁ.
Shilash, "three" (fem.) Comp. Heb. שָׁלֹשׁ.
Arbat, "four" (masc.) Comp. Heb. אַרְבַּע.
Arba, "four" (fem.) Comp. Heb. אַרְבַּע.
Khamshat, "five" (masc.) Comp. Heb. חָמֵשׁ.
Khamish, "five" (fem.) Comp. Heb. חָמֵשׁ.
Shashat, "six" (masc.) Comp. Heb. שֵׁשׁ.
Shash, "six" (fem.) Comp. Heb. שֵׁשׁ.
Shibit, "seven" (masc.) Comp. Heb. שִׁבְעָה.
Shibi, "seven" (fem.) Comp. Heb. שֶׁבַע.
Shamnat,* "eight" (masc.) Comp. Heb. שְׁמֹנָה.
Tishit,* "nine" (masc.) Comp. Heb. תִּשְׁעָה.
Tishi,* "nine" (fem.) Comp. Heb. תֵּשַׁע.
Isrit, "ten" (masc.) Comp. Heb. עֲשָׂרֶת.
Isri, "ten" (fem.) Comp. Heb. עֶשֶׂר.
Israi, "twenty." Comp. Heb. עֶשְׂרִים.
Shilashai, "thirty." Comp. Heb. שְׁלֹשִׁים.

Irba'ai, "forty." Comp. Heb. ארבעים.
Khamshai, "fifty." Comp. Heb. חמשים.
Shishai, "sixty." Comp. Heb. ששים.
Shibai, "seventy." Comp. Heb. שבעים.
Shamnai,* "eighty." Comp. Heb. שמנים.
Tishai, "ninety." Comp. Heb. תשעים.
Mai, or *Mi*, "a hundred." Comp. Heb. מאה.

PRONOUNS.

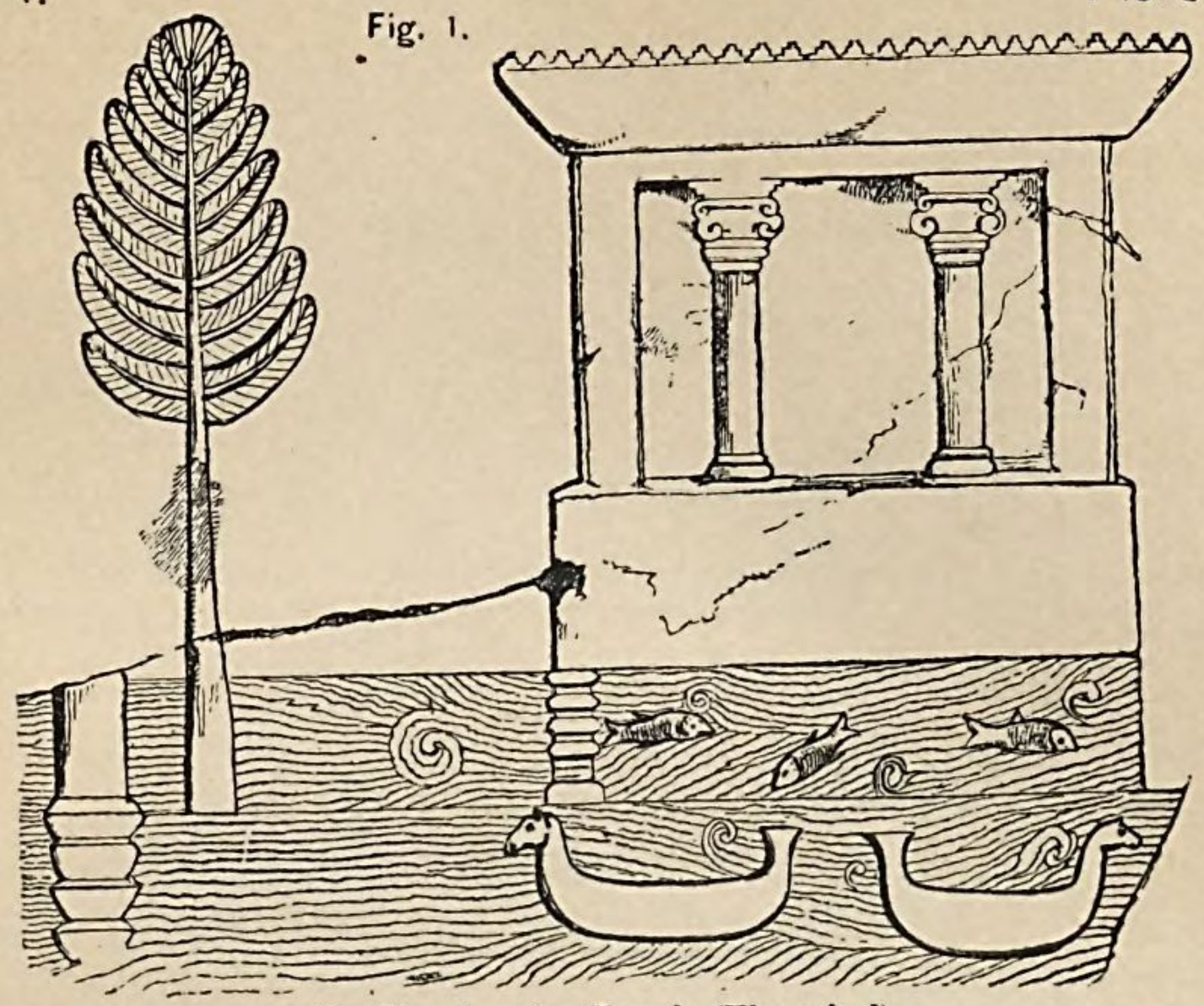
[The forms marked with an asterisk are conjectural.]

Anaku, "I." Heb. אנכי.
Atta, "thou" (masc.) Heb. אתה.
Atti,* "thou" (fem.) Heb. את.
Shu, "he." Heb. הוא.
Shi, "she." Heb. היא.
Aanakhni (?), "we." Heb. אנחנו.
Attun,* "ye" (masc.) Heb. אתם.
Attin,* "ye" (fem.) Heb. אתן.
Shunut, or *Shun*, "they" (masc.) Heb. המה, הם.
Shinat, or *Shin*, "they" (fem.) Heb. הנה, הי.
Ma, "who, which." Heb. מה.
Ullu, "that." Heb. אלה, "these."

VERBS.

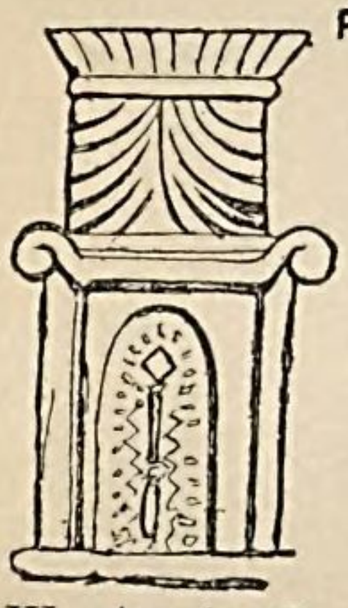
Alak, "to go." Heb. הלך.
Bakhar, "to collect." Comp. Heb. בחר, "to select."
Bana, "to create, to build." Heb. בנה.
Dana, "to give," in Niphal, *nadan*. Heb. נתן.
Din, "to judge." Heb. דין.
Duk, "to kill." Comp. Heb. דקק, "to beat small;" דוך, "to pound or bruise." Chald. דנר.
'Ibir, "to pass, cross." Heb. עבר.
'Ibush, "to make." Comp. Chald. עבד.
'Irish, "to ask, pray." Comp. Heb. ארשת, "request, desire."
Natsar, "to guard." Heb. נצר.
Naza, "to leap." Heb. נזח.
Nazal, "to flow, sink, descend." Heb. נזל.
Pakad, "to entrust." Heb. פקד.
Saga, "to grow, become great." Heb. שגא.

Fig. 1.



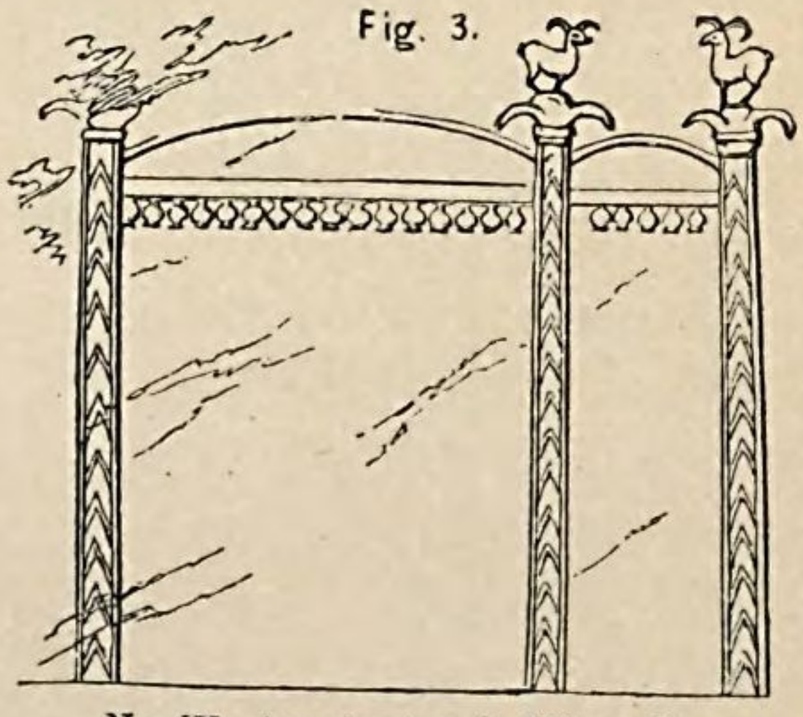
No. II.—Assyrian Temple (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2.



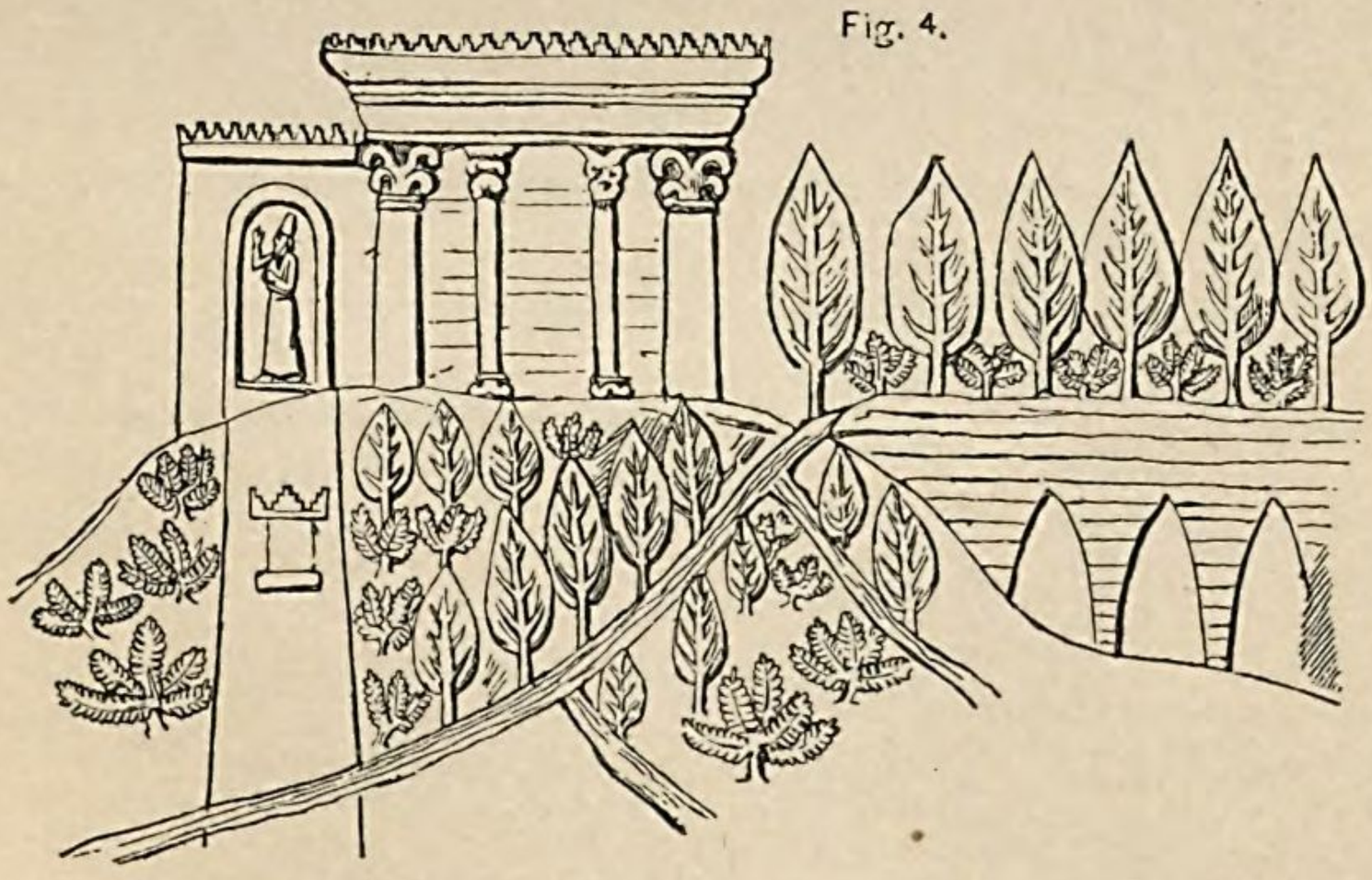
No. III.—Assyrian Temple. from Lord Aberdeen's black stone.

Fig. 3.

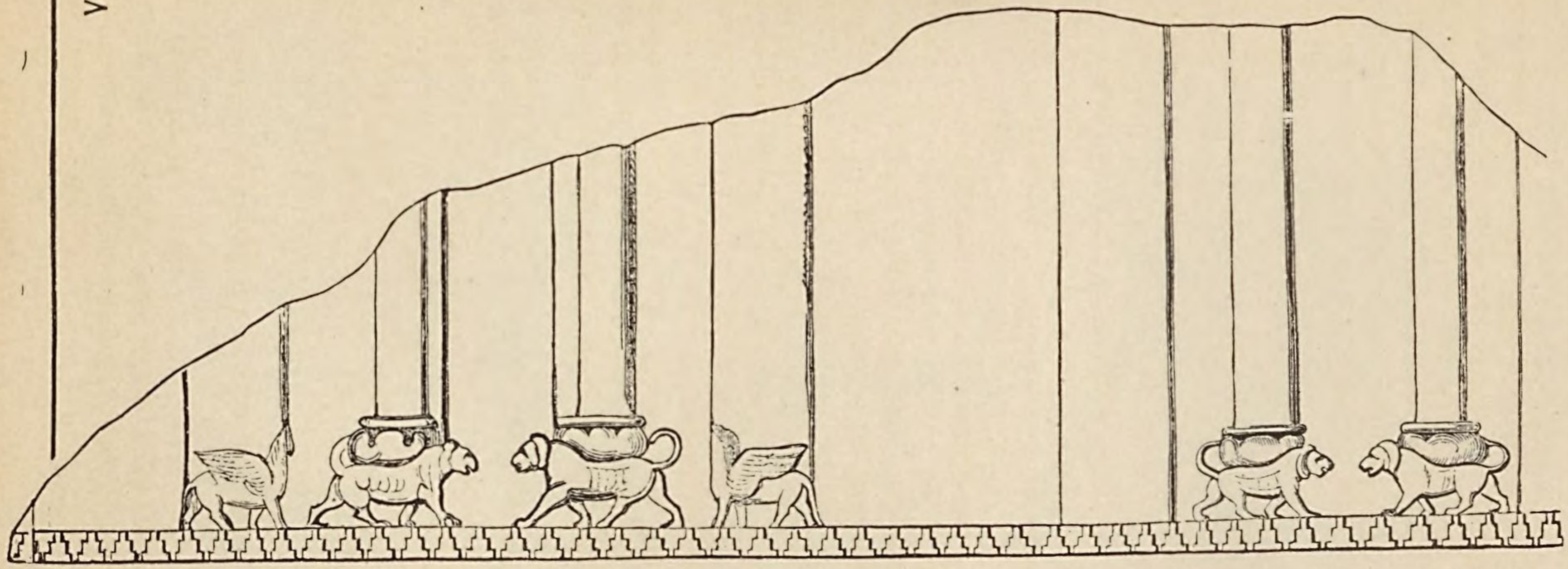


No. IV. Assyrian temple (Nimrud).

Fig. 4.



No. V. Assyrian temple (North Palace, Koyunjik).



No. VI.—Basement portion of an Assyrian Temple (North Palace, Koyunjik).

Shakan, "to dwell." Heb. שָׁכַן.

Shatar, "to write." Comp. Chald. שִׁטְרָא, "a written contract."

Tsabat, "to hold, possess." Comp. Heb. צֶבֶת, "a bundle;" Arab, *tsabat*, "to hold tight;" Chald. צִבְחָה, "tongs."

ADVERBS, CONJUNCTIONS, ETC.

U, "and." Heb. וְ or וַ.

La, or *ul*, "not." Heb. לֹא.

Lapani, "before the face of." Heb. אֶל־פְּנֵי.

Tsilli, "by favor of." Heb. צִלְלֵי.

'Ilat, "except." Chald. אִלָּא.

Adi, "until." Heb. צַד.

Ki, "if." Heb. כִּי.

It remains to notice briefly some of the chief grammatical laws and forms. There is one remarkable difference between the Assyrian language and the Hebrew, namely, that the former has no article. In this it resembles the Syriac, which is likewise deficient in this part of speech.

Assyrian nouns, like Hebrew ones, are all either masculine or feminine. Feminine nouns end ordinarily in *-at* or *-it*, as Hebrew ones in *-eth*, *-ith*, *-uth*, or *-ah*. There is a dual number, as in Hebrew, and it has the same limited use, being applied almost exclusively to those objects which form a pair. The plural masculine is commonly formed by adding *-i* or *-ani* to the singular—terminations which recall the Hebrew addition of ־ִים; but sometimes by adding *-ut* or *-uti*, to which there is no analogy in Hebrew.[21] The plural feminine is made by changing *-it* into *-et*, and *-ăt* into *-āt*, or (if the word does not end in *t*), by adding *-āt*. Here again there is resemblance to, though not identity with, the Hebrew, which forms the feminine plural in *-oth* (־וֹת).

Assyrian, like Hebrew, adjectives, agree in gender and number with their substantives. They form the feminine singular in *ăt*, the plural masculine in *-i* and *-ut*, the plural feminine in *-āt* and *-et*.

In Assyrian, as in all other Semitic languages, the possessive pronouns are expressed by suffixes. These suffixes are, for the first person singular, *-ya*, or *-iya* (Heb. ־ִי); for the second person singular masculine, *-ka* (Heb. ־ְךָ); for the second person singular feminine, *-ki* (Heb. ־ֵךְ); for the third person singular masculine, *-shu* (Heb. ־וֹ); for the third person sin-

gular feminine, *-sha* (Heb. ־הּ); for the first person plural, *-n* (Heb. ־נוּ); for the second person plural masculine, *-kun* (Heb. ־כם); for the second person plural feminine, *-kin* (Heb. ־כן); for the third person plural masculine, *shun* (Heb. ־ם); for the third person plural feminine, *shin* (Heb. ־ן). The resemblance, it will be seen, is in most cases close, though in only one is there complete identity.

Assyrian verbs have five principal and four secondary voices. Only two of these—the *kal* and the *niphal*—are exactly identical with the Hebrew. The *pael*, however, corresponds nearly to the Hebrew *piel*, and the *aphel* to the Hebrew *hiphil*. In addition to these we find enumerated the *shaphil*, the *iphteal*, the *iphta'al*, the *istaphal*, and the *itaphal*. Several of these are well-known forms in Chaldee.

It is peculiar to Assyrian to have no distinctions of tense. The same form of the verb serves for the present, the past, and the future. The only distinctions of mood are an imperative and an infinitive, besides the indicative. There is also, in each voice, one participle.

The verbs are conjugated by the help of pronominal suffixes and prefixes, chiefly the latter, like the future (present) tense in Hebrew. The suffixes and prefixes are nearly identical with those used in Hebrew.

For further particulars on this interesting subject the student is referred to the modest but excellent work of M. Oppert, entitled "Élémens de la Grammaire Assyrienne,"[22] from which the greater portions of the above remarks are taken.

CHAPTER VI.

ARCHITECTURE AND OTHER ARTS.

"Architecti multarum artium solertes."—Mos. Chor. (*De Assyriis*) i. 15.

The luxury and magnificence of the Assyrians, and the advanced condition of the arts among them which such words imply, were matters familiar to the Greeks and Romans, who, however, had little ocular evidence of the fact, but accepted it upon the strength of a very clear and uniform tradition. More fortunate than the nations of classical antiquity, whose comparative proximity to the time proved no advantage to them, we possess in the exhumed remains of this interesting

people a mass of evidence upon the point, which, although in many respects sadly incomplete, still enables us to form a judgment for ourselves upon the subject, and to believe—on better grounds than they possessed—the artistic genius and multiform ingenuity of the Assyrians. As architects, as designers, as sculptors, as metallurgists, as engravers, as upholsterers, as workers in ivory, as glass-blowers, as embroiderers of dresses, it is evident that they equalled, if they did not exceed, all other Oriental nations. It is the object of the present chapter to give some account of their skill in these various respects. Something is now known of them all; and though in every case there are points still involved in obscurity, and recourse must therefore be had upon occasion to conjecture, enough appears certainly made out to justify such an attempt as the present, and to supply a solid groundwork of fact valuable in itself, even if it be insufficient to sustain in addition any large amount of hypothetical superstructure.

The architecture of the Assyrians will naturally engage our attention at the outset. It is from an examination of their edifices that we have derived almost all the knowledge which we possess of their progress in every art; and it is further as architects that they always enjoyed a special repute among their neighbors. Hebrew and Armenian united with Greek tradition in representing the Assyrians as notable builders at a very early time. When Asshur "went forth out of the land of Shinar," it was to build cities, one of which is expressly called "a great city."[1] When the Armenians had to give an account of the palaces and other vast structures in their country, they ascribed their erection to the Assyrians.[2] Similarly, when the Greeks sought to trace the civilization of Asia to its source, they carried it back to Ninus and Semiramis, whom they made the founders, respectively, of Nineveh and Babylon,[3] the two chief cities of the early world.

Among the architectural works of the Assyrians, the first place is challenged by their palaces. Less religious, or more servile, than the Egyptians and the Greeks, they make their temples insignificant in comparison with the dwellings of their kings, to which indeed the temple is most commonly a sort of appendage. In the palace their art culminates—there every effort is made, every ornament lavished. If the architecture of the Assyrian palaces be fully considered, very little need be said on the subject of their other buildings.

The Assyrian palace stood uniformly on an artificial plat-

form. Commonly this platform was composed of sun-dried-bricks in regular layers; but occasionally the material used was merely earth or rubbish, excepting towards the exposed parts—the sides and the surface—which were always either of brick or of stone. In most cases the sides were protected by massive stone masonry, carried perpendicularly from the natural ground to a height somewhat exceeding that of the platform, and either made plain at the top or else crowned with stone battlements cut into gradines. The pavement consisted in part of stone slabs, in part of kiln-dried bricks of a large size, often as much as two feet square. The stone slabs were sometimes inscribed, sometimes ornamented with an elegant pattern. (See Pl. XLI., Fig. 2.) Occasionally the terrace was divided into portions at different elevations, which were connected by staircases or inclined planes. The terrace communicated in the same way with the level ground at its base, being (as is probable) sometimes ascended in a single place, sometimes in several. These ascents were always on the side where the palace adjoined upon the neighboring town, and were thus protected from hostile attack by the town walls. [Pl. XLI., Fig. 1.] Where the palace abutted upon the walls or projected beyond them—and the palace was always placed at the edge of a town, for the double advantage, probably, of a clear view and of fresh air—the platform rose perpendicularly or nearly so; and generally a water protection, a river, a moat, or a broad lake, lay at its base, thus rendering attack, except on the city side, almost impossible.

The platform appears to have been, in general shape, a rectangle, or where it had different elevations, to have been composed of rectangles. The mound of Khorsabad, which is of this latter character, resembles a gigantic T. [Pl. XLII., Fig. 1.]

It must not be supposed, however, that the rectangle was always exact. Sometimes its outline was broken by angular projections and indentations, as in the plan [Pl. XLII., Fig. 2],[4] where the shaded parts represent actual discoveries. Sometimes it grew to be irregular, by the addition of fresh portions, as new kings arose who determined on fresh erections. This is the case at Nimrud, where the platform broadens towards its lower or southern end,[5] and still more at Koyunjik and Nebbi Yunus,[6] where the rectangular idea has been so overlaid as to have almost wholly disappeared. Palaces were commonly placed near one edge of the mound—more especially

near the river edge—probably for the better enjoyment of the prospect, and of the cool air over the water.

The palace itself was composed of three main elements, courts, grand halls, and small private apartments. A palace has usually from two to four courts, which are either square or oblong, and vary in size according to the general scale of the building. In the north-west palace at Nimrud, the most ancient of the edifices yet explored, one court only has been found, the dimensions of which are 120 feet by 90. At Khorsabad, the palace of Sargon has four courts. [Pl. XLII., Fig. 2.] Three of them are nearly square, the largest of these measuring 180 feet each way, and the smallest about 120 feet; the fourth is oblong, and must have been at least 250 feet long and 150 feet wide. The palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik, a much larger edifice than the palace of Sargon, has also three courts, which are respectively 93 feet by 84, 124 feet by 90, and 154 feet by 125. Esarhaddon's palace at Nimrud has a court 220 feet long and 100 wide.[7] These courts were all paved either with baked bricks of large size, or with stone slabs, which were frequently patterned.[8] Sometimes the courts were surrounded with buildings; sometimes they abutted upon the edge of the platform: in this latter case they were protected by a stone parapet, which (at least in places) was six feet high.

The grand halls of the Assyrian palaces constitute their most remarkable feature. Each palace has commonly several. They are apartments narrow for their length, measuring from three to five times their own width, and thus having always somewhat the appearance of galleries. The scale upon which they are built is, commonly, magnificent. In the palace of Asshur-izir-pal at Nimrud, the earliest of the discovered edifices, the great hall was 160 feet long by nearly 40 broad. In Sargon's palace at Khorsabad the size of no single room was so great; but the number of halls was remarkable, there being no fewer than five of nearly equal dimensions. The largest was 116 feet long, and 33 wide; the smallest 87 feet long, and 25 wide. The palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik contained the most spacious apartment yet exhumed. It was immediately inside the great portal, and extended in length 180 feet, with a uniform width of forty feet. In one instance only, so far as appears, was an attempt made to exceed this width. In the palace of Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, a hall was designed intended to surpass all former ones. [Pl. XLIII., Fig. 2.] Its length was to be 165 feet, and its width 62; consequently it

would have been nearly one-third larger than the great hall of Sennacherib, its area exceeding 10,000 square feet. But the builder who had designed this grand structure appears to have been unable to overcome the difficulty of carrying a roof over so vast an expanse. He was therefore obliged to divide his hall by a wall down the middle; which, though he broke it in an unusual way into portions, and kept it at some distance from both ends of the apartment, still had the actual effect of subdividing his grand room into four apartments of only moderate size. The halls were paved with sun-burnt brick. They were ornamented throughout by the elaborate sculptures, now so familiar to us, carried generally in a single, but sometimes in a double line, round the four walls of the apartment. The sculptured slabs rested on the ground, and clothed the walls to the height of 10 or 12 feet. Above, for a space which we cannot positively fix, but which was certainly not less than four or five feet,[9] the crude brick wall was continued, faced here with burnt brick enamelled on the side towards the apartment, pleasingly and sometimes even brilliantly colored.[10] The whole height of the walls was probably from 15 to 20 feet.

By the side of the halls, or at their ends, and opening into them, or sometimes collected together into groups, with no hall near, are the smaller chambers of which mention has been already made. These chambers are in every case rectangular: in their proportions they vary from squares to narrow oblongs. 90 feet by 17, 85 by 16, 80 by 15, and the like. When they are square, the side is never more than about 25 feet. They are often as richly decorated as the halls, but sometimes are merely faced with plain slabs or plastered; while occasionally they have no facing at all, but exhibit throughout the crude brick. This, however, is unusual.

The number of chambers in a palace is very large. In Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik, where great part of the building remains still unexplored, the excavated chambers amount to sixty-eight—all, be it remembered, upon the ground floor. The space covered by them and by their walls exceeds 40,000 square yards. As Mr. Fergusson observes, "the imperial palace of Sennacherib is, of all the buildings of antiquity, surpassed in magnitude only by the great palace-temple of Karnak; and when we consider the vastness of the mound on which it was raised, and the richness of the ornaments with which it was adorned, it is by no means clear that it was not as great, or at least as expensive, a work as the great palace-

temple at Thebes."[11] Elsewhere the excavated apartments are less numerous; but in no case is it probable that a palace contained on its ground floor fewer than forty or fifty chambers.

The most striking peculiarity which the ground-plans of the palaces disclose is the uniform adoption throughout of straight and parallel lines. No plan exhibits a curve of any kind, or any angle but a right angle. Courts, chambers, and halls are, in most cases, exact rectangles; and even where any variety occurs, it is only by the introduction of squared recesses or projections, which are moreover shallow and infrequent. When a palace has its own special platform, the lines of the building are further exactly parallel with those of the mound on which it is placed; and the parallelism extends to any other detached buildings that there may be anywhere upon the platform.[12] When a mound is occupied by more palaces than one, sometimes this law still obtains, as at Nimrud,[13] where it seems to embrace at any rate the greater number of the palaces; sometimes, as at Koyunjik,[14] the rule ceases to be observed, and the ground-plan of each palace seems formed separately and independently, with no reference to any neighboring edifice.

Apart from this feature, the buildings do not affect much regularity.[15] In courts and façades, to a certain extent, there is correspondence; but in the internal arrangements, regularity is decidedly the exception. The two sides of an edifice never correspond; room never answers to room; doorways are rarely in the middle of walls; where a room has several doorways, they are seldom opposite to one another, or in situations at all corresponding.

There is a great awkwardness in the communications. Very few corridors or passages exist in any of the buildings. Groups of rooms, often amounting to ten or twelve, open into one another; and we find comparatively few rooms to which there is any access except through some other room. Again, whole sets of apartments are sometimes found, between which and the rest of the palace all communication is cut off by thick walls. Another peculiarity in the internal arrangements is the number of doorways in the larger apartments, and their apparently needless multiplication. We constantly find two or even three doorways leading from a court into a hall, or from one hall into a second. It is difficult to see what could be gained by such an arrangement.

The disposition of the various parts of a palace will probably

be better apprehended from an exact account of a single building than from any further general statements. For this purpose it is necessary to select a specimen from among the various edifices that have been disentombed by the labors of recent excavators. The specimen should be, if possible, complete; it should have been accurately surveyed, and the survey should have been scientifically recorded; it should further stand single and separate, that there may be no danger of confusion between its remains and those of adjacent edifices. These requirements, though nowhere exactly met, are very nearly met by the building at Khorsabad, which stands on a mound of its own, unmixed with other edifices, has been most carefully examined, and most excellently represented and described, and which, though not completely excavated, has been excavated with a nearer approach to completeness than any other edifice in Assyria. The Khorsabad building—which is believed to be a palace built by Sargon, the son of Sennacherib—will therefore be selected for minute description in this place, as the palace most favorably circumstanced, and the one of which we have, on the whole, the most complete and exact knowledge.[16] [Pl. XLIV.]

The situation of the town, whereof the palace of Sargon formed a part, has been already described in a former part of this volume.[17] The shape, it has been noted, was square, the angles facing the four cardinal points. Almost exactly in the centre of the north-west wall occurs the palace platform, a huge mass of crude brick, from 20 to 30 feet high, shaped like a T, the upper limb lying within the city walls, and the lower limb (which is at a higher elevation) projecting beyond the line of the walls to a distance of at least 500 feet. At present there is a considerable space between the ends of the wall and the palace mound;[18] but anciently it is probable that they either abutted on the mound, or were separated from it merely by gateways. The mound, or at any rate the part of it which projected beyond the walls, was faced with hewn stone,[19] carried perpendicularly from the plain to the top of the platform, and even beyond, so as to form a parapet protecting the edge of the platform. On the more elevated portion of the mound—that which projected beyond the walls—stood the palace, consisting of three groups of buildings, the principal group lying towards the mound's northern angle. On the lower portion of the platform were several detached buildings, the most remarkable being a huge gateway, or propylæum,

through which the entrance lay to the palace from the city. Beyond and below this, on the level of the city, the first or outer portals were placed,[20] giving entrance to a court in front of the lower terrace.

A visitor approaching the palace had in the first place to pass through these portals. They were ornamented with colossal human-headed bulls on either side, and probably spanned by an arch above, the archivolte being covered with enamelled bricks disposed in a pattern. Received within the portals, the visitor found himself in front of a long wall of solid stone masonry, the revêtement of the lower terrace, which rose from the outer court to a height of at least twenty feet. Either an inclined way or a flight of steps—probably the latter—must have led up from the outer court to this terrace. Here the visitor found another portal or propylæum of a magnificent character. [Pl. XLIII., Fig. 1.] Midway in the south-east side of the lower terrace, and about fifty feet from its edge, stood this grand structure, a gateway ninety feet in width, and at least twenty-five in depth, having on each side three winged bulls of gigantic size, two of them fifteen feet high, and the third nineteen feet. Between the two small bulls, which stood back to back, presenting their sides to the spectator, was a colossal figure strangling a lion—the Assyrian Hercules, according to most writers. The larger bulls stood at right angles to these figures, withdrawn within the portal, and facing the spectator. The space between the bulls, which is nearly twenty feet, was (it is probable) arched over.[21] Perhaps the archway led into a chamber beyond which was a second archway and an inner portal, as marked in Mr. Fergusson's plan: but this is at present uncertain.[22]

Besides the great portal, the only buildings as yet discovered on this lower platform, are a suite of not very extensive apartments. They are remarkable for their ornamentation. The walls are neither lined with slabs, nor yet (as is sometimes the case) painted, but the plaster of which they are composed is formed into sets of half pillars or reedings, separated from one another by pilasters with square sunk panels.[23] The former kind of ornamentation is found also in Lower Chaldæa, and has been already represented;[24] the latter is peculiar to this building. It is suggested that these apartments formed the quarters of the soldiers who kept watch over the royal residence.[25]

About 300 feet from the outer edge of the lower terrace, the

upper terrace seems to have commenced. It was raised probably about ten feet above the lower one. The mode of access has not been discovered, but is presumed to have been by a flight of steps, not directly opposite the propylæum, but somewhat to the right, whereby entrance was given to the great court, into which opened the main gateways of the palace itself. The court was probably 250 feet long by 160 or 170 feet wide. The visitor, on mounting the steps, perhaps passed through another propylæum (*b* in the plan); after which, if his business was with the monarch, he crossed the full length of the court, leaving a magnificent triple entrance, which is thought to have led to the king's *hareem*, on his left and making his way to the public gate of the palace, which fronted him when he mounted the steps. The *hareem* portal, which he passed, resembled in the main the great propylæum of the lower platform; but, being triple, it was still more magnificent exhibiting two other entrances on either side of the main one, guarded each by a single pair of winged bulls of the smaller size. Along the *hareem* wall, from the gateway to the angle of the court, was a row of sculptured bas-reliefs, ten feet in height, representing the monarch with his attendant guards and officers. [Pl. XLIII., Fig. 3.] The facade occupying the end of the court was of inferior grandeur. [Pl. XLV., Fig. 1.] Sculptures similar to those along the *hareem* wall adorned it; but its centre showed only a single gateway, guarded by one pair of the larger bulls, fronting the spectator, and standing each in a sort of recess, the character of which will be best understood by the ground-plan in the illustration. Just inside the bulls was the great door of the palace, a single door made of wood—apparently of mulberry [26]—opening inwards, and fastened on the inside by a bolt at bottom, and also by an enormous lock. This door gave entrance into a passage, 70 feet long and about 10 feet wide, paved with large slabs of stone, and adorned on either side with inscriptions, and with a double row of sculptures, representing the arrival of tribute and gifts for the monarch. All the figures here faced one way, towards the inner palace court into which the passage led. M. Botta believes that the passage was uncovered; [27] while Mr. Fergusson [28] imagines that it was vaulted throughout. It must in any case have been lighted from above; for it would have been impossible to read the inscriptions, or even to see the sculptures, merely by the light admitted at the two ends.

From the passage in question—one of the few in the edifice

—no doorway opened out either on the right hand or on the left. The visitor necessarily proceeded along its whole extent, as he saw the figures proceeding in sculptures, and, passing through a second portal, found himself in the great inner court of the palace, a square of about 150 or 160 feet, enclosed on two sides—the south-east and the south-west—by buildings, on the other two sides reaching to the edge of the terrace, which here gave upon the open country. The buildings on the south-east side, looking towards the north-west, and adjoining the gateway by which he had entered, were of comparatively minor importance. They consisted of a few chambers suitable for officers of the court, and were approached from the court by two doorways, one on either side of the passage through which he had come. To his left, looking towards the north-east, were the great state apartments, the principal part of the palace, forming a façade, of which some idea may perhaps be formed from the representation. [Pl. XLVI.] The upper part of this representation is indeed purely conjectural; and when we come to consider the mode in which the Assyrian palaces were roofed and lighted, we shall perhaps find reason to regard it as not very near the truth; but the lower part, up to the top of the sculptures, the court itself, and the various accessories, are correctly given, and furnish the only *perspective* view of this part of the palace which has been as yet published.

The great state apartments consisted of a suite of ten rooms. Five of these were halls of large dimensions; one was a long and somewhat narrow chamber, and the remaining four were square or slightly oblong apartments of minor consequence. All of them were lined throughout with sculpture. The most important seem to have been three halls *en-suite* (VIII., V., and II. in the plan), which "are, both in their external and internal decorations, by far the most splendid of the whole palace."[29] The first lay just within the north-east façade, and ran parallel to it. It was entered by three doorways, the central one ornamented externally with two colossal bulls of the largest size, one on either side within the entrance, and with two pairs of smaller bulls, back to back, on the projecting pylons; the side ones guarded by winged genii, human or hawk-headed. The length of the chamber was 116 feet 6 inches, and its breadth 33 feet. Its sculptures represented the monarch receiving prisoners, and either personally or by deputy punishing them.[30] [Pl. XLV., Fig. 3.] We may call it, for distinction's sake, "the Hall of Punishment."

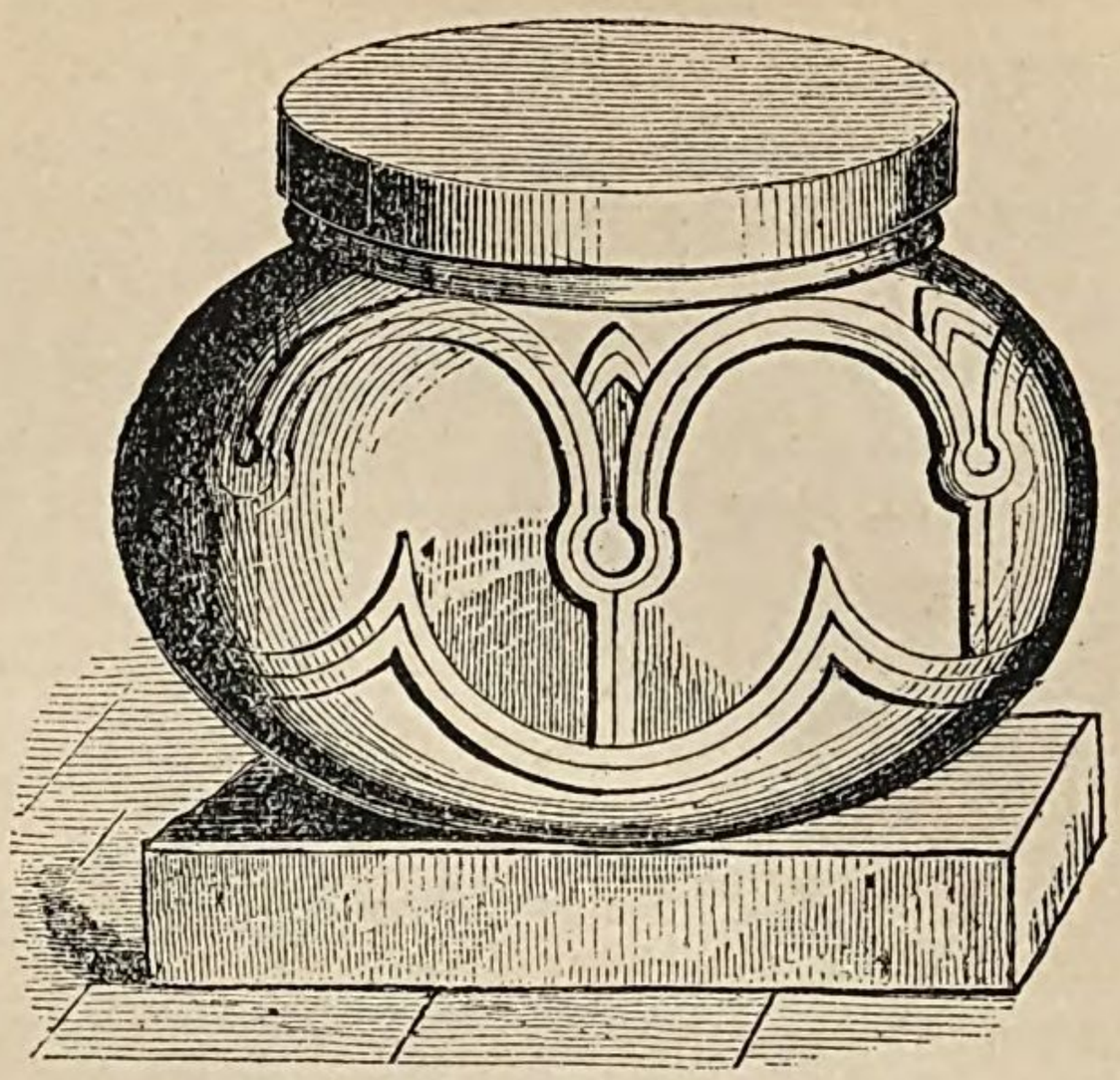
The second hall (V. in the plan) ran parallel with the first, but did not extend along its whole length. It measured from end to end about 86 feet, and from side to side 21 feet 6 inches. Two doorways led into it from the first chamber, and two others led from it into two large apartments. One communicated with a lateral hall (marked VI. in the plan), the other with the third hall of the suite which is here the special object of our attention. This third hall (II. in the plan) was of the same length as the first, but was less wide by about three feet. It opened by three doorways upon a square court, which has been called "the Temple Court," from a building on one side of it which will be described presently.

The sculptures of the second and third halls represented in a double row, separated by an inscribed space about two feet in width, chiefly the wars of the monarch, his battles, sieges, reception of captives and of spoil, etc. The monarch himself appeared at least four times standing in his chariot, thrice in calm procession, and once shooting his arrows against his enemies. [Pl. XLV., Fig. 2.] Besides these, the upper sculptures on one side exhibited sacred ceremonies.

Placed at right angles to this primary suite of three halls were two others, one (IV. in the plan)[31] of dimensions little, if at all, inferior to those of the largest (No. VIII), the other (VI. in the plan)[32] nearly of the same length, but as narrow as the narrowest of the three (No. V.). Of these two lateral halls the former communicated directly with No. VIII., and also by a narrow passage room (III. in the plan) with No. II. The other had direct communication both with No. II. and No. V., but none with No. VIII. With this hall (No. VI.) three smaller chambers were connected (Nos. IX., XI., and XII.); with the other lateral hall, two only (Nos. III. and VII.). One chamber attached to this block of buildings (I. in the plan) opened only on the Temple Court. It has been suggested that it contained a staircase;[33] but of this there is no evidence.

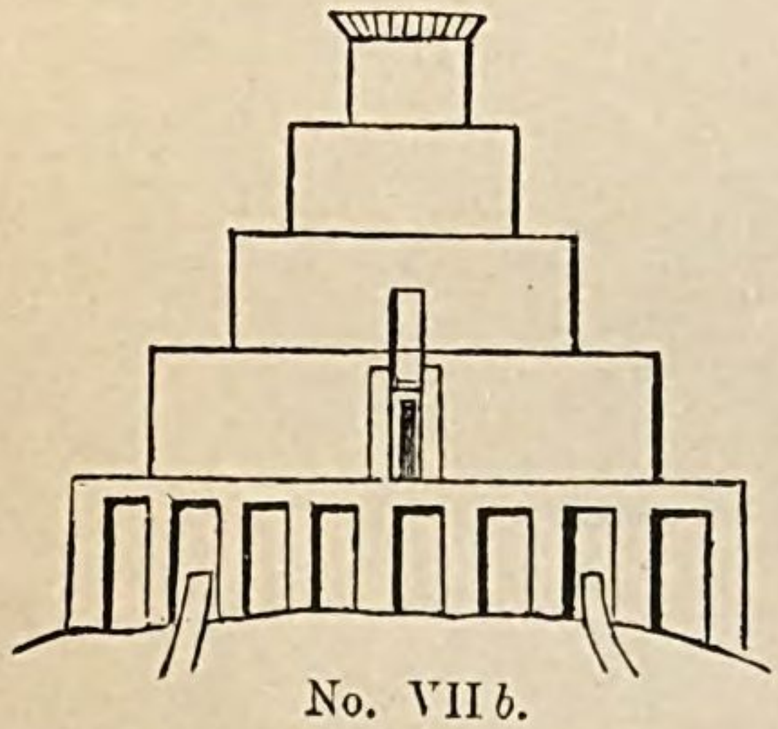
The Temple Court—a square of 180 feet—was occupied by buildings on three sides, and open on one only—that to the north-west. The state apartments closed it in on the north-east, the temple on the south-west; on the south-east it was bounded by the range of buildings called "Priests' Rooms" in the plan, chambers of less pretension than almost any that have been excavated. The principal façade here was that of the state apartments, on the north-east. On this, as on the opposite side of the palace, were three portals; but the two fronts were

Fig. 1



Circular Pillar-base, Koyunjik (after Layard).

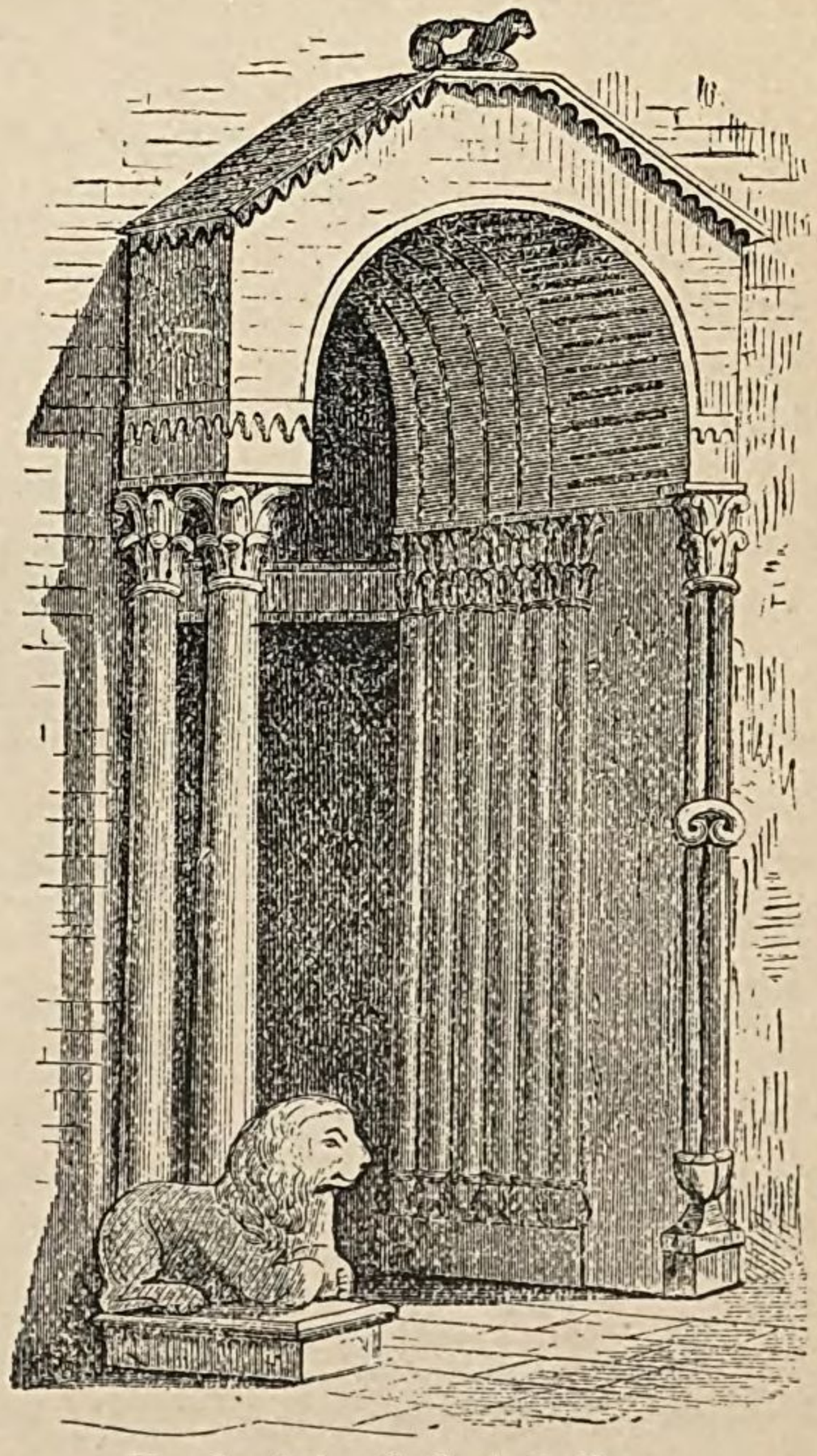
Fig. 3.



No. VII *b*.

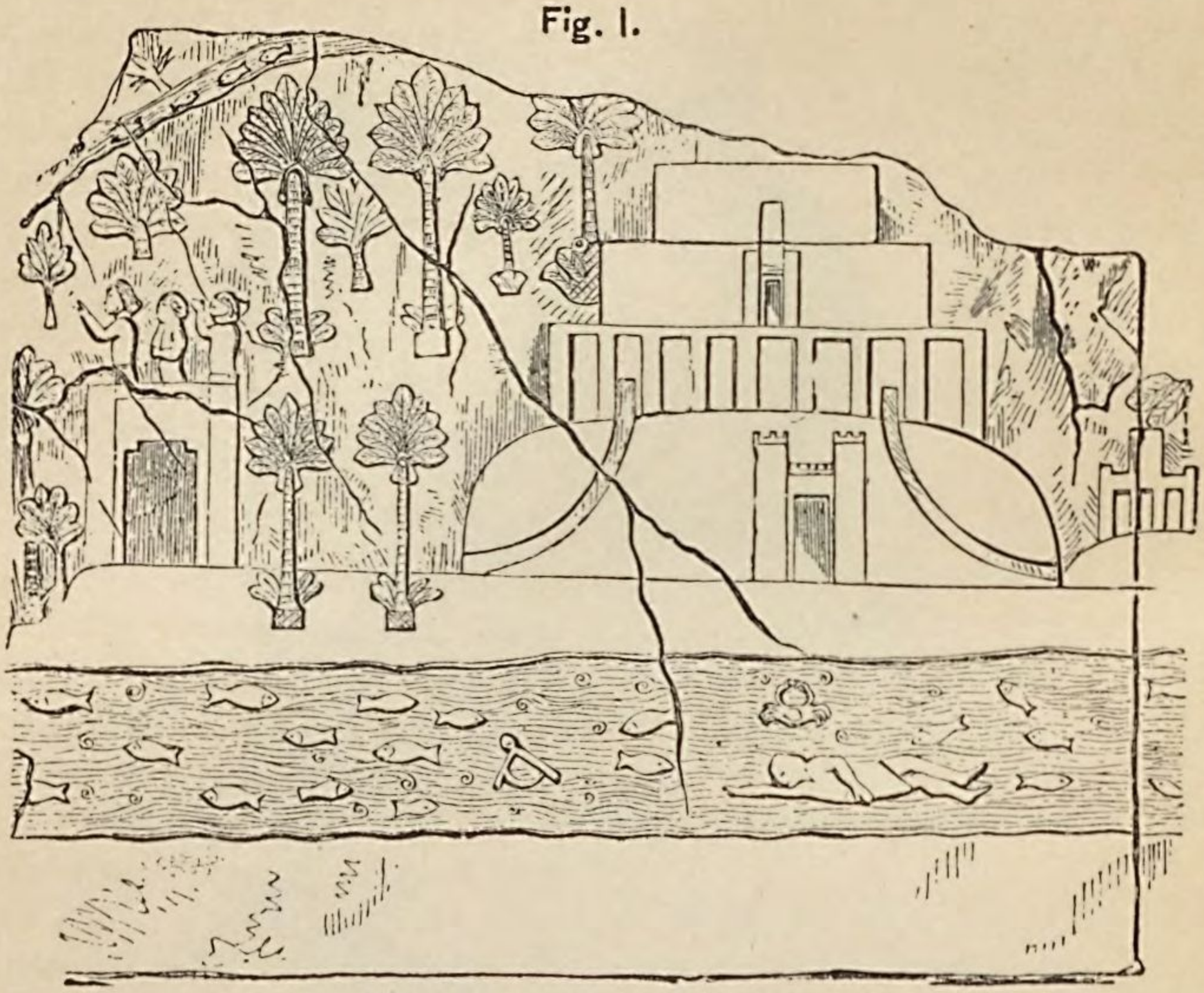
Tower of temple (restored).

Fig 2.



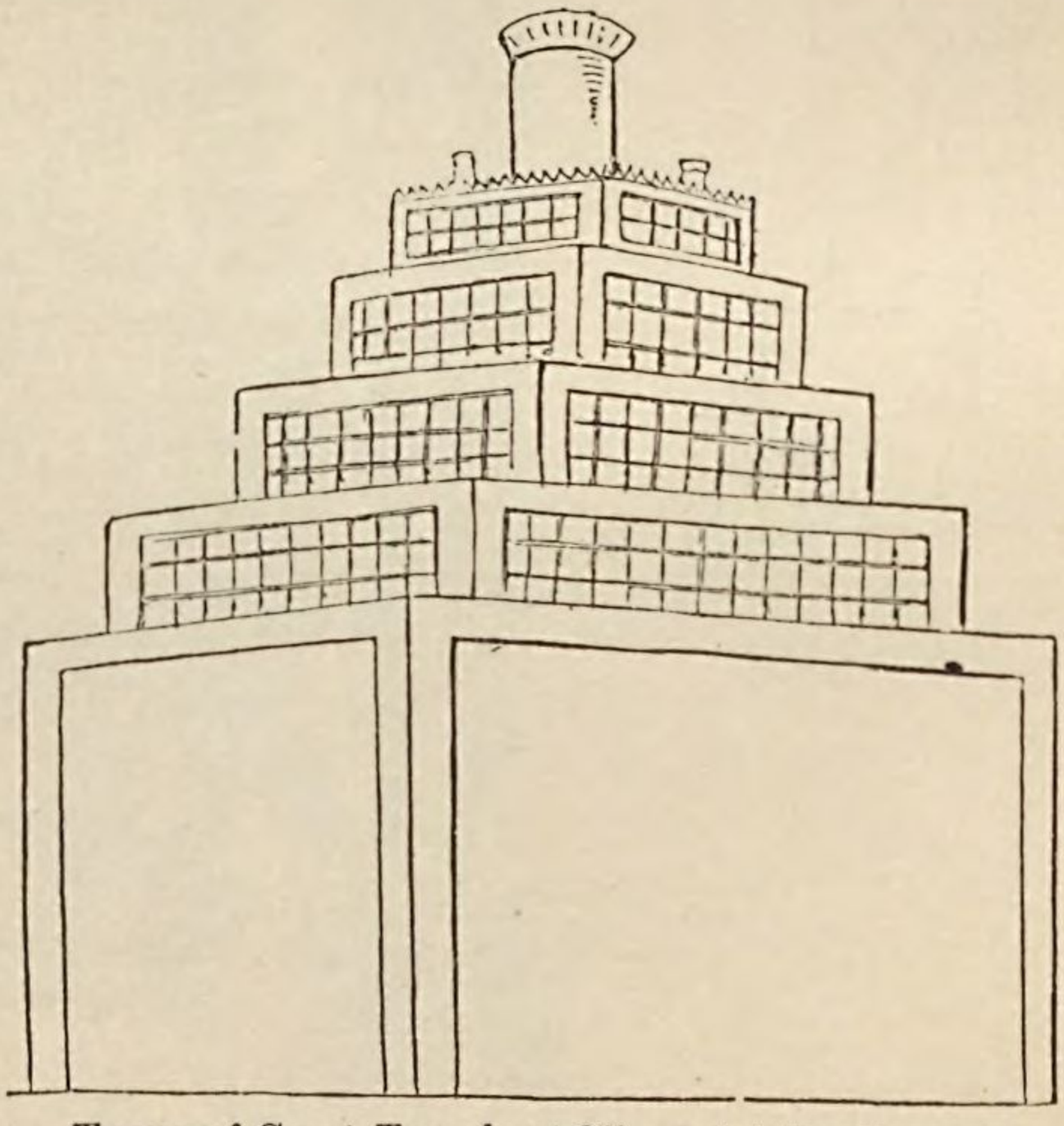
Porch of the Cathedral, Trent.

Fig. 1.



No. VII *a*. Tower of a temple (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Tower of Great Temple at Nimrud (after Layard).

not of equal magnificence. On the side of the Temple Court a single pair of bulls, facing the spectator, guarded the middle portals; the side portals exhibited only figures of genii, while the spaces between the portals were occupied, not with bulls, but merely with a series of human figures, resembling those in the first or outer court, of which a representation has been already given. Two peculiarities marked the south-east façade. In the first place, it lay in a perfectly straight line, unbroken by any projection, which is very unusual in Assyrian architecture. In the second place, as if to compensate for this monotony in its facial line, it was pierced by no fewer than five doorways, all of considerable width, and two of them garnished with bulls, of namely, the second and the fourth. The bulls of the second gateway were of the larger, those of the fourth were of the smaller size; they stood in the usual manner, a little withdrawn within the gateways and looking towards the spectator.

Of the curious building which closed in the court on the third or south-west side, which is believed to have been a temple,[34] the remains are unfortunately very slight. It stood so near the edge of the terrace that the greater part of it has fallen into the plain. Less than half of the ground-plan is left, and only a few feet of the elevation. The building may originally have been a square, or it may have been an oblong, as represented in the plan. It was approached from the court by a flight of stone steps, probably six in number, of which four remain in place. This flight of steps was placed directly opposite to the central door of the south-west palace façade. From the level of the court to that of the top of the steps, a height of about six feet, a solid platform of crude brick was raised as a basis for the temple; and this was faced, probably throughout its whole extent, with a solid wall of hard black basalt, ornamented with a cornice in gray limestone, of which the accompanying figures are representations. [Pl. XLV., Fig. 4.] Above this the external work has disappeared. Internally, two chambers may be traced, floored with a mixture of stones and chalk; and round one of these are some fragments of bas-reliefs, representing sacred subjects, cut on the same black basalt as that by which the platform is cased, and sufficient to show that the same style of ornamentation prevailed here as in the palace.

The principal doorway on the north-west side of the Temple Court communicated, by a passage, with another and similar doorway (*d* on the plan), which opened into a fourth court, the smallest and least ornamented of those on the upper platform.

The mass of building whereof this court occupied the centre, is believed to have constituted the *hareem* or private apartments of the monarch.[35] It adjoined the state apartments at its northern angle, but had no direct communication with them. To enter it from them the visitor had either to cross the Temple Court and proceed by the passage above indicated, or else to go round by the great entrance (X in the plan) and obtain admission by the grand portals on the south-west side of the outer court. These latter portals, it is to be observed, are so placed as to command no view into the *Hareem* Court, though it is opposite to them. The passages by which they gave entrance into that court must have formed some such angles as those marked by the dotted lines in the plan, the result being that visitors, while passing through the outer court, would be unable to catch any sight of what was going on in the *Hareem* Court, even if the great doors happened to be open. Those admitted so far into the palace as the Temple Court were more favored or less feared. The doorway (*d*) on the south-east side of the *Hareem* Court is exactly opposite the chief doorway on the north-west side of the Temple Court, and there can be no reasonable doubt that a straight passage connected the two.

It is uncertain whether the *Hareem* Court was surrounded by buildings on every side, or open towards the south-west. M. Botta believed that it was open;[36] and the analogy of the other courts would seem to make this probable. It is to be regretted, however, that this portion of the great Khorsabad ruin still remains so incompletely examined. Consisting of the private apartments, it is naturally less rich in sculptures than other parts; and hence it has been comparatively neglected. The labor would, nevertheless, be well employed which should be devoted to this part of the ruin, as it would give us (what we do not now possess) the *complete* ground-plan of an Assyrian palace. It is earnestly to be hoped that future excavators will direct their efforts to this easily attainable and interesting object.

The ground-plans of the palaces, and some sixteen feet of their elevations, are all that fire and time have left us of these remarkable monuments. The total destruction of the upper portion of every palatial building in Assyria, combined with the want of any representation of the royal residences upon the bas-reliefs, reduces us to mere conjecture with respect to their height, to the mode in which they were roofed and lighted, and even to the question whether they had or had not an upper story. On these subjects various views have been put forward

by persons entitled to consideration; and to these it is proposed now to direct the reader's attention.

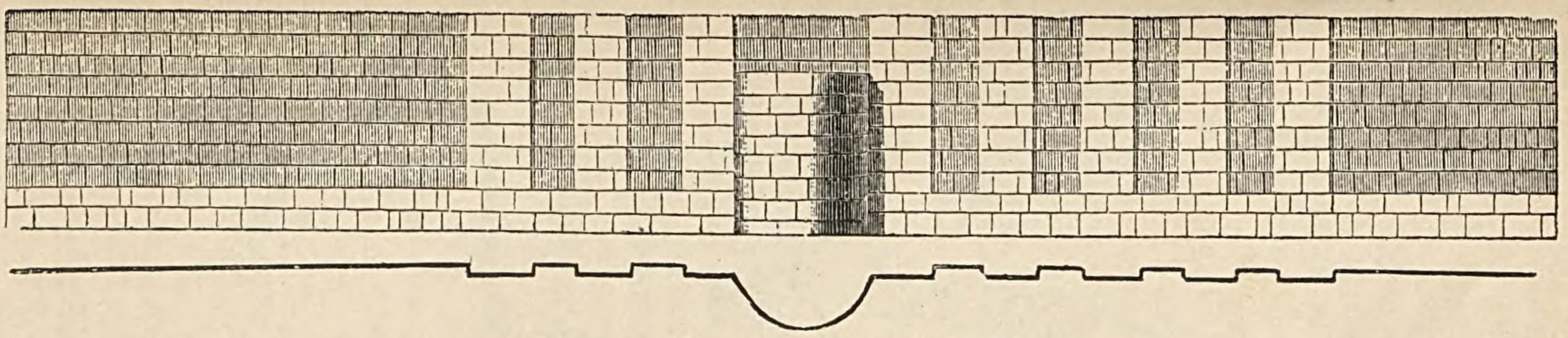
In the first place, then, had they an upper story? Mr. Layard and Mr. Fergusson decide this question in the affirmative. Mr. Layard even goes so far as to say that the fact is one which "can no longer be doubted."[37] He rests this conclusion on two grounds—first, on a belief that "upper chambers" are mentioned in the Inscriptions, and, secondly, on the discovery by himself, in Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik, of what seemed to be an inclined way, by which he supposes that the ascent was made to an upper story. The former of these two arguments must be set aside as wholly uncertain. The interpretation of the architectural inscriptions of the Assyrians is a matter of far too much doubt at present to serve as a groundwork upon which theories can properly be raised as to the plan of their buildings. With regard to the inclined passage, it is to be observed that it did not appear to what it led. It may have conducted to a gallery looking into one of the great halls, or to an external balcony overhanging an outer court; or it may have been the ascent to the top of a tower, whence a look-out was kept up and down the river. Is it not more likely that this ascent should have been made for some exceptional purpose, than that it should be the only specimen left of the ordinary mode by which one half of a palace was rendered accessible? It is to be remembered that no remains of a staircase, whether of stone or of wood have been found in any of the palaces, and that there is no other instance in any of them even of an inclined passage.[38] Those who think the palaces had second stories, believe these stories to have been reached by staircases of wood, placed in various parts of the buildings, which were totally destroyed by the conflagrations in which the palaces perished. But it is at least remarkable that no signs have been found in any existing walls of rests for the ends of beams, or of anything implying staircases. Hence M. Botta, the most careful and the most scientific of recent excavators, came to a very positive conclusion that the Khorsabad buildings had had no second story,[39] a conclusion which it would not, perhaps, be very bold to extend to Assyrian edifices generally.

It has been urged by Mr. Fergusson that there *must* have been an upper story, because otherwise all the advantage of the commanding position of the palaces, perched on their lofty platforms, would have been lost.[40] The platform at Khorsabad was protected, in the only places where its edge has been laid

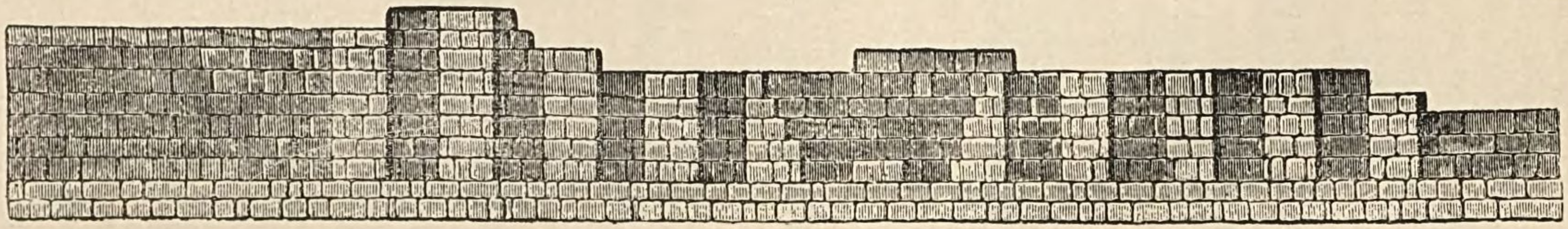
bare, by a stone wall or parapet *six feet in height.* Such a parapet continued along the whole of the platform would effectually have shut out all prospect of the open country, both from the platform itself and also from the gateways of the palace, which are on the same level. Nor could there well be any view at all from the ground chambers, which had no windows, at any rate within fifteen feet of the floor. To enjoy a view of anything but the dead wall skirting the mound, it was necessary (Mr. Fergusson thinks) to mount to a second story, which he ingeniously places, not over the ground rooms, but on the top of the outer and party walls, whose structure is so massive that their area falls (he observes) but little short of the area of the ground-rooms themselves.[41]

This reasoning is sufficiently answered, in the first place, by observing that we know not whether the Assyrians appreciated the advantage of a view, or raised their palace platforms for any such object. They may have constructed them for security only, or for greater dignity and greater seclusion. They may have looked chiefly for comfort, and have reared them in order to receive the benefit of every breeze, and at the same time to be above the elevation to which gnats and mosquitoes commonly rise.[42] Or there may be a fallacy in concluding, from the very slight data furnished by the excavations of M. Botta,[43] that a palace platform was, in any case, skirted along its whole length, by a six-foot parapet. Nothing is more probable than that in places the Khorsabad parapet may have been very much lower than this; and elsewhere it is not even ascertained that any parapet at all edged the platform. On the whole we seem to have no right to conclude, merely on account of the small portions of parapet wall uncovered by M. Botta, that an upper story was a necessity to the palaces. If the Assyrians valued a view, they may easily have made their parapets low in places: if they cared so little for it as to shut it out from all their halls and terraces, they may not improbably have dispensed with the advantage altogether.

The two questions of the roofing and lighting of the Assyrian palaces are so closely connected together that they will most conveniently be treated in combination. The first conjecture published on the subject of roofing was that of M. Flandin, who suggested that the chambers generally—the great halls, at any rate—had been ceiled with a brick vault. He thought that the complete filling up of the apartments to the height of fifteen or twenty feet was thus best explained; and he believed

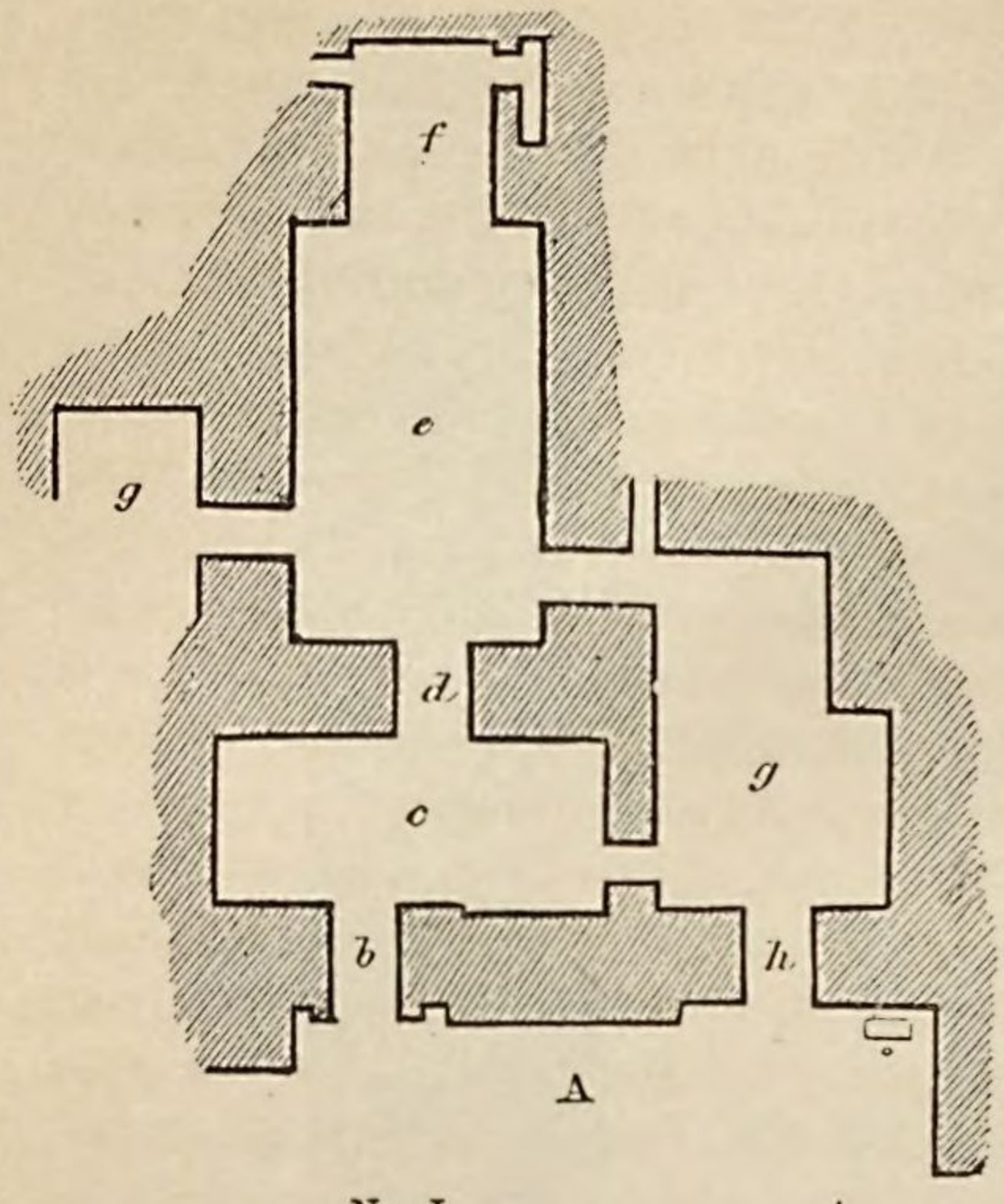


Basement of Temple-tower, Nimrud (North side).



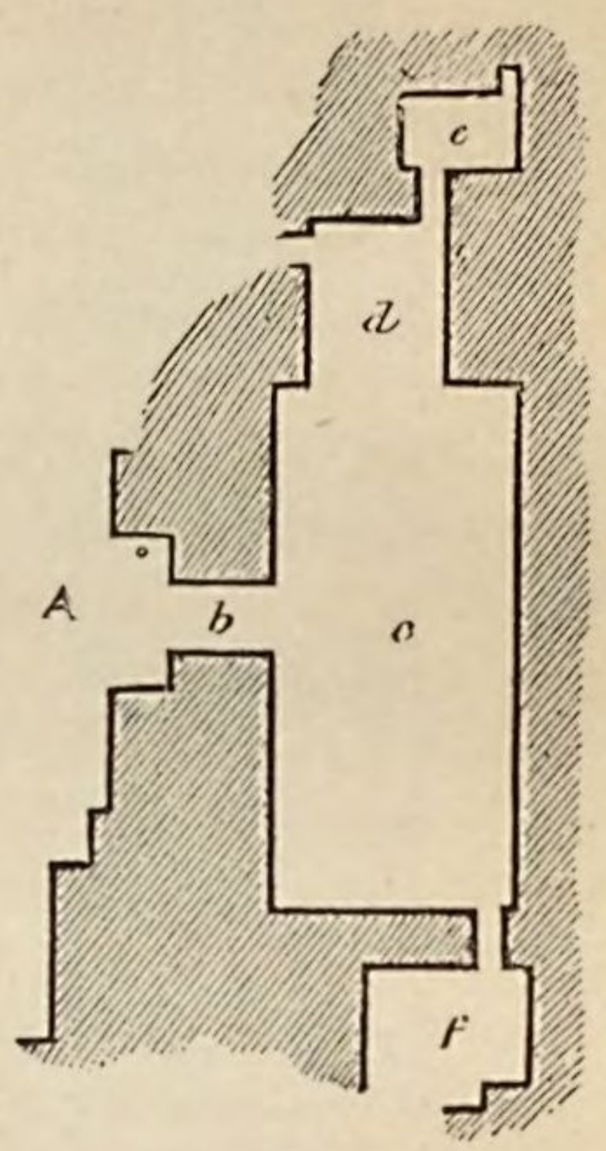
Basement of the same (West side).

Plate LIV. Fig. 1. Vol. I.



No. I.

A. Outer court.
b. Main entrance, guarded by winged lions.
c. *Pronaos* or vestibule.
d. Passage leading from vestibule into temple.
e. Cell of temple.
f. Shrine, paved with a single stone.
g g. Priests' apartments.
h. Second entrance to temple.

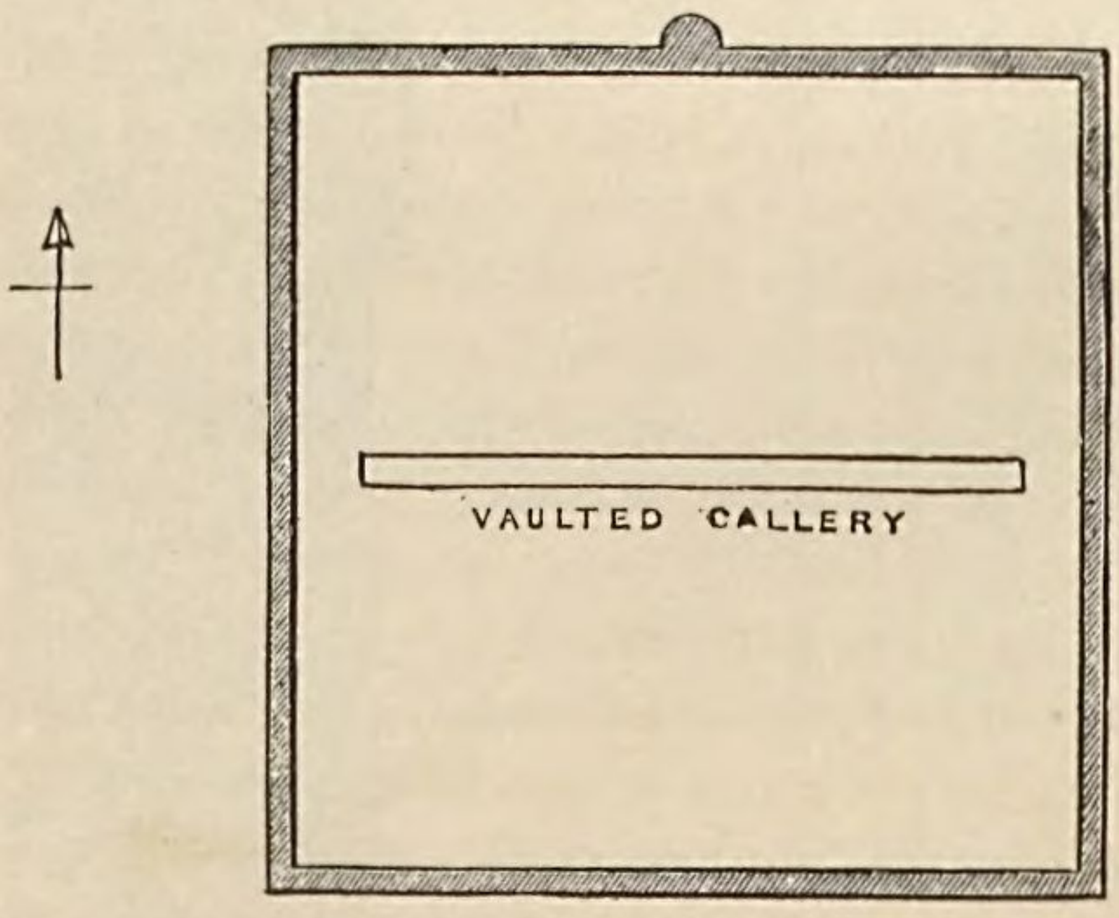


No. II.

A. Outer court.
b. Main entrance, guarded by lions (not winged).
c. Cell of temple.
d. Shrine, paved with a single stone.
e. Small closet (vestry ?)
f. Priests, apartment.

Ground-plans of Temples, Nimrud (after Layard).

Fig. 2



Ground-plan of Nimrud Tower.

that there were traces of the fallen vaulting in the *débris* with which the apartments were filled. His conjecture was combated, soon after he put it forth, by M. Botta,[44] who gave it as his opinion—first, that the walls of the chambers, notwithstanding their great thickness, would have been unable, considering their material, to sustain the weight, and (still more to bear) the lateral thrust, of a vaulted roof; and, secondly, that such a roof, if it had existed at all, must have been made of baked brick or stone—crude brick being too weak for the purpose—and when it fell must have left ample traces of itself within the apartments, whereas, in none of them, though he searched, could he find any such traces. On this latter point M. Botta and M. Flandin—both eye-witnesses—were at variance. M. Flandin believed that he had seen such traces, not only in numerous broken fragments of burnt brick strewn through all the chambers, but in occasional masses of brickwork contained in some of them—actual portions, as he thought, of the original vaulting. M. Botta, however, observed—first, that the quantity of baked brick within the chambers was quite insufficient for a vaulted roof; and, secondly, that the position of the masses of brickwork noticed by M. Flandin was always towards the sides, never towards the centres of the apartments; a clear proof that they had fallen from the upper part of the walls above the sculptures, and not from a ceiling covering the whole room. He further observed that the quantity of charred wood and charcoal within the chambers, and the calcined appearance of all the slabs, were phenomena incompatible with any other theory than that of the destruction of the palace by the conflagration of a roof mainly of wood.[45]

To these arguments of M. Botta may be added another from the improbability of the Assyrians being sufficiently advanced in architectural science to be able to construct an arch of the width necessary to cover some of the chambers. The principle of the arch was, indeed, as will be hereafter shown,[46] well known to the Assyrians; but hitherto we possess no proof that they were capable of applying it on a large scale. The widest arch which has been found in any of the buildings is that of the Khorsabad town-gate uncovered by M. Place,[47] which spans a space of (at most) fourteen or fifteen feet. But the great halls of the Assyrian palaces have a width of twenty-five, thirty, and even forty feet. It is at any rate uncertain whether the constructive skill of their architects could have grappled suc-

cessfully with the difficulty of throwing a vault over so wide an interval as even the least of these.

M. Botta, after objecting, certainly with great force, to the theory of M. Flandin, proceeded to suggest a theory of his own. After carefully reviewing all the circumstances, he gave it as his opinion that the Khorsabad building had been roofed throughout with a flat, earth-covered roofing of wood. He observed that some of the buildings on the bas-reliefs had flat roofs, that flat roofs are still the fashion of the country, and that the *débris* within the chambers were exactly such as a roof of that kind would be likely, if destroyed by fire, to have produced.[48] He further noticed that on the floors of the chambers, in various parts of the palace, there had been discovered stone rollers closely resembling those still in use at Mosul and Baghdad, for keeping close-pressed and hard the earthen surface of such roofs; which rollers had, in all probability, been applied to the same use by the Assyrians, and, being kept on the roofs, had fallen through during the conflagration.[49]

The first difficulty which presented itself here was one of those regarded as most fatal to the vaulting theory, namely, the width of the chambers. Where flat timber roofs prevail in the East, their span seems never to exceed twenty-five feet.[50] The ordinary chambers in the Assyrian palaces might, undoubtedly, therefore, have been roofed in this way, by a series of horizontal beams laid across them from side to side, with the ends resting upon the tops of the side walls. But the great halls seemed too wide to have borne such a roofing without supports. Accordingly, M. Botta suggested that in the greater apartments a single or a double row of pillars ran down the middle, reaching to the roof and sustaining it.[51] His theory was afterwards warmly embraced by Mr. Fergusson, who endeavored to point out the exact position of the pillars in the three great halls of Sargon at Khorsabad.[52] It seems, however, a strong and almost a fatal objection to this theory, that no bases of pillars have been found within the apartments, nor any marks on the brick floors of such bases or of the pressure of the pillars. M. Botta states that he made a careful search for bases, or for marks of pillars, on the pavement of the north-east hall (No VIII.) at Khorsabad, but that he *entirely failed to discover any*.[53] This negative evidence is the more noticeable as stone pillar-bases have been found in wide doorways, where they would have been less necessary than in the cham-

bers, as pillars in doorways could have had but little weight to sustain.

M. Botta and Mr. Fergusson, who both suppose that in an Assyrian palace the entire edifice was roofed in, and only the courts left open to the sky, suggest two very different modes by which the buildings may have been lighted. M. Botta brings light in from the roof by means of wooden *louvres*, such as are still employed for the purpose in Armenia and parts of India,[54] whereof he gives the representation which is reproduced. [Pl. XLVII., Fig. 1.] Mr. Fergusson introduces light from the sides, by supposing that the roof did not rest directly on the walls, but on rows of wooden pillars placed along the edge of the walls both internally towards the apartments and externally towards the outer air. The only ground for this supposition, which is of a very startling character, seems to be the occurrence in a single bas-relief, representing a city in Armenia, of what is regarded as a similar arrangement. But it must be noted that the lower portion of the building, represented opposite, bears no resemblance at all to the same part of an Assyrian palace, since in it perpendicular lines prevail, whereas, in the Assyrian palaces, the lower lines were almost wholly horizontal; and that it is not even certain that the upper portion, where the pillars occur, is an arrangement for admitting light, since it may be merely an ornamentation.

The difficulties attaching to every theory of roofing and lighting which places the whole of an Assyrian palace under covert, has led some to suggest that the system actually adopted in the larger apartments was that *hypæthral* one which is generally believed to have prevailed in the Greek temples,[55] and which was undoubtedly followed in the ordinary Roman house. Mr. Layard was the first to put forward the view that the larger halls, at any rate, were uncovered, a projecting ledge, sufficiently wide to afford shelter and shade, being carried round the four sides of the apartment, while the centre remained open to the sky.[56] The objections taken to this view are—first, that far too much heat and light would thereby have been admitted into the palace; secondly, that in the rainy season far too much rain would have come in for comfort; and, thirdly, that the pavement of the halls, being mere sun-dried brick, would, under such circumstances, have been turned into mud.[57] If these objections are not removed, they would be, at any rate, greatly lessened by supposing the roofing to have extended to two-thirds or three-fourths of the

apartment, and the opening to have been comparatively narrow. We may also suppose that on very bright and on very rainy days carpets or other awnings were stretched across the opening, which furnished a tolerable defence against the weather.

On the whole, our choice seems to lie—so far as the great halls are concerned—between this theory of the mode in which they were roofed and lighted, and a supposition from which archæologists have hitherto shrunk, namely, that they were actually spanned from side to side by beams. If we remember that the Assyrians did not content themselves with the woods produced in their own country, but habitually cut timber in the forests of distant regions, as, for instance, of Amanus, Hermon, and Lebanon, which they conveyed to Nineveh, we shall perhaps not think it impossible that they may have been able to accomplish the feat of roofing in this simple fashion even chambers of thirteen or fourteen yards in width. Mr. Layard observes that rooms of *almost* equal width with the Assyrian halls are to this day covered in with beams laid horizontally from side to side in many parts of Mesopotamia, although the only timber used is that furnished by the indigenous palms and poplars.[58] May not more have been accomplished in this way by the Assyrian architects, who had at their disposal the lofty firs and cedars of the above-mentioned regions?

If the halls were roofed in this way, they may have been lighted by *louvres*;[59] or the upper portion of the walls, which is now destroyed, may have been pierced by windows, which are of frequent occurrence, and seem generally to be somewhat high placed, in the representations of buildings upon the sculptures. [Pl. XLVII., Fig. 3.]

It might have been expected that the difficulties with respect to Assyrian roofing and lighting which have necessitated this long discussion, would have received illustration, or even solution, from the forms of buildings which occur so frequently on the bas-reliefs. But this is not found to be the actual result. The forms are rarely Assyrian, since they occur commonly in the sculptures which represent the foreign campaigns of the kings; and they have the appearance of being to a great extent conventional, being nearly the same, whatever country is the object of attack. In the few cases where there is ground for regarding the building as native and not foreign, it is never palatial, but belongs either to sacred or to domestic architecture. Thus the monumental representations of Assyrian build·

ings which have come down to us, throw little or no light on the construction of their palaces. As, however, they have an interest of their own, and will serve to illustrate in some degree the domestic and sacred architecture of the people, some of the most remarkable of them will be here introduced.

The representation No. I. is from a slab at Khorsabad. [Pl. XLVII., Fig. 4.] It is placed on the summit of a hill, and is regarded by M. Botta as an altar. No. II. is from the same slab. [Pl. XLIX., Fig. 1.] It stands at the foot of the hill crowned by No. I. It has been called a "fishing pavilion;"[60] but it is most probably a small temple, since it bears a good deal of resemblance to other representations which are undoubted temples, as (particularly) to No. V. No. III., which is from Lord Aberdeen's black stone, is certainly a temple, since it is accompanied by a priest, a sacred tree, and an ox for sacrifice.[61] [Pl. XLIX., Fig. 2.] The representation No. IV. is also thought to be a temple. [Pl. XLIX., Fig. 3.] It is of earlier date than any of the others, being taken from a slab belonging to the North-west Palace at Nimrud, and is remarkable in many ways. First, the want of symmetry is curious, and unusual. Irregular as are the palaces of the Assyrian kings, there is for the most part no want of regularity in their sacred buildings. The two specimens here adduced (No. II. and No. III.) are proof of this; and such remains of actual temples as exist are in accordance with the sculptures in this particular. The right-hand aisle in No. IV., having nothing correspondent to it on the other side, is thus an anomaly in Assyrian architecture. The patterning of the pillars with chevrons is also remarkable; and their capitals are altogether unique.[62] No. V. is a temple of a more elaborate character. [Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4.] It is from the sculptures of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon, and possesses several features of great interest. The body of the temple is a columnar structure, exhibiting at either corner a broad pilaster surmounted by a capital composed of two sets of volutes placed one over the other. Between the two pilasters are two pillars resting upon very extraordinary rounded bases, and crowned by capitals not unlike the Corinthian. We might have supposed the bases mere figments of the sculptor, but for an independent evidence of the actual employment by the Assyrians of rounded pillar-bases. Mr. Layard discovered at Koyunjik a set of "circular pedestals," whereof he gives the representation which is figured. [Pl. LI., Fig. 1.] They appeared to form part of a double

line of similar objects, extending from the edge of the platform to an entrance of the palace, and probably (as Mr. Layard suggests) supported the wooden pillars of a covered way by which the palace was approached on this side. Above the pillars the temple (No. V.) exhibits a heavy cornice or entablature projecting considerably, and finished at the top with a row of gradines. (Compare No. II.) At one side of this main building is a small chapel or oratory, also finished with gradines, against the wall of which is a representation of a king, standing in a species of frame arched at the top. A road leads straight up to this royal tablet, and in this road within a little distance of the king stands an altar. The temple occupies the top of a mound, which is covered with trees of two different kinds, and watered by rivulets. On the right is a "hanging garden," artificially elevated to the level of the temple by means of masonry supported on an arcade, the arch here used being not the round arch but a pointed one. No. VI. (Pl. L.) is unfortunately very imperfect, the entire upper portion having been lost. Even, however, in its present mutilated state it represents by far the most magnificent building that has yet been found upon the bas-reliefs. The façade, as it now stands, exhibits four broad pilasters and four pillars, alternating in pairs, excepting that, as in the smaller temples, pilasters occupy both corners. In two cases, the base of the pilaster is carved into the figure of a winged bull, closely resembling the bulls which commonly guarded the outer gates of palaces. In the other two the base is plain—a piece of negligence, probably, on the part of the artist. The four pillars all exhibit a rounded base, nearly though not quite similar to that of the pillars in No. V.; and this rounded base in every case rests upon the back of a walking lion. We might perhaps have imagined that this was a mere fanciful or mythological device of the artist's, on a par with the representations at Bavian, where figures, supposed to be Assyrian deities, stand upon the backs of animals resembling dogs.[63] But one of M. Place's architectural discoveries seems to make it possible, or even probable, that a real feature in Assyrian building is here represented. M. Place found the arch of the town gateway which he exhumed at Khorsabad to spring from the backs of the two bulls which guarded it on either side.[64] Thus the lions at the base of the pillars may be real architectural forms, as well as the winged bulls which support the pilasters. The lion was undoubtedly a sacred animal, emblematic of divine power, and specially as-

signed to Nergal, the Assyrian Mars, the god at once of war and of hunting. His introduction on the exteriors of buildings was common in Asia Minor; but no other example occurs of his being made to support a pillar, excepting in the so-called Byzantine architecture of Northern Italy.

No. VII. *a* (Pl. LII., Fig. 1) introduces us to another kind of Assyrian temple, or perhaps it should rather be said to another feature of Assyrian temples—common to them with Babylonian—the tower or *ziggurat*. This appears to have been always built in stages, which probably varied in number—never, however, so far as appears, exceeding seven. The sculptured example before us, which is from a bas-relief found at Koyunjik, distinctly exhibits four stages, of which the topmost, owing to the destruction of the upper portion of the tablet, is imperfect. It is not unlikely that in this instance there was above the fourth a fifth stage, consisting of a shrine like that which at Babylon crowned the great temple of Belus.[65] The complete elevation would then have been nearly as in No. VII. *b*. [Pl. XLI., Fig. 3.]

The following features are worth of remark in this temple. The basement story is panelled with indented rectangular recesses, as was the case at Nimrud [66] [Pl. LIII.] and at the Birs;[67] the remainder are plain, as are most of the stages in the Birs temple. Up to the second of these squared recesses on either side there runs what seems to be a road or path, which sweeps away down the hill whereon the temple stands in a bold curve, each path closely matching the other. The whole building is perfectly symmetrical, except that the panelling is not quite uniform in width nor arranged quite regularly. On the second stage, exactly in the middle, there is evidently a doorway, and on either side of it a shallow buttress or pilaster. In the centre of the third story, exactly over the doorway of the second, is a squared niche. In front of the temple, but not exactly opposite its centre, may be seen the propylæa, consisting of a squared doorway placed under a battlemented wall, between two towers also battlemented. It is curious that the paths do not lead to the propylæa, but seem to curve round the hill.

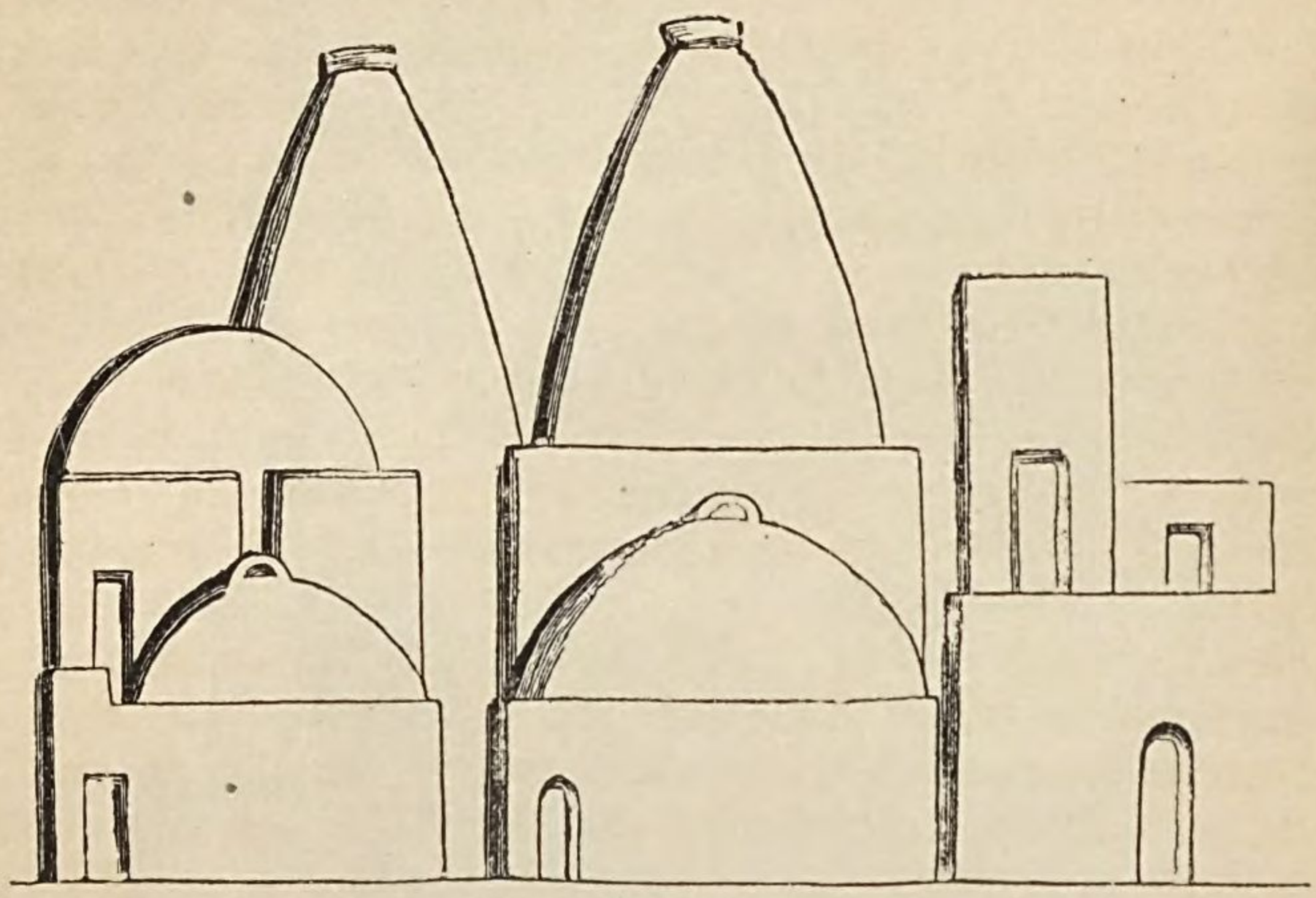
Remains of *ziggurats* similar to this have been discovered at Khorsabad, at Nimrud, and at Kileh-Sherghat. The conical mound at Khorsabad explored by M. Place was found to contain a tower in seven stages;[68] that of Nimrud, which is so striking an object from the plain,[69] and which was carefully examined by Mr. Layard, presented no positive proof of more than a

single stage; but from its conical shape, and from the general analogy of such towers, it is believed to have had several stages. [Pl. LII., Fig. 2.] Mr. Layard makes their number five, and crowns the fifth with a circular tower terminating in a heavy cornice;[70] but for this last there is no authority at all, and the actual number of the stages is wholly uncertain. The base of this *ziggurat* was a square, 167 feet 6 inches each way, composed of a solid mass of sun-dried brick, faced at bottom to the height of twenty feet with a wall of hewn stones, more than eight feet and a half in thickness. The outer stones were bevelled at the edges, and on the two most conspicuous sides the wall was ornamented with a series of shallow recesses arranged without very much attention to regularity. The other two sides, one of which abutted on and was concealed by the palace mound, while the other faced towards the city, were perfectly plain. At the top of the stone masonry was a row of gradines, such as are often represented in the sculptures as crowning an edifice.[71] Above the stone masonry the tower was continued at nearly the same width, the casing of stone being simply replaced by one of burnt brick of inferior thickness. It is supposed that the upper stages were constructed in the same way. As the actual present height of the ruin is 140 feet, and the upper stages have so entirely crumbled away, it can scarcely be supposed that the original height fell much short of 200 feet.[72]

The most curious of the discoveries made during the examination of this building, was the existence in its interior of a species of chamber or gallery, the true object of which still remains wholly unexplained. This gallery was 100 feet long, 12 feet high, and no more than 6 feet broad. It was arched or vaulted at top, both the side walls and the vaulting being of sun-dried brick. [Pl. LIV., Fig. 2.] Its position was exactly half-way between the tower's northern and southern faces, and with these it ran parallel, its height in the tower being such that its floor was exactly on a level with the top of the stone masonry, which again was level with the terrace or platform whereupon the Nimrud palaces stood. There was no trace of any way by which the gallery was intended to be entered; its walls showed no signs of inscription, sculpture, or other ornament; and absolutely nothing was found in it. Mr. Layard, prepossessed with an opinion derived from several confused notices in the classical writers,[73] believed the tower to be a sepulchral monument, and the gallery to be the tomb in which

Entrance to smaller Temple, Nimrud (after Layard).

Fig 1.



Assyrian Village (Koyunjik.)

Fig. 2.

Village near Aleppo (after Layard).

was originally deposited "the embalmed body of the king."[74] To account for the complete disappearance, not only of the body, but of all the ornaments and vessels found commonly in the Mesopotamian tombs, he suggested that the gallery had been rifled in times long anterior to his visit; and he thought that he found traces, both internally and externally, of the tunnel by which it had been entered. But certainly, if this long and narrow vault was intended to receive a body, it is most extraordinarily shaped for the purpose. What other sepulchral chamber is there anywhere of so enormous a length? Without pretending to say what the real object of the gallery was,[75] we may feel tolerably sure that it was not a tomb. The building which contained it was a temple tower, and it is not likely that the religious feelings of the Assyrians would have allowed the application of a religious edifice to so utilitarian a purpose.

Besides the *ziggurat* or tower, which may commonly have been surmounted by a chapel or shrine, an Assyrian temple had always a number of basement chambers, in one of which was the principal shrine of the god. [Pl. LIV., Fig. 1.] This was a square or slightly oblong recess at the end of an oblong apartment, raised somewhat above its level; it was paved (sometimes, if not always) with a single slab, the weight of which must occasionally have been as much as thirty tons.[76] One or two small closets opened out from the shrine, in which it is likely that the priests kept the sacerdotal garments and the sacrificial utensils.[77] Sometimes the cell of the temple or chamber into which the shrine opened was reached through another apartment, corresponding to the Greek *pronaos*. In such a case, care seems to have been taken so to arrange the outer and inner doorways of the vestibule that persons passing by the outer doorway should not be able to catch a sight of the shrine.[78] Where there was no vestibule, the entrance into the cell or body of the temple seems to have been placed at the side, instead of at the end, probably with the same object.[79] Besides these main parts of a temple, a certain number of chambers are always found, which appear to have been priests' apartments.

The ornamentation of temples, to judge by the few specimens which remain, was very similar to that of palaces. The great gateways were guarded by colossal bulls (?) or lions (see Pl. LV.), accompanied by the usual sacred figures, and sometimes covered with inscriptions. The entrances and some por-

tions of the chambers were ornamented with the customary sculptured slabs, representing here none but religious subjects. No great proportion of the interior, however, was covered in this way, the walls being in general only plastered and then painted with figures or patterns. Externally, enamelled bricks were used as a decoration wherever sculptured slabs did not hide the crude brick.[80]

Much the same doubts and difficulties beset the subjects of the roofing and lighting of the temples as those which have been discussed already in connection with the palaces. Though the span of the temple-chambers is less than that of the great palace halls, still it is considerable, sometimes exceeding thirty feet.[81] No effort seems made to keep the temple-chambers narrow, for their width is sometimes as much as two-thirds of their length. Perhaps, therefore, they were hypæthral, like the temples of the Greeks. All that seems to be certain is that what roofing they had was of wood,[82] which at Nimrud was cedar, brought probably from the mountains of Syria.

Of the domestic architecture of the Assyrians we possess absolutely no specimen. Excavation has been hitherto confined to the most elevated portions of the mounds which mark the sites of cities, where it was likely that remains of the greatest interest would be found. Palaces, temples, and the great gates which gave entrance to towns, have in this way seen the light; but the humbler buildings, the ordinary dwellings of the people, remain buried beneath the soil, unexplored and even unsought for. In this entire default of any actual specimen of an ordinary Assyrian house, we naturally turn to the sculptured representations which are so abundant and represent so many different sorts of scenes. Even here, however, we obtain but little light. The bulk of the slabs exhibit the wars of the kings in foreign countries, and thus place before us foreign rather than Assyrian architecture. The processional slabs, which are another large class, contain rarely any building at all, and, where they furnish one, exhibit to us a temple rather than a house. The hunting scenes, representing wilds far from the dwellings of man, afford us, as might be expected, no help. Assyrian buildings, other than temples, are thus most rarely placed before us. In one case, indeed, we have an Assyrian city, which a foreign enemy is passing; but the only edifices represented are the walls and towers of the exterior, and the temple (No. VI., Pl. L.) whose columns rest upon lions. In one other we seem to have an unfortified Assyrian

village;[83] and from this single specimen we are forced to form our ideas of the ordinary character of Assyrian houses.

It is observable here, in the first place, that the houses have no windows, and are, therefore, probably lighted from the roof; next, that the roofs are very curious, since, although flat in some instances, they consist more often either of hemispherical domes, such as are still so common in the East, or of steep and high cones, such as are but seldom seen anywhere. Mr. Layard finds a parallel for these last in certain villages of Northern Syria, where all the houses have conical roofs, built of mud, which present a very singular appearance.[84] [Pl. LVI., Fig. 2.] Both the domes and the cones of the Assyrian example have evidently an opening at the top, which may have admitted as much light into the houses as was thought necessary. The doors are of two kinds, square at the top, and arched; they are placed commonly towards the sides of the houses. The houses themselves seem to stand separate, though in close juxtaposition.

The only other buildings of the Assyrians which appear to require some notice are the fortified enceintes of their towns. The simplest of these consisted of a single battlemented wall, carried in lines nearly or quite straight along the four sides of the place, pierced with gates, and guarded at the angles, at the gates, and at intervals along the curtain with projecting towers, raised not very much higher than the walls, and (apparently) square in shape. [Pl. LVII., Fig 1.] In the sculptures we sometimes find the battlemented wall repeate dtwice or thrice in lines placed one above the other, the intention being to represent the defence of a city by two or three walls, such as we have seen existed on one side of Nineveh.[85]

The walls were often, if not always, guarded by moats. Internally they were, in every case, constructed of crude brick; while externally it was common to face them with hewn stone, either from top to bottom, or at any rate to a certain height. At Khorsabad the stone revêtement of one portion at least of the wall was complete; at Nimrud (Calah) and at Nineveh itself, it was partial, being carried at the former of those places only to the height of twenty feet.[86] The masonry at Khorsabad was of three kinds. That of the palace mound, which formed a portion of the outer defence, was composed entirely of blocks of stone, square-hewn and of great size, the length of the blocks varying from two to three yards, while the width was one yard, and the height from five to six feet. [Pl. LVII.,

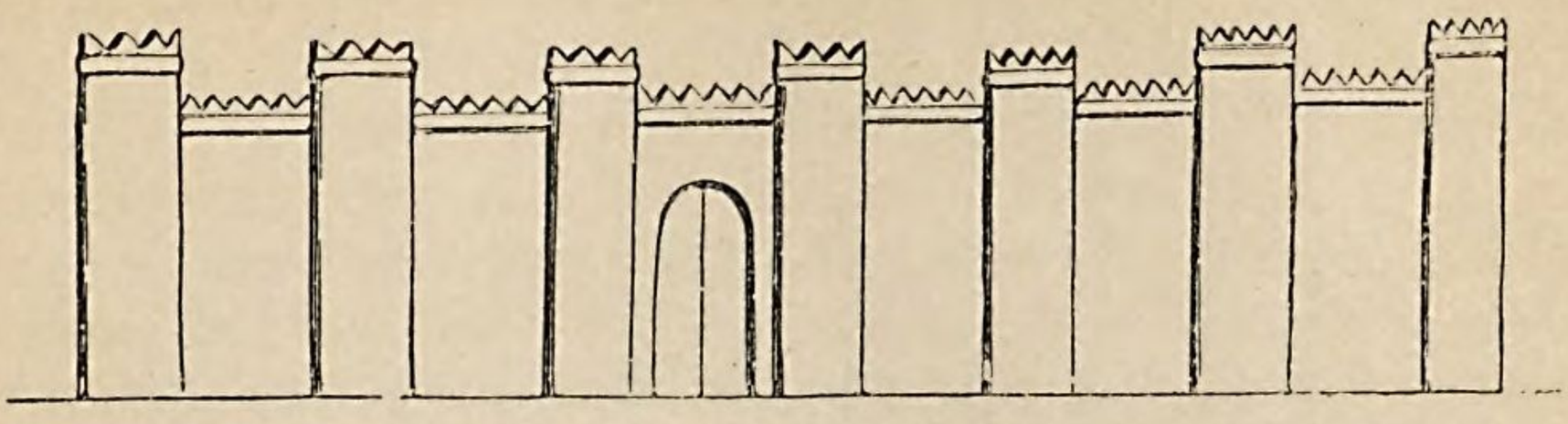
Fig. 2.] The masonry was laid somewhat curiously. The blocks (A A) were placed alternately long-wise and end-wise against the crude brick (B), so as not merely to lie against it, but to penetrate it with their ends in many places.[87] [Pl. LVII., Fig. 2.] Care was also taken to make the angles especially strong, as will be seen by the accompanying section.

The rest of the defences at Khorsabad were of an inferior character. The wall of the town had a width of about forty-five feet, and its basement, to the height of three feet, was constructed of stone; but the blocks were neither so large, nor were they hewn with the same care, as those of the palace platform. [Pl. LVII., Fig. 3.] The angles, indeed, were of squared stone; but even there the blocks measured no more than three feet in length and a foot in height; the rest of the masonry consisted of small polygonal stones, merely smoothed on their outer face, and roughly fitting together in a manner recalling the Cyclopian walls of Greece and Italy.[88] They were not united by any cement. Above the stone basement was a massive structure of crude brick, without any facing either of burnt brick or of stone.

The third kind of masonry at Khorsabad was found outside the main wall, and may have formed either part of the lining of the moat or a portion of a tower, which may have projected in advance of the wall at this point. [Pl. LVIII., Fig. 1.] It was entirely of stone. The lowest course was formed of small and very irregular polygonal blocks roughly fitted together; above this came two courses of carefully squared stones more than a foot long, but less than six inches in width, which were placed end-wise, one over the other, care being taken that the joints of the upper tier should never coincide exactly with those of the lower. Above these was a third course of hewn stones, somewhat smaller than the others, which were laid in the ordinary manner. Here the construction, as discovered, terminated; but it was evident, from the *débris* of hewn stones at the foot of the wall, that originally the courses had been continued to a much greater height.[89]

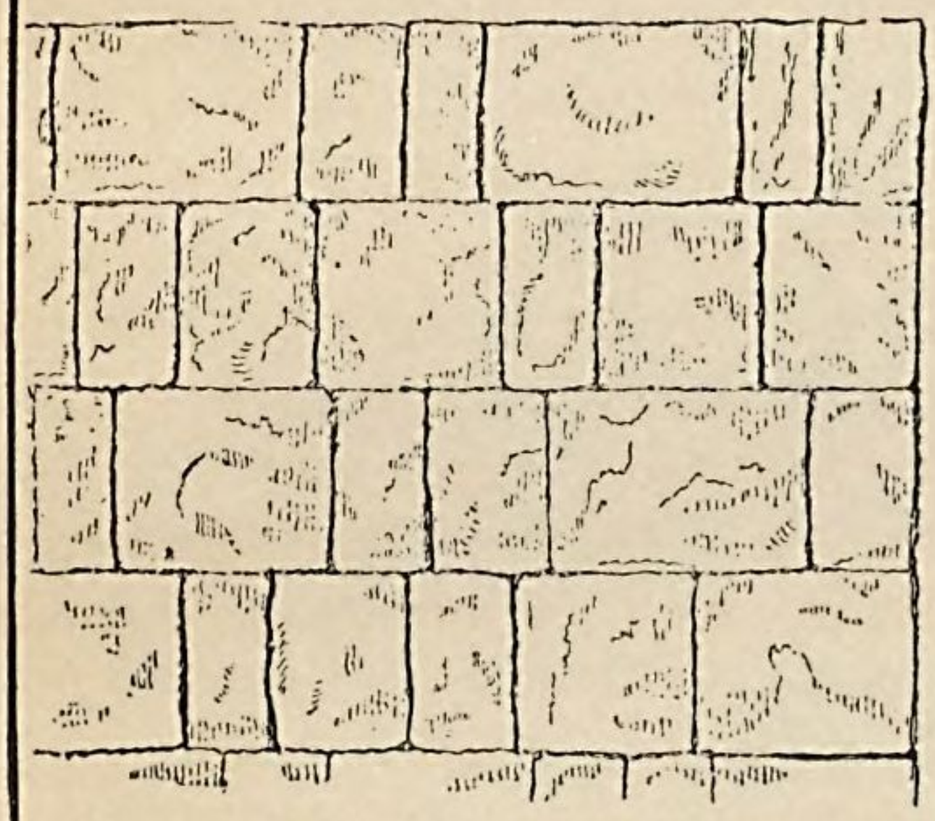
In this description of the buildings raised by the Assyrians it has been noticed more than once that they were not ignorant of the use of the arch.[90] The old notion that the round arch was a discovery of the Roman, and the pointed of the Gothic architecture, has gradually faded away with our ever-increasing knowledge of the actual state of the ancient world;[91] and antiquarians were not, perhaps, very much surprised to

Fig 1.

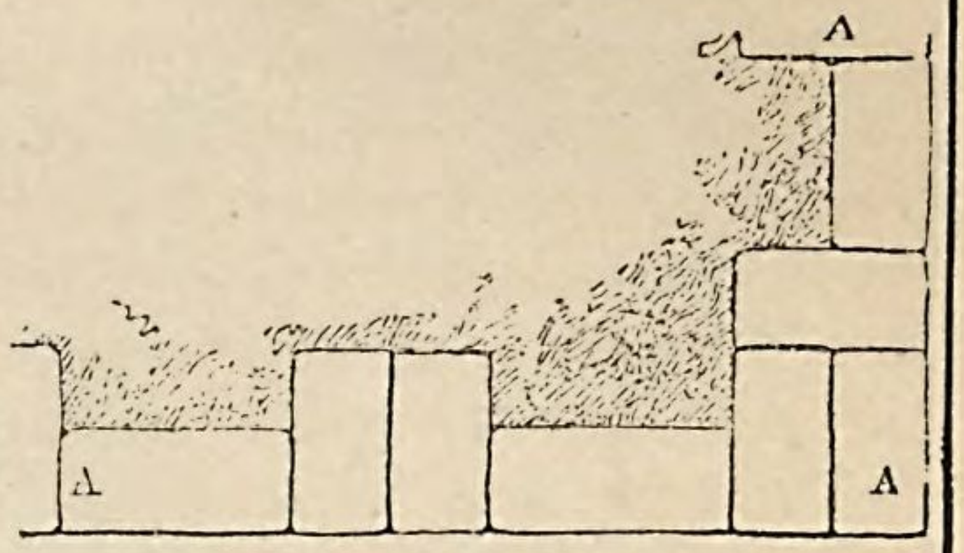


Assyrian battlemented wall.

Fig. 2.



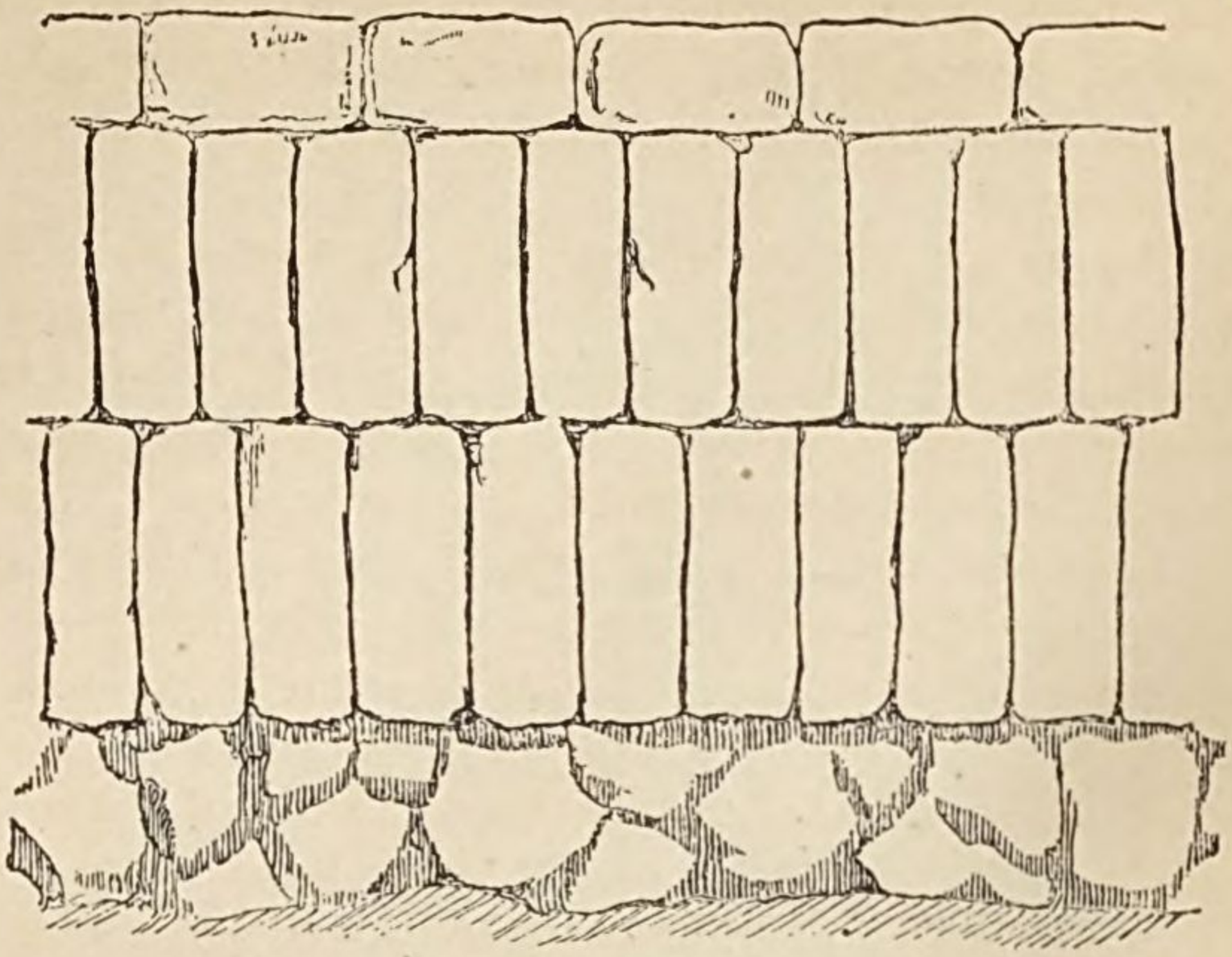
Masonry of Platform Wall, Khorsabad.



Section of same.

Fig. 3.

Masonry of town-wall (Khorsabad).



Masonry of Tower or Moat (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2.

Arched Drain, South-East Palace, Nimrud
(after Layard).

learn, by the discoveries of Mr. Layard, that the Assyrians knew and used both kinds of arch in their constructions. Some interest, however, will probably be felt to attach to the two questions, how they formed their arches, and to what uses they applied them.

All the Assyrian arches hitherto discovered are of brick. The round arches are both of the crude and of the kiln-dried material, and are formed, in each case, of brick made expressly for vaulting, slightly convex at top and slightly concave at bottom, with one broader and one narrower end. The arches are of the simplest kind, being exactly semicircular, and rising from plain perpendicular jambs. The greatest width which any such arch has been hitherto found to span is about fifteen feet.[92]

The only pointed arch actually discovered is of burnt brick. The bricks are of the ordinary shape, and not intended for vaulting. They are laid side by side up to a certain point, being bent into a slight arch by the interposition between them of thin wedges of mortar. The two sides of the arch having been in this way carried up to a point where the lower extremities of the two innermost bricks nearly touched, while a considerable space remained between their upper extremities instead of a key-stone, or a key-brick fitting the aperture, ordinary bricks were placed in it longitudinally, and so the space was filled in."[93]

Another mode of constructing a pointed arch seems to be intended in a bas-relief, whereof a representation has been already given.[94] The masonry of the arcade in No. V. (Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4) runs (it will be seen) in horizontal lines up to the very edge of the arch, thus suggesting a construction common in many of the early Greek arches, where the stones are so cut away that an arched opening is formed, though the real constructive principle of the arch has no place in such specimens.[95]

With regard to the uses whereto the Assyrians applied the arch, it would certainly seem, from the evidence which we possess, that they neither employed it as a great decorative feature, nor yet as a main principle of construction. So far as appears, their chief use of it was for doorways and gateways. Not only are the town gates of Khorsabad found to have been arched over, but in the representations of edifices, whether native or foreign, upon the bas-reliefs, the arch for doors is commoner than the square top. It is most probable that the great palace gateways were thus covered in, while it is certain that

some of the interior doorways in palaces had rounded tops.[96] Besides this use of the arch for doors and gates, the Assyrians are known to have employed it for drains, aqueducts, and narrow chambers or galleries. [Pl. LVIII., Fig. 2; LIX., Fig. 1.]

It has been suggested that the Assyrians applied the two kinds of arches to different purposes, "thereby showing more science and discrimination than we do in our architectural works;" that "they used the pointed arch for underground work, where they feared great superincumbent pressure on the apex, and the round arch above ground, where that was not to be dreaded."[97] [Pl. LIX., Fig. 2.] But this ingenious theory is scarcely borne out by the facts. The round arch is employed underground in two instances at Nimrud,[98] besides occurring in the basement story of the great tower,[99] where the superincumbent weight must have been enormous. And the pointed arch is used above ground for the aqueduct and hanging garden in the bas-relief (see Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4), where the pressure, though considerable, would not have been very extraordinary. It would seem, therefore, to be doubtful whether the Assyrians were really guided by any constructive principle in their preference of one form of the arch over the other.

In describing generally the construction of the palaces and other chief buildings of the Assyrians, it has been necessary occasionally to refer to their ornamentation; but the subject is far from exhausted, and will now claim, for a short space, our special attention. Beyond a doubt the chief adornment, both of palaces and temples, consisted of the colossal bulls and lions guarding the great gateways, together with the sculptured slabs wherewith the walls, both internal and external, were ordinarily covered to the height of twelve or sometimes even of fifteen feet. These slabs and carved figures will necessarily be considered in connection with Assyrian sculpture, of which they form the most important part. It will, therefore, only be noted at present that the extent of wall covered with the slabs was, in the Khorsabad palace, at least 4000 feet,[100] or nearly four-fifths of a mile, while in each of the Koyunjik palaces the sculptures extended to considerably more than that distance.

The ornamentation of the walls above the slabs, both internally and externally, was by means of bricks painted on the exposed side and covered with an enamel. The colors are for the most part somewhat pale, but occasionally they possess some brilliancy. [Pl. LX., Fig. 1.] Predominant among the tints are a pale blue, an olive green, and a dull yellow. White

is also largely used; brown and black are not infrequent; red is comparatively rare.[101] The subjects represented are either such scenes as occur upon the sculptured slabs, or else mere patterns,—scrolls, honeysuckles, chevrons, gradines, guilloches, etc. In the scenes some attempt seems to be made at representing objects in their natural colors. The size of the figures is small; and it is difficult to imagine that any great effect could have been produced on the beholder by such minute drawings placed at such a height from the ground. Probably the most effective ornamentation of this kind was by means of patterns, which are often graceful and striking. [Pl. LX., Fig. 2.]

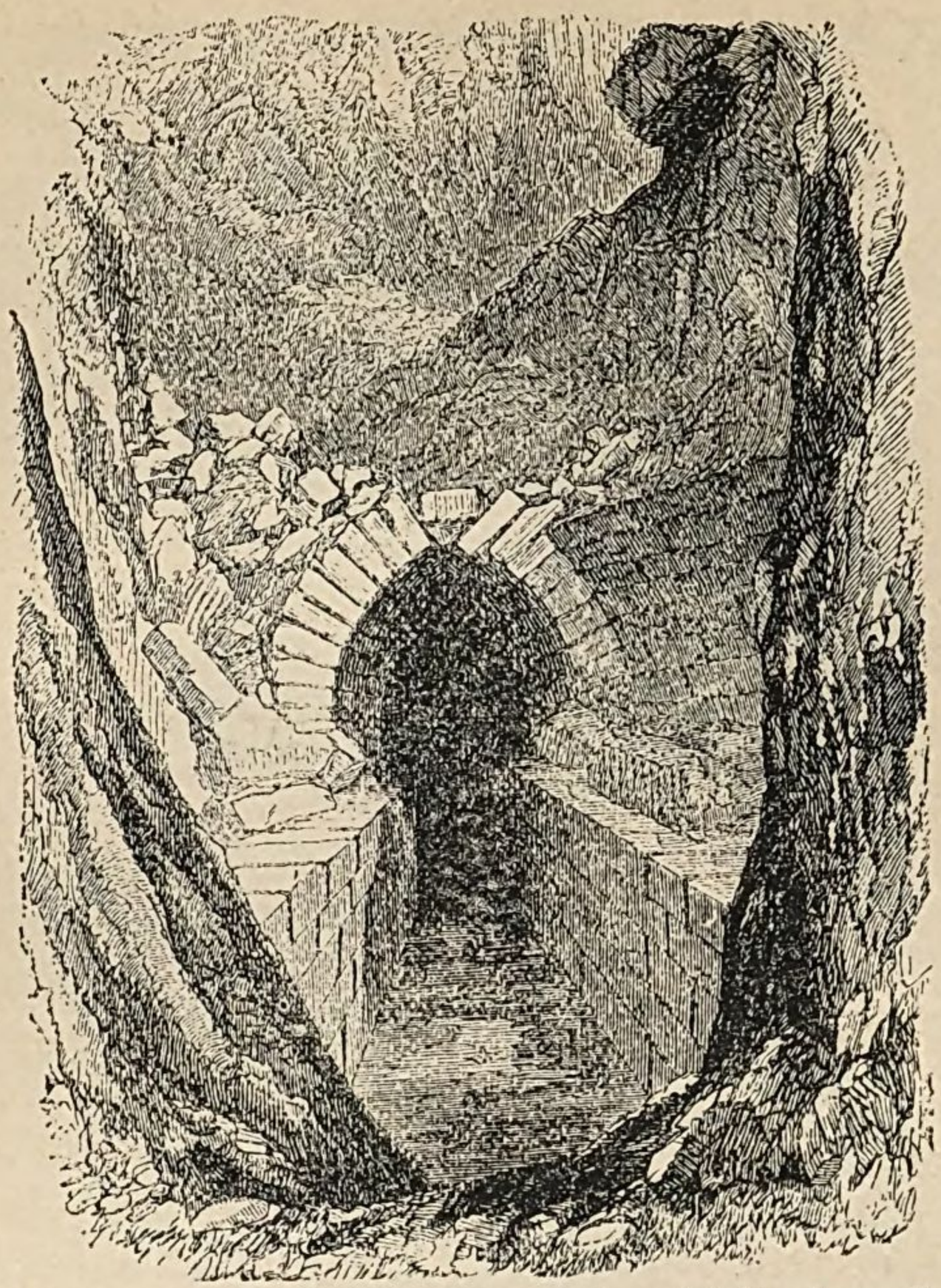
It has been observed that, so far as the evidence at present goes, the use of the column in Assyrian architecture would seem to have been very rare indeed.[102] In palaces we have no grounds for thinking that they were employed at all excepting in certain of the interior doorways, which, being of unusual breadth, seem to have been divided into three distinct portals by means of two pillars placed towards the sides of the opening.[103] The bases of these pillars were of stone, and have been found *in situ;* their shafts and capitals had disappeared, and can only be supplied by conjecture. In the temples, as we have seen, the use of the column was more frequent. Its dimensions greatly varied. Ordinarily it was too short and thick for beauty,[104] while occasionally it had the opposite defect, being too tall and slender.[105] Its base was sometimes quite plain, sometimes diversified by a few mouldings, sometimes curiously and rather clumsily rounded (as in No. II., Pl. LXI., Fig. 1). The shaft was occasionally patterned.[106] The capital, in one instance (No. I., Pl. LXI., Fig. 3), approaches to the Corinthian; in another (No. II.) it reminds us of the Ionic; but the volutes are double, and the upper ones are surmounted by an awkward-looking abacus. A third (No. III., Pl. LXI., Fig. 2) is very peculiar, and to some extent explains the origin of the second. It consists of two pairs of ibex horns, placed one over the other. With this may be compared another (No. IV.), the most remarkable of all, where we have first a single pair of ibex horns, and then, at the summit, a complete figure of an ibex very graphically portrayed.

The beauty of Assyrian patterning has been already noticed. Patterned work is found not only on the enamelled bricks, but on stone pavement slabs, and around arched doorways leading from one chamber to another, where the patterns are carved with great care and delicacy upon the alabaster. The accom-

panying specimen of a doorway, which is taken from an unpublished drawing by Mr. Boutcher, is very rich and elegant, though it exhibits none but the very commonest of the Assyrian patterns. [Pl. LXII., Fig. 1.] A carving of a more elaborate type, and one presenting even greater delicacy of workmanship, has been given in an earlier portion of this chapter [107] as an example of a patterned pavement slab. Slabs of this kind have been found in many of the palaces, and well deserve the attention of modern designers.

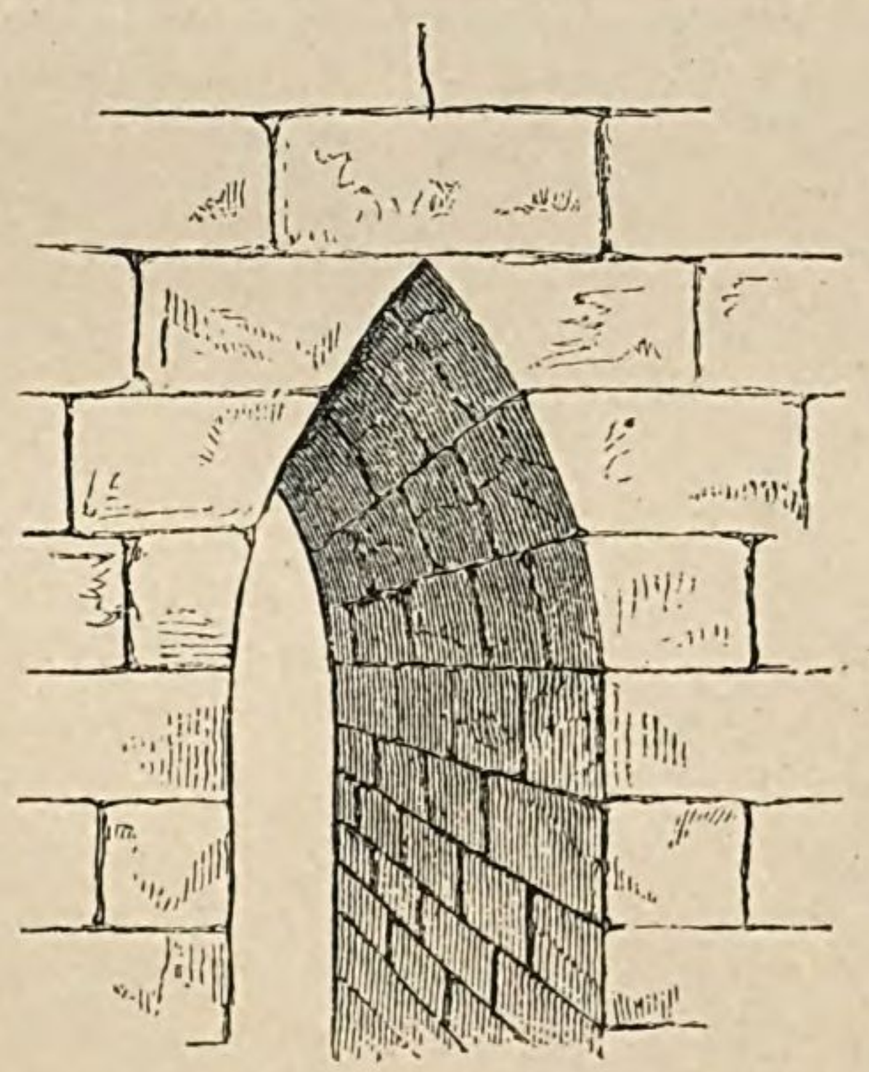
When the architecture of the Assyrians is compared with that of other nations possessing about the same degree of civilization, the impression that it leaves is perhaps somewhat disappointing. Vast labor and skill, exquisite finish, the most extraordinary elaboration, were bestowed on edifices so essentially fragile and perishable that no care could have preserved them for many centuries. Sun-dried brick, a material but little superior to the natural clay of which it was composed, constituted everywhere the actual fabric, which was then covered thinly and just screened from view by a facing, seldom more than a few inches in depth, of a more enduring and handsomer substance. The tendency of the platform mounds, as soon as formed, must have been to settle down, to bulge at the sides and become uneven at the top, to burst their stone or brick facings and precipitate them into the ditch below, at the same time disarranging and breaking up the brick pavements which covered their surface. The weight of the buildings raised upon the mounds must have tended to hasten these catastrophes, while the unsteadiness of their foundations and the character of their composition must have soon had the effect of throwing the buildings themselves into disorder, of loosening the slabs from the walls, causing the enamelled bricks to start from their places, the colossal bulls and lions to lean over, and the roofs to become shattered and fall in. The fact that the earlier palaces were to a great extent dismantled by the later kings is perhaps to be attributed, not so much to a barbarous resolve that they would destroy the memorials of a former and a hostile dynasty, as to the circumstance that the more ancient buildings had fallen into decay and ceased to be habitable. The rapid succession of palaces, the fact that, at any rate from Sargon downwards, each monarch raises a residence, or residences, for himself, is yet more indicative of the rapid deterioration and dilapidation (so to speak) of the great edifices. Probably a palace began to show unmistakable symptoms of

Fig. 1.



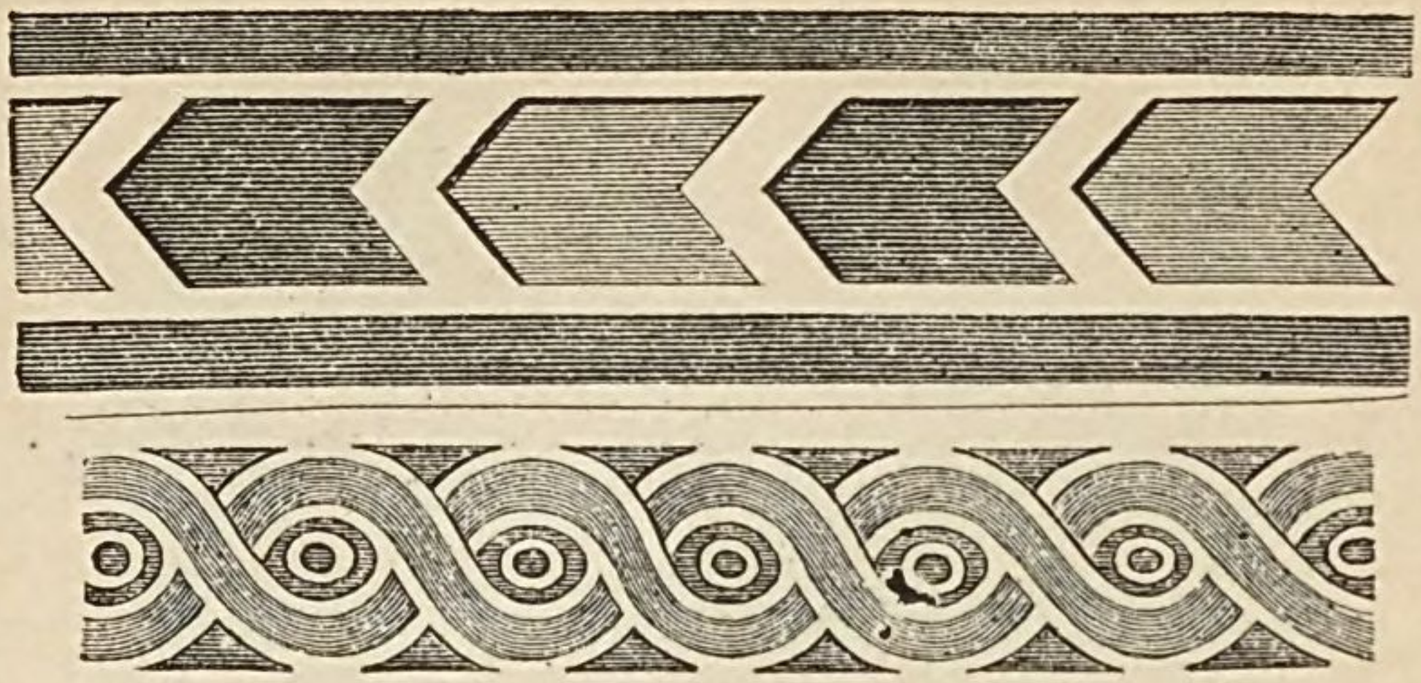
Arched Drain, North-West Palace, Nimrud (after Layard).

Fig 2.



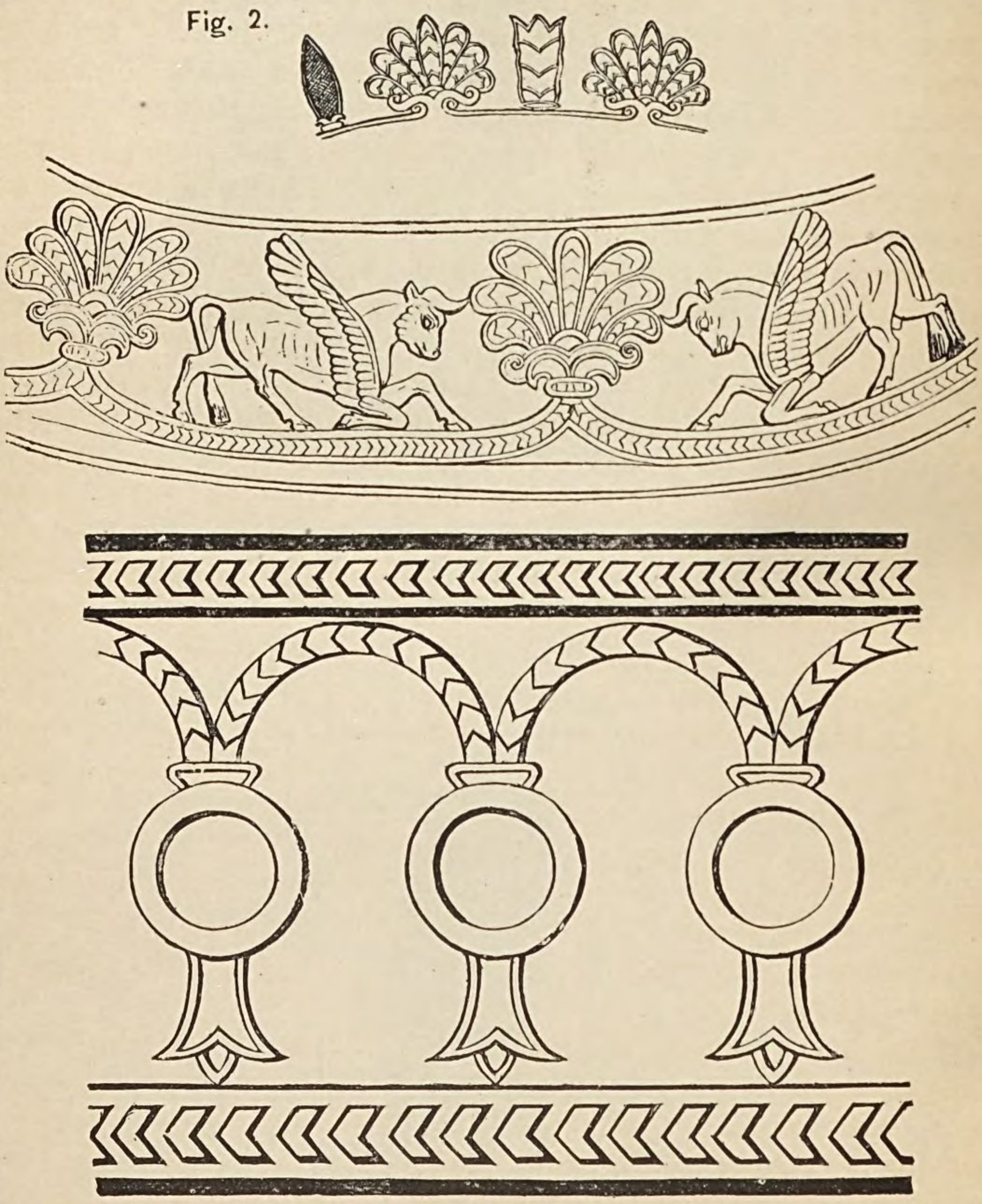
False arch (Greek.)

Fig. 1.



Assyrian Patterns (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



Assyrian Patterns (Nimrud).

decay and to become an unpleasant residence at the end of some twenty-five or thirty years from the date of its completion; effective repairs were, by the very nature of the case, almost impossible; and it was at once easier and more to the credit of the monarch that he should raise a fresh platform and build himself a fresh dwelling than that he should devote his efforts to keeping in a comfortable condition the crumbling habitation of his predecessor.

It is surprising that, under these circumstances, a new style of architecture did not arise. The Assyrians were not, like the Babylonians, compelled by the nature of the country in which they lived to use brick as their chief building material. M. Botta expresses his astonishment at the preference of brick to stone exhibited by the builders of Khorsabad, when the neighborhood abounds in rocky hills capable of furnishing an inexhaustible supply of the better material.[108] The limestone range of the Jebel Maklub is but a few miles distant, and many outlying rocky elevations might have been worked with still greater facility. Even at Nineveh itself, and at Calah or Nimrud, though the hills were further removed, stone was, in reality, plentiful. The cliffs a little above Koyunjik are composed of a "hard sandstone,"[109] and a part of the moat of the town is carried through "compact silicious conglomerate."[110] The town is, in fact, situated on "a spur of rock" thrown off from the Jebel Maklub,[111] which terminates at the edge of the ravine whereby Nineveh was protected on the south. Calah, too, was built on a number of "rocky undulations,"[112] and its western wall skirts the edge of "conglomerate" cliffs, which have been scarped by the hand of man.[113] A very tolerable stone was thus procurable on the actual sites of these ancient cities; and if a better material had been wanted, it might have been obtained in any quantity, and of whatever quality was desired, from the Zagros range and its outlying rocky barriers. Transport could scarcely have caused much difficulty, as the blocks might have been brought from the quarries where they were hewn to the sites selected for the cities by water-carriage,—a mode of transport well known to the Assyrians, as is made evident to us by the bas-reliefs. (See Pl. LXII., Fig. 2.)

If the best possible building material was thus plentiful in Assyria, and its conveyance thus easy to manage, to what are we to ascribe the decided preference shown for so inferior a substance as brick? No considerable difficulty can have been experienced in quarrying the stone of the country, which is

seldom very hard, and which was, in fact, cut by the Assyrians, whenever they had any sufficient motive for removing or making use of it.[114] One answer only can be reasonably given to the question. The Assyrians had learnt a certain style of architecture in the alluvial Babylonia, and having brought it with them into a country far less fitted for it, maintained it from habit, notwithstanding its unsuitableness.[115] In some few respects, indeed, they made a slight change. The abundance of stone in the country induced them to substitute it in several places where in Babylonia it was necessary to use burnt brick, as in the facings of platforms and of temples, in dams across streams, in pavements sometimes, and universally in the ornamentation of the lower portions of palace and temple walls. But otherwise they remained faithful to their architectural traditions, and raised in the comparatively hilly Assyria the exact type of building which nature and necessity had led them to invent and use in the flat and stoneless alluvium where they had had their primitive abode. As platforms were required both for security and for comfort in the lower region, they retained them, instead of choosing natural elevations in the upper one. As clay was the only possible material in the one place, clay was still employed, notwithstanding the abundance of stone, in the other. Being devoid of any great inventive genius, the Assyrians found it easier to maintain and slightly modify a system with which they had been familiar in their original country than to devise a new one more adapted to the land of their adoption.

Next to the architecture of the Assyrians, their mimetic art seems to deserve attention. Though the representations in the works of Layard and Botta, combined with the presence of so many specimens in the great national museums of London and Paris, have produced a general familiarity with the subject, still, as a connected view of it in its several stages and branches is up to the present time a desideratum in our literature,[116] it may not be superfluous here to attempt a brief account of the different classes into which their productions in this kind of art fall, and the different eras and styles under which they naturally range themselves.

Assyrian mimetic art consists of statues, bas-reliefs, metal-castings, carvings in ivory, statuettes in clay, enamellings on brick, and intaglios on stones and gems.

Assyrian statues are comparatively rare, and, when they occur, are among the least satisfactory of this people's produc-

tions. They are coarse, clumsy, purely formal in their design, and generally characterized by an undue flatness, or want of breadth in the side view, as if they were only intended to be seen directly in front. Sometimes, however, this defect is not apparent. A sitting statue in black basalt, of the size of life, representing an early king, which Mr. Layard discovered at Kileh-Sherghat[117] [Pl. LXIII., Fig. 1], and which is now in the British Museum, may be instanced as quite free from this disproportion. It is very observable, however, in another of the royal statues recently recovered[118] [Pl. LXIII., Fig. 2], as it is also in the monolith bulls and lions universally. Otherwise, the proportions of the figures are commonly correct. They bear a resemblance to the archaic Greek, especially to that form of it which we find in the sculptures from Branchidæ. They have just the same rudeness, heaviness, and stiff formality. It is difficult to judge of their execution, as they have mostly suffered great injury from the hand of man, or from the weather; but the royal statue here represented, which is in better preservation than any other Assyrian work "in the round" that has come down to us, exhibits a rather high finish. It is smaller than life, being about three and a half feet high: the features are majestic, and well marked; the hair and beard are elaborately curled; the arms and hands are well shaped, and finished with care. The dress is fringed elaborately, and descends to the ground, concealing all the lower part of the figure. The only statues recovered besides these are two of the god Nebo, brought from Nimrud,[119] a mutilated one of Ishtar, or Astarte, found at Koyunjik [Pl. LXIII., Fig. 3], and a tolerably perfect one of Sargon, which was discovered at Idalium, in the island of Cyprus.[120]

The clay statuettes of the Assyrians possess even less artistic merit than their statues. They are chiefly images of gods or genii, and have most commonly something grotesque in their appearance. Among the most usual are figures which represent either Mylitta (Beltis), or Ishtar.[121] They are made in a fine terra cotta, which has turned of a pale red in baking, and are colored with a cretaceous coating, so as greatly to resemble Greek pottery.[122] Another type is that of an old man, bearded, and with hands clasped, which we may perhaps identify with Nebo, the Assyrian Mercury, since his statues in the British Museum have a somewhat similar character. Other forms are the fish-god Nin, or Nin-ip [Pl. LXIV., Fig. 1]; and the deities, not yet identified, which were found by M. Botta under the

pavement-bricks at Khorsabad. [Pl. LXIV., Fig. 2.] These specimens have the formal character of the statues, and are even more rudely shaped. Other examples, which carry the grotesque to an excess, appear to have been designed with greater spirit and freedom. Animal and human forms are sometimes intermixed in them; and while it cannot be denied that they are rude and coarse, it must be allowed, on the other hand, that they possess plenty of vigor. M. Botta has engraved several specimens,[123] including two which have the hind legs and tail of a bull, with a human neck and arms, the head bearing the usual horned cap.

Small figures of animals in terra cotta have also been found. They consist chiefly of dogs and ducks. A representation of each has been given in the chapter on the productions of Assyria.[124] The dogs discovered are made of a coarse clay, and seem to have been originally painted.[125] They are not wanting in spirit; but it detracts from their merit that the limbs are merely in relief, the whole space below the belly of the animal being filled up with a mass of clay for the sake of greater strength. The ducks are of a fine yellow material, and represent the bird asleep, with its head lying along its back.

Of all the Assyrian works of art which have come down to us, by far the most important are the bas-reliefs. It is here especially, if not solely, that we can trace progress in style; and it is here alone that we see the real artistic genius of the people. What sculpture in its full form, or in the slightly modified form of very high relief, was to the Greeks, what painting has been to modern European nations since the time of Cimabue, that low relief was to the Assyrians—the practical mode in which artistic power found vent among them. They used it for almost every purpose to which mimetic art is applicable; to express their religious feelings and ideas, to glorify their kings, to hand down to posterity the nation's history and its deeds of prowess, to depict home scenes and domestic occupations, to represent landscape and architecture, to imitate animal and vegetable forms, even to illustrate the mechanical methods which they employed in the construction of those vast architectural works of which the reliefs were the principal ornamentation. It is not too much to say that we know the Assyrians, not merely artistically, but historically and ethnologically, *chiefly* through their bas-reliefs, which seem to represent to us almost the entire life of the people.

The reliefs may be divided under five principal heads:—1.

War scenes, including battles, sieges, devastations of an enemy's country, naval expeditions, and triumphant returns from foreign war, with the trophies and fruits of victory ; 2. Religious scenes, either mythical or real; 3. Processions, generally of tribute-bearers, bringing the produce of their several countries to the Great King ; 4. Hunting and sporting scenes, including the chase of savage animals, and of animals sought for food, the spreading of nets, the shooting of birds, and the like ; and 5. Scenes of ordinary life, as those representing the transport and erection of colossal bulls, landscapes, temples, interiors, gardens, etc.

The earliest art is that of the most ancient palaces at Nimrud. It belongs to the latter part of the tenth century before our era ; the time of Asa in Judæa, of Omri and Ahab in Samaria, and of the Sheshonks in Egypt. It is characterized by much spirit and variety in the design, by strength and firmness, combined with a good deal of heaviness, in the execution, by an entire contempt for perspective, and by the rigid preservation in almost every case, both human and animal, of the exact profile both of figure and face.[126] Of the illustrations already given in the present volume a considerable number belong to this period. The heads [Pl. XXXIII.], and the figures [Pl. XXXV.], represent the ordinary appearance of the men,[127] while animal forms of the time will be found in the lion [Pl. XXV.], the ibex [Pl. XXV.], the gazelle [Pl. XXVII.], the horse [Pl. XXXI.], and the horse and wild bull [Pl. XXVIII.]. It will be seen upon reference that the animal are very much superior to the human forms, a characteristic which is not, however, peculiar to the style of this period, but belongs to all Assyrian art, from its earliest to its latest stage. A favorable specimen of the style will be found in the lion-hunt which Mr. Layard has engraved in his "Monuments," [128] and of which he himself observes, that it is "one of the finest specimens hitherto discovered of Assyrian sculpture." [129] [Pl. LXIV., Fig. 3.] The composition is at once simple and effective. The king forms the principal object, nearly in the centre of the picture, and by the superior height of his conical head-dress, and the position of the two arrows which he holds in the hand that draws the bow-string, dominates over the entire composition. As he turns round to shoot down at the lion which assails him from behind, his body is naturally and gracefully bent, while his charioteer, being engaged in urging his horses forward, leans naturally in the opposite direction, thus contrasting

with the main figure and balancing it. The lion immediately behind the chariot is outlined with great spirit and freedom; his head is masterly; the fillings up of the body, however, have too much conventionality. As he rises to attack the monarch, he conducts the eye up to the main figure, while at the same time by this attitude his principal lines form a pleasing contrast to the predominant perpendicular and horizontal lines of the general composition. The dead lion in front of the chariot balances the living one behind it, and, with its crouching attitude, and drooping head and tail, contrasts admirably with the upreared form of its fellow. Two attendants, armed with sword and shield, following behind the living lion, serve to balance the horses drawing the chariot, without rendering the composition too symmetrical. The horses themselves are the weakest part of the picture; the forelegs are stiff and too slight, and the heads possess little spirit.

It is seldom that designs of this early period can boast nearly so much merit. The religious and processional pieces are stiff in the extreme;[130] the battle scenes are overcrowded and confused;[131] the hunting scenes are superior to these,[132] but in general they too fall far below the level of the above-described composition.

The best drawing of this period is found in the figures forming the patterns or embroidery of dresses. The gazelle, the ibex, the horse, and the horseman hunting the wild bull of which representations have been given, are from ornamental work of this kind. They are favorable specimens perhaps; but, still, they are representative of a considerable class. Some examples even exceed these in the freedom of their outline, and the vigorous action which they depict, as, for instance, the man seizing a wild bull by the horn and foreleg, which is figured. [Pl. LXV., Fig. 1.] In general, however, there is a tendency in these early drawings to the grotesque. Lions and bulls appear in absurd attitudes; hawk-headed figures in petticoats threaten human-headed lions with a mace or a strap, sometimes holding them by a paw, sometimes grasping them round the middle of the tail [Pl., LXV. Fig. 2]; priests hold up ibexes at arm's length by one of their hindlegs, so that their heads trail upon the ground; griffins claw after antelopes, or antelopes toy with winged lions; even in the hunting scenes, which are less simply ludicrous, there seems to be an occasional striving after strange and laughable attitudes, as when a stricken bull tumbles upon his head, with his tail tossed

straight in the air [Pl. LXV., Fig. 3], or when a lion receives his death-wound with arms outspread, and mouth wildly agape. [Pl. LXVI., Fig. 2.]

The second period of Assyrian mimetic art extends from the latter part of the eighth to nearly the middle of the seventh century before our era; or, more exactly, from about B.C. 721 to B.C. 667. It belongs to the reigns of the three consecutive kings—Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon, who were contemporary with Hezekiah and Manasseh in Judæa, and with the Sabacos (Shebeks) and Tirhakah (Tehrak) in Egypt. The sources which chiefly illustrate this period are the magnificent series of engravings published by MM. Flandin and Botta,[133] together with the originals of a certain portion of them in the Louvre; the engravings in Mr. Layard's first folio work, from pl. 68 to 83; those in his second folio work from pl. 7 to 44, and from pl. 50 to 56; the originals of many of these in the British Museum; several monuments procured for the British Museum by Mr. Loftus; and a series of unpublished drawings by Mr. Boutcher in the same great national collection.[134]

The most obvious characteristic of this period, when we compare it with the preceding one, is the advance which the artists have made in their vegetable forms, and the pre-Raphaelite accuracy which they affect in all the accessories of their representations. In the bas-reliefs of the first period we have for the most part no backgrounds. Figures alone occupy the slabs, or figures and buildings. In some few instances water is represented in a very rude fashion;[135] and once or twice only do we meet with trees,[136] which, when they occur, are of the poorest and strangest character. (See Pl. LXVI., Fig. 1.) In the second period, on the contrary, backgrounds are the rule, and slabs without them form the exception. The vegetable forms are abundant and varied, though still somewhat too conventional. Date-palms, firs, and vines are delineated with skill and spirit; other varieties are more difficult to recognize. [Pl. LXVI., Fig. 3.] The character of the countries through which armies march is almost always given[137]—their streams, lakes, and rivers, their hills and mountains, their trees, and in the case of marshy districts, their tall reeds. At the same time, animals in the wild state are freely introduced without their having any bearing on the general subject of the picture. The water teems with fish, and, where the sea is represented, with crabs, turtle, star-fish, sea-serpents, and other monsters.[138] The woods are alive with birds; wild swine

and stags people the marshes.[139] Nature is evidently more and more studied; and the artist takes a delight in adorning the scenes of violence, which he is forced to depict, with quiet touches of a gentle character—rustics fishing or irrigating their grounds, fish disporting themselves, birds flying from tree to tree, or watching the callow young which look up to them from the nest for protection.[140]

In regard to human forms, no great advance marks this period. A larger variety in their attitudes is indeeed to be traced, and a greater energy and life appears in most of the figures; but there is still much the same heaviness of outline, the same over-muscularity, and the same general clumsiness and want of grace. Animal forms show a much more considerable improvement. Horses are excellently portrayed, the attitudes being varied, and the heads espcially delineated with great spirit. Mules and camels are well expressed,[141] but have scarcely the vigor of the horses. Horned cattle, as oxen, both with and without humps, goats, and sheep are very skilfully treated, being represented with much character, in natural yet varied attitudes, and often admirably grouped.

The composition during this period is more complicated and more ambitious than during the preceding one; but it may be questioned whether it is so effective. No single scene of the time can compare for grandeur with the lion-hunt above described.[142] The battles and sieges are spirited, but want unity; the hunting scenes are comparatively tame;[143] the representations of the transport of colossal bulls possess more interest than artistic merit. On the other hand, the manipulation is decidedly superior; the relief is higher, the outline is more flowing, the finish of the features more delicate. What is lost in grandeur of composition is, on the whole, more than made up by variety, naturalness, improved handling, and higher finish.

The highest perfection of Assyrian art is in the third period, which extends from B.C. 667 to about B.C. 640. It synchronizes with the reign of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esarhaddon, who appears to have been contemporary with Gyges in Lydia,[144] and with Psammetichus in Egypt. The characteristics of the time are a less conventional type in the vegetable forms, a wonderful freedom, spirit, and variety in the forms of animals, extreme minuteness and finish in the human figures, and a delicacy in the handling considerably beyond that of even the second or middle period. The sources illustrative of this stage

of the art consist of the plates in Mr. Layard's "Second Series of Monuments," from pl. 45 to 49, the originals of these in the British Museum, the noble series of slabs obtained by Mr. Loftus from the northern palace of Koyunjik, and of the drawings made from them[145] and from other slabs, which were in a more damaged condition, by Mr. Boutcher, who accompanied Mr. Loftus in the capacity of artist.

Vegetable forms are, on the whole, somewhat rare. The artists have relinquished the design of representing scenes with perfect truthfulness, and have recurred as a general rule to the plain backgrounds of the first period. This is particularly the case in the hunting scenes, which are seldom accompanied by any landscape whatsoever. In processional and military scenes landscape is introduced, but sparingly; the forms, for the most part, resembling those of the second period.[146] Now and then, however, in such scenes the landscape has been made the object of special attention, becoming the prominent part, while the human figures are accessories. It is here that an advance in art is particularly discernible. In one set of slabs a garden seems to be represented. Vines are trained upon trees, which may be either firs or cypresses, winding elegantly around their stems, and on either side letting fall their pendent branches laden with fruit. [Pl. LXVIII., Fig. 2.] Leaves, branches, and tendrils are delineated with equal truth and finish, a most pleasing and graceful effect being thereby produced. Irregularly among the trees occur groups of lilies, some in bud, some in full blow, all natural, graceful, and spirited. [Pl. LXIX., Fig. 1.]

It is difficult to do justice to the animal delineation of this period, without reproducing before the eye of the reader the entire series of reliefs and drawings which belong to it. It is the infinite variety in the attitudes, even more than the truth and naturalness of any particular specimens, that impresses us as we contemplate the series. Lions, wild asses, dogs, deer, wild goats, horses, are represented in profusion; and we scarcely find a single form which is repeated. Some specimens have been already given, as the hunted stag and hind (Pl. XXVII.) and the startled wild ass (Pl. XXVI.). Others will occur among the illustrations of the next chapter. For the present it may suffice to draw attention to the spirit of the two falling asses in the illustration Pl. LXIX., Fig. 3, and of the crouching lion in the illustration Pl. LXIX., Fig. 2; to the lifelike force of both ass and hounds in the representation

Pl. LXX., Fig. 1, and here particularly to the bold drawing of one of the dogs' heads in full, instead of in profile—a novelty now first occurring in the bas-reliefs. As instances of still bolder attempts at unusual attitudes, and at the same time of a certain amount of foreshortening, two further illustrations are appended. The sorely wounded lion in the first (Pl. LXX., Fig. 2) turns his head piteously towards the cruel shaft, while he totters to his fall, his limbs failing him, and his eyes beginning to close. The more slightly-stricken king of beasts in the second (Pl. LXXI.), urged to fury by the smart of his wound, rushes at the chariot whence the shaft was sped, and in his mad agony springs upon a wheel, clutches it with his two fore-paws, and frantically grinds it between his teeth. Assyrian art, so far as is yet known, has no finer specimen of animal drawing than this head, which may challenge comparison with anything of the kind that either classic or modern art has produced.

As a specimen at once of animal vigor and of the delicacy and finish of the workmanship in the human forms of the time, a bas-relief of the king receiving the spring of a lion, and shooting an arrow into his mouth, while a second lion advances at a rapid pace a little behind the first, may be adduced. (See Pl. LXXII.) The boldness of the composition, which represents the first lion actually in mid-air, is remarkable; the drawing of the brute's fore-paws, expanded to seize his intended prey, is lifelike and very spirited, while the head is massive and full of vigor. There is something noble in the calmness of the monarch contrasted with the comparative eagerness of the attendant, who stretches forward with shield and spear to protect his master from destruction, if the arrow fails. The head of the king is, unfortunately, injured; but the remainder of the figure is perfect; and here, in the elaborate ornamentation of the whole dress, we have an example of the careful finish of the time—a finish which is so light and delicate that it does not interfere with the general effect, being scarcely visible at a few yards' distance.

The faults which still remain in this best period of Assyrian art are heaviness and stiffness of outline in the human forms; a want of expression in the faces, and of variety and animation in the attitudes; and an almost complete disregard of perspective. If the worst of these faults are anywhere overcome, it would seem to be in the land lion-hunt, from which the noble head represented below is taken;[147] and in the river-hunt of

the same beast, found on a slab too much injured to be removed, of which a representation is given. [Pl. LXXIII.] From what appears to have remained of the four figures towards the prow of the boat, we may conclude that there was a good deal of animation here. The drawing must certainly have been less stiff than usual; and if there is not much variety in the attitudes of the three spearmen in front, at any rate those attitudes contrast well, both with the stillness of the unengaged attendants in the rear, and with the animated but very different attitude of the king.

Before the subject of Assyrian sculpture is dismissed, it is necessary to touch the question whether the Assyrians applied color to statuary, and, if so, in what way and to what extent. Did they, like the Egyptians,[148] cover the whole surface of the stone with a layer of stucco, and then paint the sculptured parts with strong colors—red, blue, yellow, white, and black? Or did they, like the Greeks,[149] apply paint to certain portions of their sculptures only, as the hair, eyes, beard and draperies? Or, finally, did they simply leave the stone in its natural condition, like the Italians and the modern sculptors generally?

The present appearance of the sculptures is most in accordance with the last of these three theories, or at any rate with that theory very slightly modified by the second. The slabs now offer only the faintest and most occasional traces of color. The evidence, however, of the original explorers is distinct, that *at the time of discovery* these traces were very much more abundant. Mr. Layard observed color at Nimrud on the hair, beard, and eyes of the figures, on the sandals and the bows, on the tongues of the eagle-headed mythological emblems, on a garland round the head of a winged priest (?), and on the representation of fire in the bas-relief of a siege.[150] At Khorsabad, MM. Botta and Flandin found paint on the fringes of draperies, on fillets, on the mitre of the king, on the flowers carried by the winged figures, on bows and spearshafts, on the harness of the horses, on the chariots, on the sandals, on the birds, and sometimes on the trees.[151] The torches used to fire cities, and the flames of the cities themselves, were invariably colored red. M. Flandin also believed that he could detect, in some instances, a faint trace of yellow ochre on the flesh and on the background of bas-reliefs, whence he concluded that this tint was spread over every part not otherwise colored.[152]

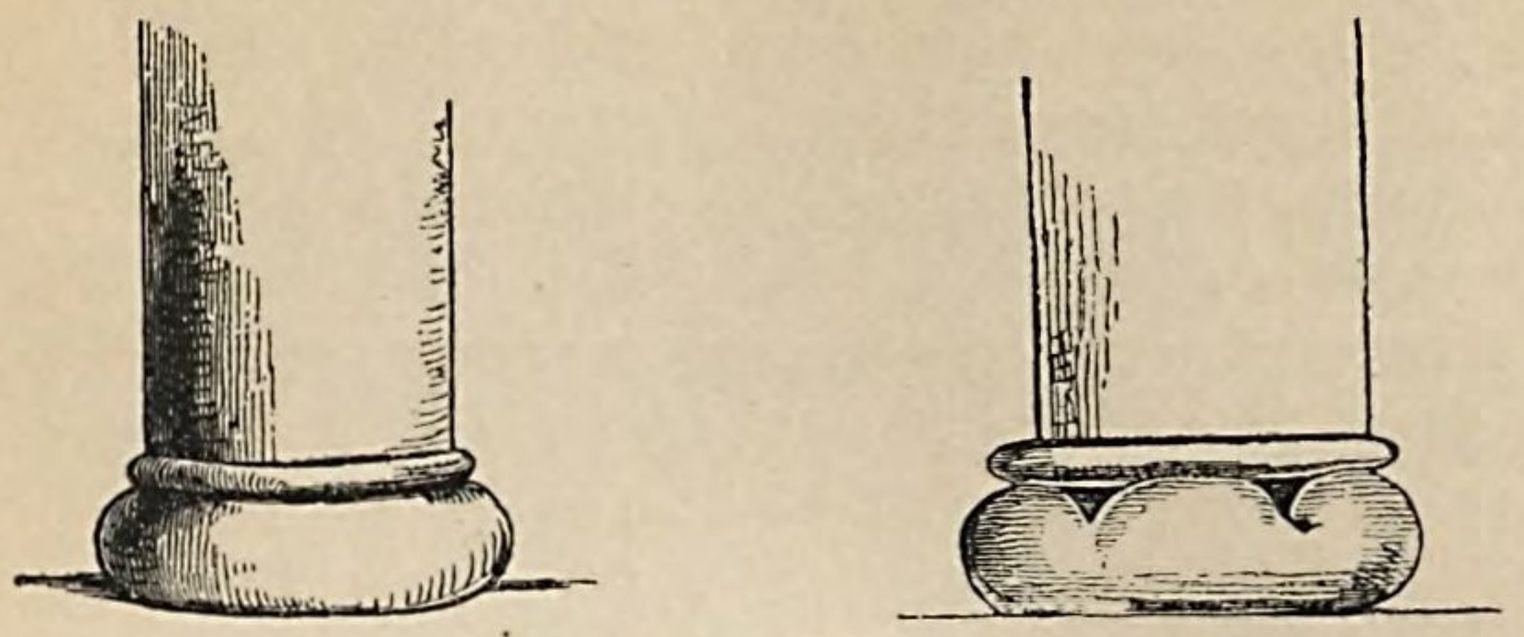
It is evident, therefore, that the theory of an absence of

color, or of a very rare use of it, must be set aside. Indeed, as it is certain that the upper portions of the palace walls, both inside and outside, were patterned with colored bricks, covering the whole space above the slabs, it must be allowed to be extremely improbable that at a particular line color would suddenly and totally cease. The laws of decorative harmony forbid such abrupt transitions; and to these laws all nations with any taste instinctively and unwittingly conform. The Assyrian reliefs were therefore, we may be sure, to some extent colored. The real question is, to what extent—in the Egyptian or in the classical style?

In Mr. Layard's first series of "Monuments," a preference was expressed for what may be called the Egyptian theory. In the Frontispiece of that work, and in the second Plate, containing the restoration of a palace interior, the entire bas-reliefs were represented as strongly colored. A jet-black was assigned to the hair and beards of men and of all human-headed figures, to the manes and tails of horses, to vultures, eagle-heads, and the like; a coarse red-brown to winged lions, to human flesh, to horses' bodies, and to various ornaments; a deep yellow to common lions, to chariot wheels, quivers, fringes, belts, sandals, and other portions of human apparel; white to robes, helmets, shields, tunics, towns, trees, etc.; and a dull blue to some of the feathers of winged lions and genii, and to large portions of the ground from which the sculptures stood out. This conception of Assyrian coloring, framed confessedly on the assumption of a close analogy between the ornamentation of Assyria and that of Egypt,[153] was at once accepted by the unlearned, and naturally, enough was adopted by most of those who sought to popularize the new knowledge among their countrymen. Hence the strange travesties of Assyrian art which have been seen in so-called "Assyrian Courts," where all the delicacy of the real sculpture has disappeared, and the spectator has been revolted by grim figures of bulls and lions, from which a thick layer of coarse paint has taken away all dignity, and by reliefs which, from the same cause, have lost all spirit and refinement.

It is sufficient objection to the theory here treated of, that it has no solid basis of fact to rest upon. Color has only been *found* on portions of the bas-reliefs, as on the hair and beards of men, on head-ornaments, to a small extent on draperies, on the harness of horses, on sandals, weapons, birds, flowers, and the like. Neither the flesh of men, nor the bodies of animals,

Fig. 1.



No. I. No. II.

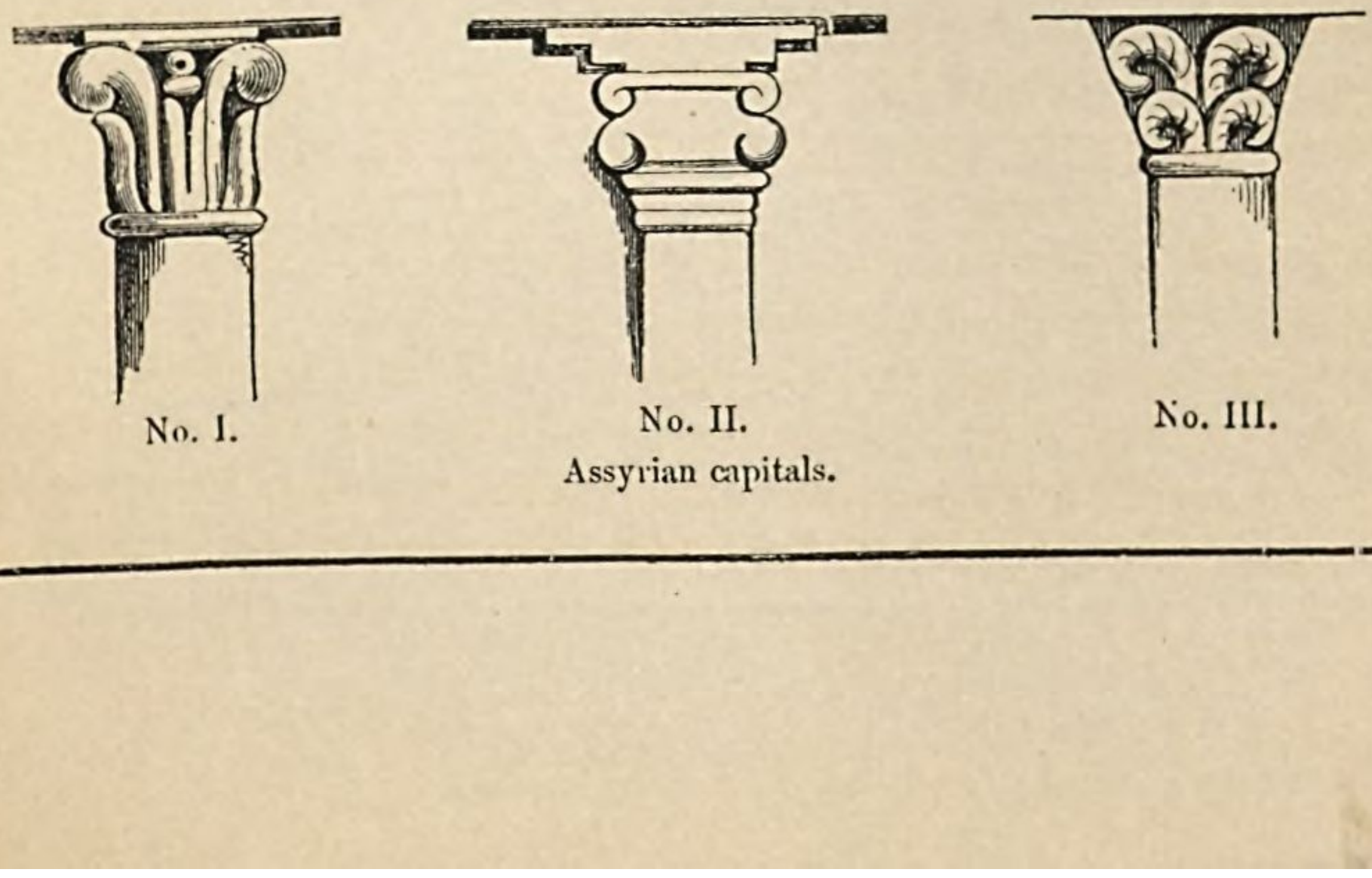
Pillar bases.

Fig. 2.

No. IV.

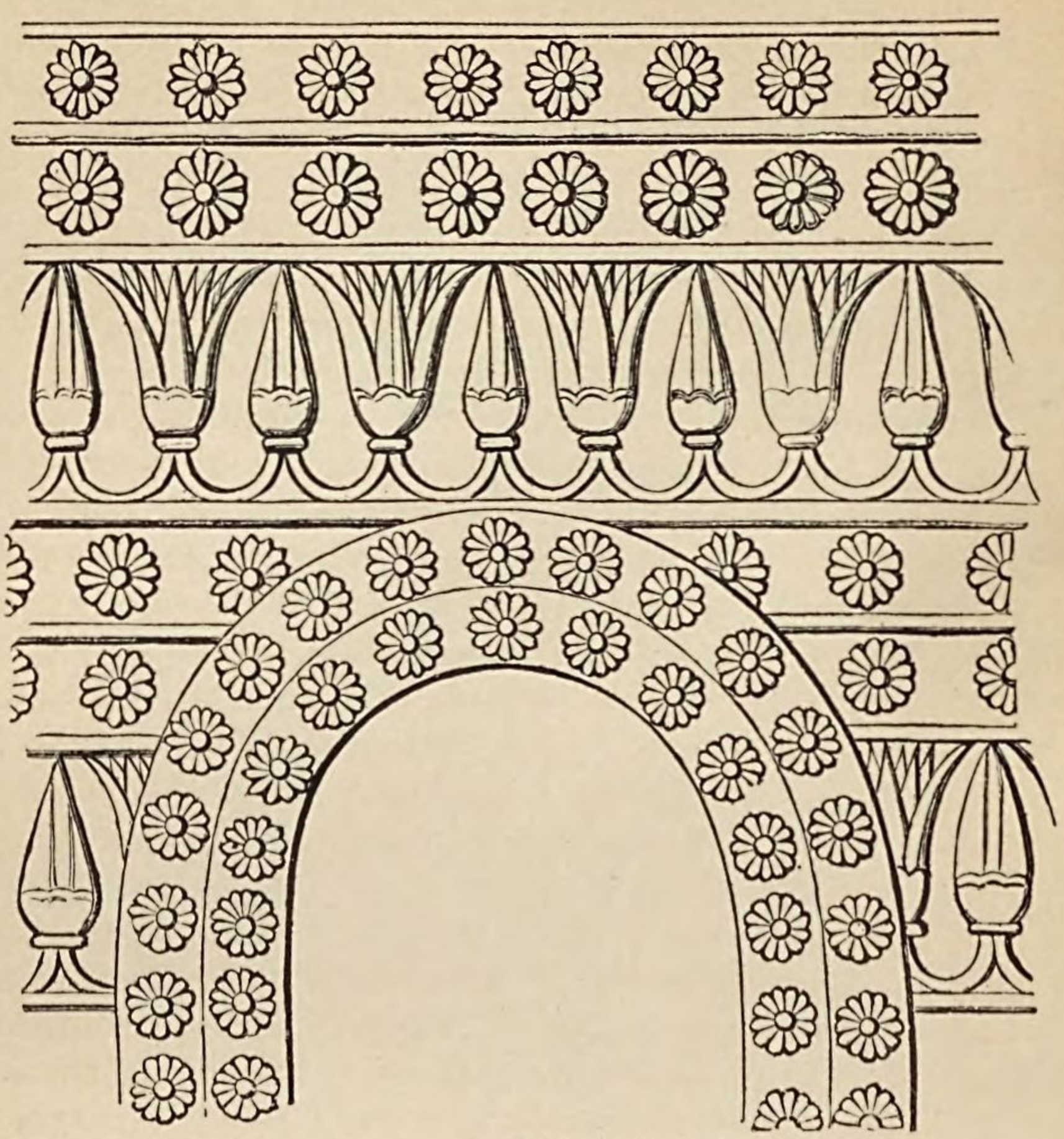
Ibex capital.

Fig. 3.



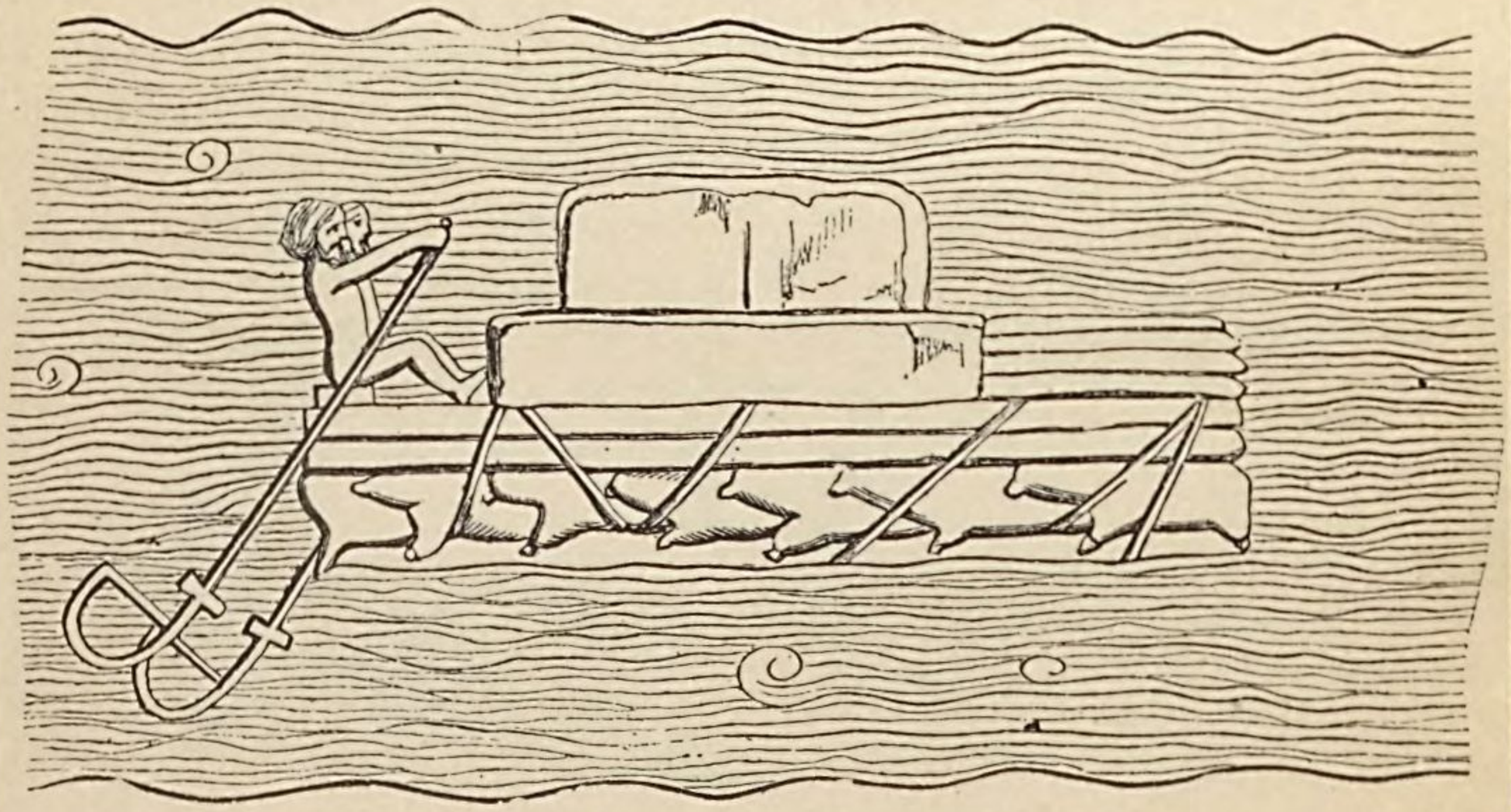
No. I. No. II. No. III.

Assyrian capitals.



Ornamental doorway (North Palace, Koyunjik).

Fig 2.



Water-transport of stone for building (Koyunjik).

nor the draperies generally, nor the backgrounds (except perhaps at Khorsabad [154]), present the slightest appearance of having been touched by paint. It is inconceivable that, if these portions of the sculptures were universally or even ordinarily colored, the color should have so entirely disappeared in every instance. It is moreover inconceivable that the sculptor, if he knew his work was about to be concealed beneath a coating of paint, should have cared to give it the delicate elaboration which is found at any rate in the later examples. All leads to the conclusion that in Assyrian as in classical sculpture, color was sparingly applied, being confined to such parts as the hair, eyes, and beards of men, to the fringes of dresses, to horse trappings, and other accessory parts of the representations. In this way the lower part of the wall was made to harmonize sufficiently with the upper portion, which was wholly colored, but chiefly with pale hues. At the same time a greater distinctness was given to the scenes represented upon the sculptured slabs, the color being judiciously applied to disentangle human from animal figures, dress from flesh, or human figures from one another.

The colors actually found upon the bas-reliefs are four only —red, blue, black, and white.[155] The red is a good bright tint, far exceeding in brilliancy that of Egypt. On the sculptures of Khorsabad it approaches to vermilion, while on those of Nimrud it inclines to a crimson or a lake tint.[156] It is found alternating with the natural stone on the royal parasol and mitre; [157] with blue on the crests of helmets,[158] the trappings of horses,[159] on flowers,[160] sandals,[161] and on fillets; [162] and besides, it occurs, unaccompanied by any other color, on the stems and branches of trees,[163] on the claws of birds,[164] the shafts of spears and arrows,[165] on bows,[166] belts,[167] fillets,[168] quivers,[169] maces,[170] reins,[171] sandals,[172] flowers,[173] and the fringe of dresses.[174] It is uncertain whence the coloring matter was derived; perhaps the substance used was the suboxide of copper, with which the Assyrians are known to have colored their red glass.[175]

The blue of the Assyrian monuments is an oxide of copper,[176] sometimes containing also a trace of lead.[177] Besides occurring in combination with red in the cases already mentioned, it was employed to color the foliage of trees,[178] the plumage of birds,[179] the heads of arrows,[180] and sometimes quivers,[181] and sandals.[182]

White occurs very rarely indeed upon the sculptures. At

Khorsabad it was not found at all; at Nimrud it was confined to the inner part of the eye on either side of the pupil,[183] and in this position it occurred only on the colossal lions and bulls, and a very few other figures. On bricks and pottery it was frequent, and their it is found to have been derived from tin;[184] but it is uncertain whether the white of the sculptures was not derived from a commoner material.[185]

Black is applied in the sculptures chiefly to the hair, beards, and eyebrows of men.[186] It was also used to color the eyeballs not only of men, but also of the colossal lions and bulls.[187] Sometimes, when the eyeball was thus marked, a line of black was further carried round the inner edge of both the upper and the lower eyelid.[188] In one place black bars have been introduced to ornament an antelope's horns.[189] On the older sculptures black was also the common color for sandals, which however were then edged with red.[190] The composition of the black is uncertain. Browns upon the enamelled bricks are found to have been derived from iron;[191] but Mr. Layard believes the black upon the sculptures to have been, like the Egyptian, a bone black mixed with a little gum.[192]

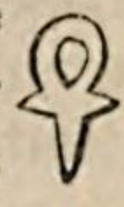
The ornamental metallurgy of the Assyrians deserves attention next to their sculpture. It is of three kinds, consisting, in the first place, of entire figures, or parts of figures, cast in a solid shape; secondly, of castings in a low relief; and thirdly, of embossed work wrought mainly with the hammer, but finished by a sparing use of the graving-tool.

The solid castings are comparatively rare, and represented none but animal forms. Lions, which seem to have been used as weights, occur most frequently.[193] [Pl. LXXIV., Fig. 1.] None are of any great size; nor have we any evidence that the Assyrians could cast large masses of metal. They seem to have used castings, not (as the Greeks and the moderns) for the greater works of art, but only for the smaller. The forms of the few casts which have come down to us are good, and are free from the narrowness which characterizes the representations in stone.[194]

Castings in a low relief formed the ornamentation of thrones [Pl. LXXIV., Figs. 2, 3], stools,[195] and sometimes probably of chariots.[196] They consisted of animal and human figures, winged deities, griffins, and the like. The castings were chiefly in open-work, and were attached to the furniture which they ornamented by means of small nails. They have no peculiar merit, being merely repetitions of the forms with which we

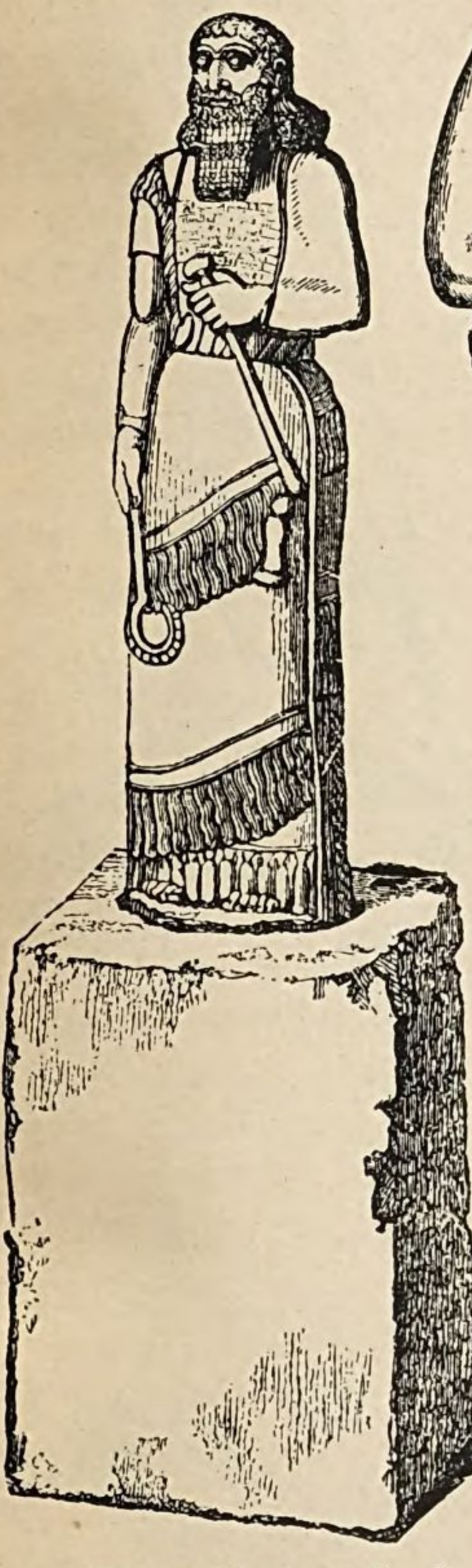
are familiar from their occurrence on embroidered dresses and on the cylinders.

The embossed work of the Assyrians is the most curious and the most artistic portion of their metallurgy. Sometimes it consisted of mere heads and feet of animals, hammered into shape upon a model composed of clay mixed with bitumen. [Pl. LXXV., Figs. 1, 2.] Sometimes it extended to entire figures, as (probably) in the case of the lions clasping each other, so common at the ends of sword-sheaths (see Pl. LXXV., Fig. 3), the human figures which ornament the sides of chairs or stools, and the like.[197] [Pl. LXXV., Fig. 3.] Occasionally it was of a less solid but at the same time of a more elaborate character. In a palace inhabited by Sargon at Nimrud, and in close juxtaposition with a monument certainly of his time,[198] were discovered by Mr. Layard a number of dishes, plates, and bowls, embossed with great taste and skill, which are among the most elegant specimens of Assyrian art discovered during the recent researches. Upon these were represented sometimes hunting scenes, sometimes combats between griffins and lions, or between men and lions, sometimes landscapes with trees and figures of animals, sometimes mere rows of animals following one another. One or two representations from these bowls have been already given.[199] They usually contain a star or scarab in the centre, beyond which is a series of bands or borders, patterned most commonly with figures. [Pl. LXXVI., Fig 1.] It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the delicacy and spirit of the drawings, or of the variety and elegance of the other patterns, in a work of moderate dimensions like the present. Mr. Layard, in his Second Series of "Monuments," has done justice to the subject by pictorial representation,[200] while in his "Nineveh and Babylon" he has described the more important of the vessels separately.[201] The curious student will do well to consult these two works, after which he may examine with advantage the originals in the British Museum.

One of the most remarkable features observable in this whole series of monuments, is its semi-Egyptian character. The occurrence of the scarab has been just noticed. It appears on the bowls frequently, as do sphinxes of an Egyptian type; while sometimes heads and head-dresses purely Egyptian are found, as in Pl. LXXVI., Fig. 2,[202] which are well-known forms, and have nothing Assyrian about them; and in one or two instances we meet with hieroglyphics,[203] the *onk* (or  symbol of life), the ibis, etc. These facts may seem at first

sight to raise a great question—namely, whether, after all, the art of the Assyrians was really of home growth, or was not rather imported from the Egyptians, either directly or by way of Phœnicia. Such a view has been sometimes taken; but the most cursory study of the Assyrian remains *in chronological order*, is sufficient to disprove the theory, since it will at once show that the earliest specimens of Assyrian art are the most un-Egyptian in character. No doubt there are certain analogies even here, as the preference for the profile, the stiffness and formality, the ignorance or disregard of perspective, and the like; but the analogies are exactly such as would be tolerably sure to occur in the early efforts of any two races not very dissimilar to one another, while the *little* resemblances which alone prove connection, are entirely wanting. These do not appear until we come to monuments which belong to the time of Sargon, when direct connection between Egypt and Assyria seems to have begun, and Egyptian captives are known to have been transported into Mesopotamia in large numbers.[204] It has been suggested that the entire series of Nimrud vessels is Phœnician, and that they were either carried off as spoil from Tyre and other Phœnician towns, or else were the workmanship of Phœnician captives removed into Assyria from their own country. The Sidonians and their kindred were, it is remarked, the most renowned workers in metal of the ancient world, and their intermediate position between Egypt and Assyria may, it is suggested, have been the cause of the existence among them of a mixed art, half Assyrian, half Egyptian.[205] The theory is plausible; but upon the whole it seems more consonant with all the facts[206] to regard the series in question as in reality Assyrian, modified from the ordinary style by an influence derived from Egypt. Either Egyptian artificers—captives probably—may have wrought the bowls after Assyrian models, and have accidentally varied the common forms, more or less, in the direction which was natural to them from old habits; or Assyrian artificers, acquainted with the art of Egypt, and anxious to improve their own from it, may have consciously adopted certain details from the rival country. The workmanship, subjects, and mode of treatment, are all, it is granted, "more Assyrian than Egyptian,"[207] the Assyrian character being decidedly more marked than in the case of the ivories which will be presently considered; yet even in that case the legitimate conclusions seems to be that the specimens are to be regarded as native Assyrian,

Fig. 2.

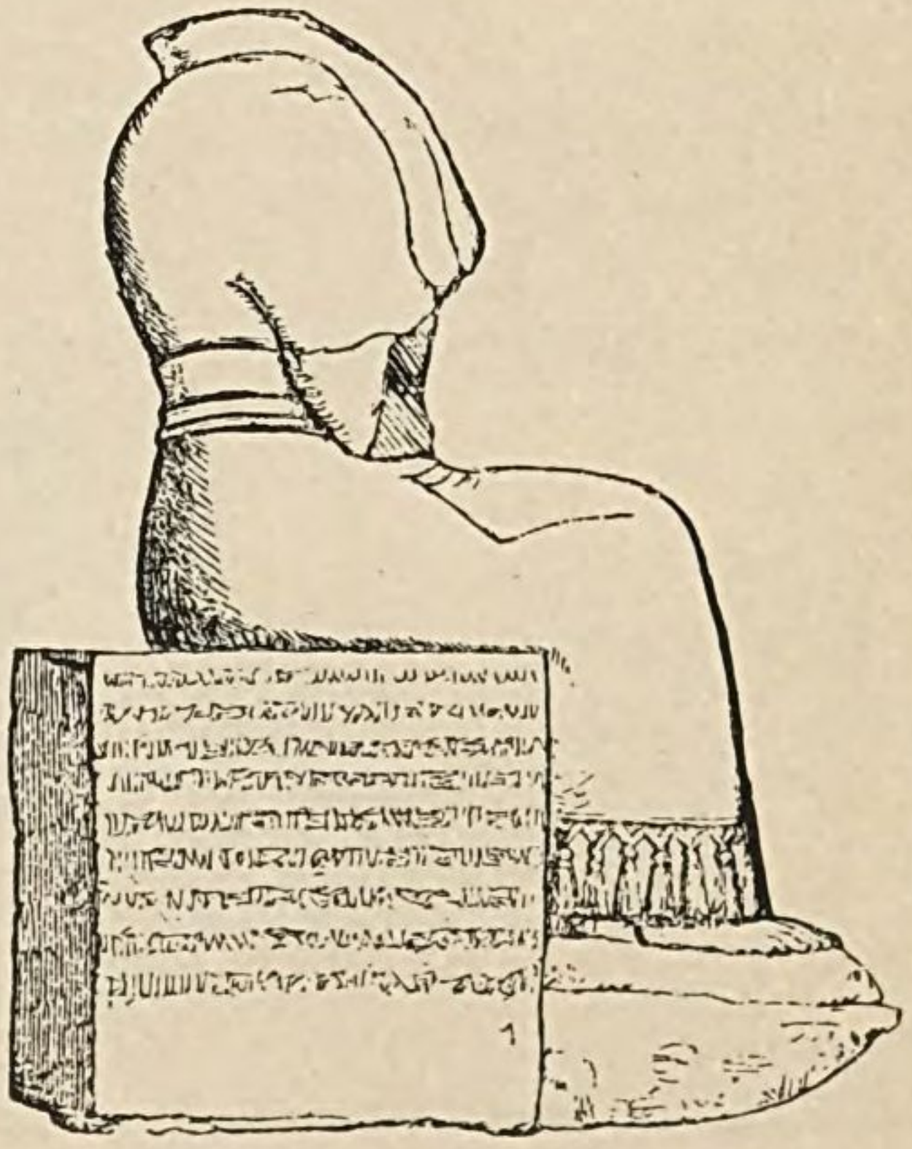


Statue of Sardanapalus I.
(from Nimrud).

Fig 3.

Clay statuettes of the god Nebo (?).

Fig I



Assyrian Statue (Kileh-Sherghat).

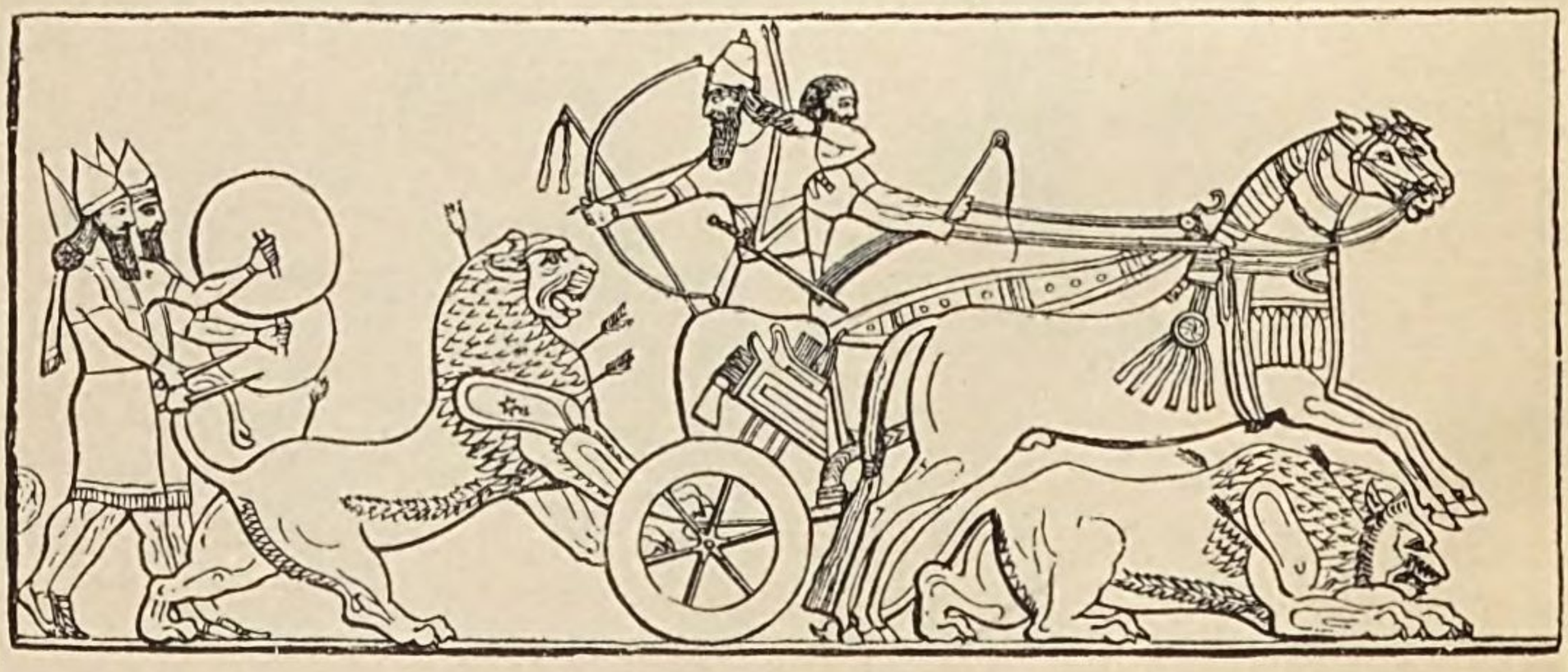
Fig. 1.

Clay Statuette of the Fish-god.

Fig. 2.

Clay Statuette from Khorsabad (after Botta).

Fig. 3.



Lion-hunt, from Nimrud.

but as produced abnormally, under a strong foreign influence.

The usual material of the Assyrian ornamental metallurgy is bronze, composed of one part of tin to ten of copper[208] which are exactly the proportions considered to be best by the Greeks and Romans, and still in ordinary use at the present day. In some instances, where more than common strength was required, as in the legs of tripods and tables, the bronze was ingeniously cast over an inner structure of iron.[209] This practice was unknown to modern metallurgists until the discovery of the Assyrian specimens, from which it has been successfully imitated.[210]

We may presume that, besides bronze, the Assyrians used, to a certain extent, silver and gold as materials for ornamental metal-work. The earrings, bracelets, and armlets worn by the kings and the great officers of state were probably of the more valuable metal, while the similar ornaments worn by those of minor rank may have been of silver. [Pl. LXXVI., Fig. 3.] One solitary specimen only of either class has been found;[211] but Mr. Layard discovered several moulds, with tasteful designs for earrings, both at Nimrud and at Koyunjik;[212] and the sculptures show that both in these and the other personal ornaments a good deal of artistic excellence was exhibited. The earrings are frequent in the form of a cross, and are sometimes delicately chased. The armlets and bracelets generally terminate in the heads of rams or bulls, which seem to have been rendered with spirit and taste.

By one or two instances it appears that the Assyrians knew how to inlay one metal with another. [Pl. LXXVI., Fig. 5.] The specimens discovered are scarcely of an artistic character, being merely winged scarabæi outlined in gold on a bronze ground.[213] [Pl. LXXVI., Fig. 4.] The work, however, is delicate, and the form very much more true to nature than that which prevailed in Egypt.

The ivories of the Assyrians are inferior both to their metal castings and to their bas-reliefs. They consist almost entirely of a single series, discovered by Mr. Layard in a chamber of the North-West Palace at Nimrud, in the near vicinity of slabs on which was engraved the name of Sargon.[214] The most remarkable point connected with them is the thoroughly Egyptian character of the greater number, which at first sight have almost the appearance of being importations from the valley of the Nile. Egyptian profiles, head-dresses, fashions of dress·

ing the hair, ornaments, attitudes, meet us at every turn; while sometimes we find the representations of Egyptian gods, and in two cases hieroglyphics within cartouches. (See Pl. LXXVIII.) A few specimens only are of a distinctly Assyrian type, as a fragment of a panel, figured by Mr. Layard [215] (Pl. LXXVII., Fig. 1), and one or two others, in which the guilloche border appears.[216] These carvings are usually mere low reliefs, occupying small panels or tablets, which were mortised or glued to the woodwork of furniture. They were sometimes inlaid in parts with blue grass, or with blue and green pastes let into the ivory, and at the same time decorated with gilding. Now and then the relief is tolerably high, and presents fragments of forms which seem to have had some artistic merit. The best of these is the fore part of a lion walking among reeds (p. 373), which presents analogies with the early art of Asia Minor. [Pl. LXXVII., Fig. 3.] One or two stags' heads have likewise been found, designed and wrought with much spirit and delicacy. [Pl. LXXVII., Fig. 3.] It is remarked that several of the specimens show not only a considerable acquaintance with art, but also an intimate knowledge of the method of working in ivory.[217] One head of a lion was "of singular beauty," but unfortunately it fell to pieces at the very moment of discovery.

It is possible that some of the objects here described may be actual specimens of Egyptian art, sent to Sargon as tribute or presents, or else carried off as plunder in his Egyptian expedition. The appearance, however, which even the most Egyptian of them present, on a close examination, is rather that of Assyrian works imitated from Egyptian models than of genuine Egyptian productions. For instance, in the tablet figured on the page opposite, where we see hieroglyphics within a cartouche, the *onk* or symbol of life,[218] the solar disk, the double ostrich-plume, the long hair-dress called *namms*, and the *tam* or *kukupha* sceptre[219]—all unmistakable Egyptian features—we observe a style of drapery which is quite unknown in Egypt, while in several respects it is Assyrian, or at least Mesopotamian. It is scanty, like that of all Assyrian robed figures; striped, like the draperies of the Chaldæans and Babylonians; fringed with a broad fringe elaborately colored, as Assyrian fringes are known to have been; [220] and it has large hanging sleeves also fringed, a fashion which appears once or twice upon the Nimrud sculptures.[221] [Pl. LXXVII., Fig. 4.] But if this specimen, notwithstanding its numerous

and striking Egyptian features, is rightly regarded as Mesopotamian, it would seem to follow that the rest of the series must still more decidedly be assigned to native genius.

The enamelled bricks of the Assyrians are among the most interesting remains of their art. It is from these bricks alone that we are able to judge at all fully of their knowledge and ideas with respect to color; and it is from them also chiefly that an analysis has been made of the coloring materials employed by the Assyrian artists. The bricks may be divided into two classes—those which are merely patterned, and those which contain designs representing men and animals. The patterned bricks have nothing about them which is very remarkable. They present the usual guilloches, rosettes, bands, scrolls, etc., such as are found in the painted chambers and in the ornaments on dresses, varied with geometrical figures, as circles, hexagons, octagons, and the like; and sometimes with a sort of arcade-work, which is curious, if not very beautiful.[222] [Pl. LXXIX., Fig. 1.] The colors chiefly used in the patterns are pale green, pale yellow, dark brown, and white. Now and then an intense blue and a bright red occur, generally together;[223] but these positive hues are rare, and the taste of the Assyrians seems to have led them to prefer, for their patterned walls, pale and dull hues. The same preference appears, even more strikingly, in the bricks on which designs are represented. There the tints almost exclusively used are pale yellow, pale greenish blue, olive-green, white, and a brownish black. It is suggested that the colors have faded,[224] but of this there is no evidence. The Assyrians, when they used the primitive hues, seem, except in the case of red, to have employed subdued tints of them, and red they appear to have introduced very sparingly?[225] Olive-green they affected for grounds, and they occasionally used other half-tints. A pale orange and a delicate lilac or pale purple were found at Khorsabad,[226] while brown (as already observed) is far more common on the bricks than black. Thus the general tone of their coloring is quiet, not to say sombre. There is no striving after brilliant effects. The Assyrian artist seeks to please by the elegance of his forms and the harmony of his hues, not to startle by a display of bright and strongly-contrasted colors.

The tints used in a single composition vary from three to five, which latter number they seem never to exceed. The following are the combinations of five hues which occur: brown, green, blue, dark yellow, and pale yellow;[227] orange,

lilac, white, yellow, and olive-green.[228] Combinations of four hues are much more common: *e.g.*, red, white, yellow, and black;[229] deep yellow, brown-black, white, and pale yellow;[234] lilac, yellow, white, and green;[231] yellow, blue, white, and brown;[232] and yellow, blue, white, and olive-green.[233] Sometimes the tints are as few as three, the ground in these cases being generally of a hue used also in the figures. Thus we have yellow, blue, and white on a blue ground,[234] and again the same colors on a yellow ground.[235] We have also the simple combinations of white and yellow on a blue ground,[236] and of white and yellow on an olive-green ground.[237]

In every case there is a great harmony in the coloring. We find no harsh contrasts. Either the tones are all subdued, or if any are intense and positive, then all (or almost all) are so. Intense red occurs in two fragments of patterned bricks found by Mr. Layard.[238] It is balanced by intense blue, and accompanied in each case by a full brown and a clear white, while in one case[239] it is further accompanied by a pale green, which has a very good effect. A similar red appears on a design figured by M. Botta.[240] Its accompaniments are white, black, and full yellow. Where lilac occurs, it is balanced by its complementary color, yellow,[241] or by yellow and orange,[242] and further accompanied by white. It is noticeable also that bright hues are not placed one against the other, but are separated by narrow bands of white, or brown and white. This use of white gives a great delicacy and refinement to the coloring, which is saved by it, even where the hues are the strongest, from being coarse or vulgar.

The drawing of the designs resembles that of the sculptures except that the figures are generally slimmer and less muscular. The chief peculiarity is the strength of the outline, which is almost always colored differently from the object drawn, either white, black, yellow, or brown. Generally it is of a uniform thickness (as in No. I., Pl. LXXIX., Fig. 2); sometimes, though rarely, it has that variety which characterizes good drawing (as in No. II., Pl. LXXIX., Fig. 2). Occasionally there is a curious combination of the two styles, as in the specimen (Pl. LXXX., Fig. 1)—the most interesting yet discovered—where the dresses of the two main figures are coarsely outlined in yellow, while the remainder of the design is very lightly sketched in a brownish black.

The size of the designs varies considerably. Ordinarily the figures are small, each brick containing several; but sometimes

a scale has been adopted of such a size that portions of the same figure must have been on different bricks. A foot and leg brought by Mr. Layard from Nimrud must have belonged to a man a foot high;[243] while part of a human face discovered in the same locality is said to indicate, for the form to which it belonged, a height of three feet.[244] Such a size as this is, however, very unusual.

It is scarcely necessary to state that the designs on the bricks are entirely destitute of *chiaroscuro*. The browns and blacks, like the blues, yellows, and reds, are simply used to express local color. They are employed for hair, eyes, eyebrows, and sometimes for bows and sandals. The other colors are applied as follows: yellow is used for flesh, for shafts of weapons, for horse-trappings, sometimes for horses, for chariots, cups, earrings, bracelets, fringes, for wing-feathers, occasionally for helmets, and almost always for the hoofs of horses; blue is used for shields, for horses, for some parts of horse-trappings, armor, and dresses, for fish, and for feathers; white is employed for the inner part of the eye, for the linen shirts worn by men, for the marking on fish and feathers, for horses, for buildings,[245] for patterns on dresses, for rams' heads, and for portions of the tiara of the king. Olive-green seems to occur only as a ground; red only in some parts of the royal tiara, orange and lilac only in the wings of winged monsters.[246] It is doubtful how far we may trust the colors on the bricks as accurately or approximately resembling the real local hues. In some cases the intention evidently is to be true to nature, as in the eyes and hair of men, in the representations of flesh, fish, shields, bows, buildings, etc. The yellow of horses may represent cream-color, and the blue may stand for gray, as distinct from white, which seems to have been correctly rendered.[247] The scarlet and white of the king's tiara is likely to be true. When, however, we find eyeballs and eyebrows white, while the inner part of the eye is yellow,[248] the blade of swords yellow,[249] and horses' hoofs blue,[250] we seem to have proof that, sometimes at any rate, local color was intentionally neglected, the artist limiting himself to certain hues, and being therefore obliged to render some objects untruly. Thus we must not conclude from the colors of dresses and horse-trappings on the bricks—which are three only, yellow, blue, and white—that the Assyrians used no other hues than these, even for the robes of their kings.[251] It is far more probable that they employed a variety of tints in their apparel, but did not

attempt to render that variety on the ordinary painted bricks.[252]

The pigments used by the Assyrians seem to have derived their tints entirely from minerals. The opaque white is found to be oxide of tin; the yellow is the antimoniate of lead, or Naples yellow, with a slight admixture of tin; the blue is oxide of copper, without any cobalt; the green is also from copper; the brown is from iron; and the red is a suboxide of copper.[253] The bricks were slightly baked before being painted; they were then taken from the kiln, painted and enamelled on one side only, the flux and glazes used being composed of silicate of soda aided by oxide of lead;[254] thus prepared, they were again submitted to the action of fire, care being taken to place the painted side upwards,[255] and having been thoroughly baked were then ready for use.

The Assyrian intaglios on stones and gems are commonly of a rude description; but occasionally they exhibit a good deal of delicacy, and sometimes even of grace. They are cut upon serpentine, jasper, chalcedony, cornelian, agate, sienite, quartz, loadstone, amazon-stone, and lapis-lazuli.[256] The usual form of the stone is cylindrical; the sides, however, being either slightly convex or slightly concave, most frequently the latter. [Pl. LXXIX., Fig. 3.] The cylinder is always perforated in the direction of its axis. Besides this ordinary form, a few gems shaped like the Greek—that is, either round or oval—have been found: and numerous impressions from such gems on sealing-clay show that they must have been tolerably common.[257] The subjects which occur are mostly the same as those on the sculptures—warriors pursuing their foes, hunters in full chase, the king slaying a lion, winged bulls before the sacred tree, acts of worship and other religious or mythological scenes. [Pl. LXXXI., Fig. 1.] There appears to have been a gradual improvement in the workmanship from the earliest period to the time of Sennacherib, when the art culminates. A cylinder found in the ruins of Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik, which is believed with reason to have been his signet,[258] is scarcely surpassed in delicacy of execution by any intaglio of the Greeks. [Pl. LXXXI., Fig. 1.] The design has a good deal of the usual stiffness, though even here something may be said for the ibex or wild-goat which stands upon the lotus flower to the left; but the special excellence of the gem is in the fineness and minuteness of its execution. The intaglio is not very deep; but all the details are beautifully sharp and

distinct, while they are on so small a scale that it requires a magnifying glass to distinguish them. The material of the cylinder is translucent green felspar, or amazon-stone, one of the hardest substances known to the lapidary.[259]

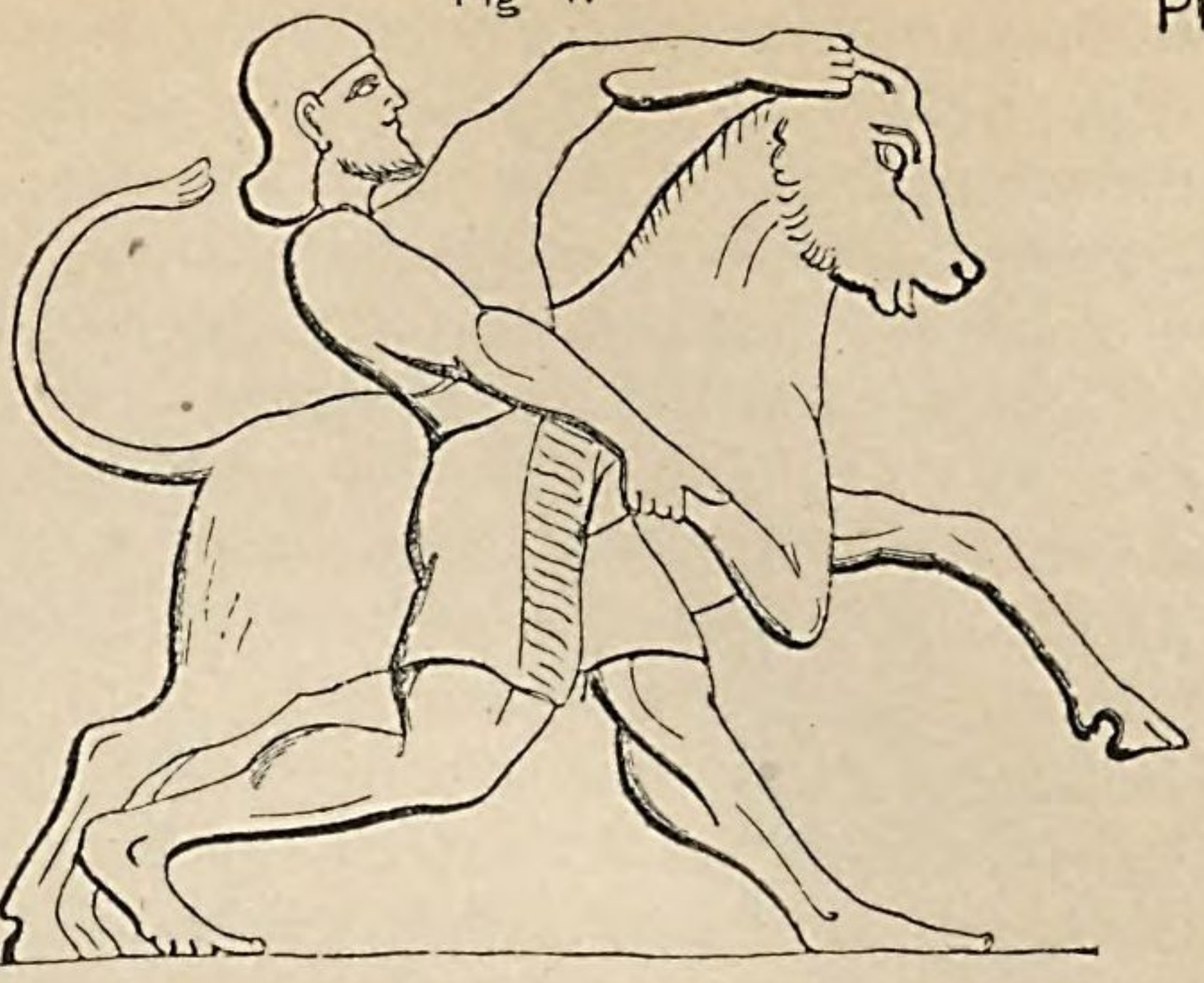
The fictile art of the Assyrians in its higher branches, as employed for directly artistic purposes, has been already considered; but a few pages may be now devoted to the humbler divisions of the subject, where the useful preponderates over the ornamental. The pottery of Assyria bears a general resemblance in shape, form, and use to that of Egypt; but still it has certain specific differences. According to Mr. Birch, it is, generally speaking, "finer in its paste, brighter in its color, employed in thinner masses, and for purposes not known in Egypt."[260] Abundant and excellent clay is furnished by the valley of the Tigris, more especially by those parts of it which are subject to the annual inundation. The chief employment of this material by the Assyrians was for bricks, which were either simply dried in the sun, or exposed to the action of fire in a kiln. In this latter case they seem to have been uniformly slack-baked; they are light for their size, and are of a pale-red color.[261] The clay of which the bricks were composed was mixed with stubble or vegetable fibre, for the purpose of holding it together—a practice common to the Assyrians with the Egyptians[262] and the Babylonians.[263] This fibre still appears in the sun-dried bricks, but has been destroyed by the heat of the kiln in the case of the baked bricks, leaving behind it, however, in the clay traces of the stalks or stems. The size and shape of the bricks vary. They are most commonly square, or nearly so; but occasionally the shape more resembles that of the ancient Egyptian and modern English brick,[264] the width being about half the length, and the thickness half or two-thirds of the width. The greatest size to which the square bricks attain is a length and width of about two feet.[265] From this maximum they descend by manifold gradations to a minimum of one foot. The oblong bricks are smaller; they seldom much exceed a foot in length, and in width vary from six to seven and a half inches.[266] Whatever the shape and size of the bricks, their thickness is nearly uniform, the thinnest being as much as three inches in thickness, and the thickest not more than four inches or four and a half. Each brick was made in a wooden frame or mould.[267] Most of the baked bricks were inscribed, not however like the Chaldæan,[268] the Egyptian,[269] and the Babylo-

nian,[270] with an inscription in a small square or oval depression near the centre of one of the broad faces, but with one which either covered the whole of one such face, or else ran along the edge. It is uncertain whether the inscription was stamped upon the bricks by a single impression, or whether it was inscribed by the potter with a triangular style. Mr. Birch thinks the former was the means used, "as the trouble of writing upon each brick would have been endless."[271] Mr. Layard, however, is of a different opinion.[272]

In speaking of the Assyrian writing, some mention has been made of the terra cotta cylinders and tablets, which in Assyria replaced the parchment and papyrus of other nations, being the most ordinary writing material in use through the country.[273] The purity and fineness of the material thus employed is very remarkable, as well as its strength, of which advantage was taken to make the cylinders hollow, and thus at once to render them cheaper and more portable. The terra cotta of the cylinders and tablets is sometimes unglazed; sometimes the natural surface has been covered with a "vitreous silicious glaze or white coating."[274] The color varies, being sometimes a bright polished brown, sometimes a pale yellow, sometimes pink, and sometimes a very dark tint, nearly black.[275] The most usual color however for cylinders is pale yellow, and for tablets light red, or pink. There is no doubt that in both these cases the characters were impressed separately by the hand, a small metal style of rod being used for the purpose.

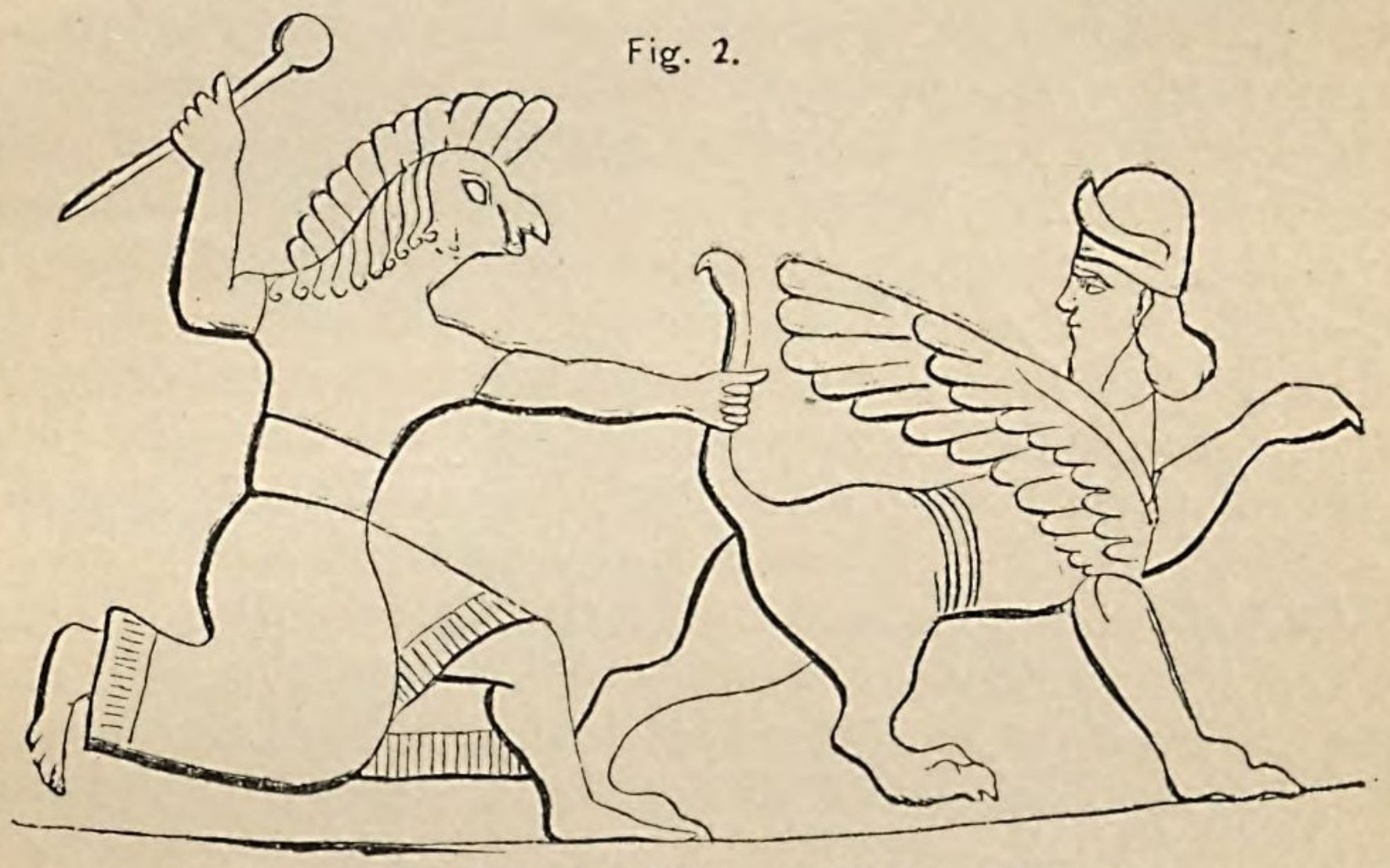
Terra cotta vessels, glazed and unglazed, were in common use among the Assyrians, for drinking and other domestic purposes. They comprised vases, lamps, jugs, amphoræ, saucers, jars, etc. [Pl. LXXX., Fig. 2.] The material of the vessels is fine, though generally rather yellow in tone.[276] The shapes present no great novelty, being for the most part such as are found both in the old Chaldæan tombs,[277] and in ordinary Roman sepulchres.[278] Among the most elegant are the funereal (?) urns discovered by M. Botta at Khorsabad, which are egg-shaped, with a small opening at top, a short and very scanty pedestal, and two raised rings, one rather delicately chased, by way of ornament. [Pl. LXXXI., Fig. 2.] Another graceful form is that of the large jars uncovered at Nimrud (see Pl. LXXXII., Fig. 1), of which Mr. Layard gives a representation.[279] Still more tasteful are some of the examples which occur upon the bas-reliefs, and seemingly represent earthern vases. Among these may be particularized a lustral

Fig 1.



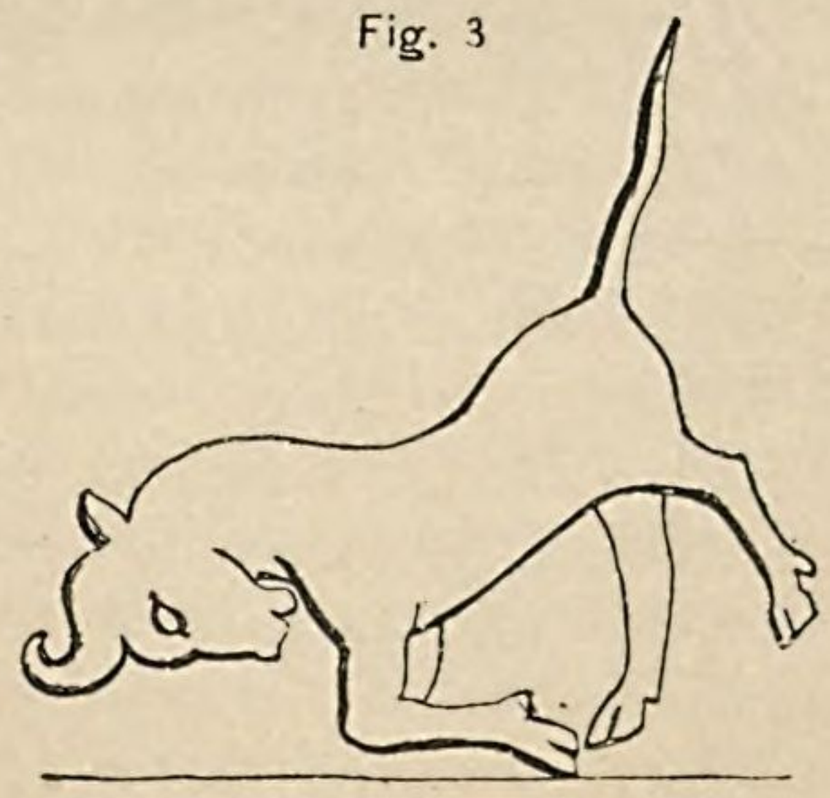
Assyrian seizing a Wild Bull (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



Hawk-headed Figure and Sphinx (Nimrud

Fig. 3



Death of a Wild Bull (Nimrud).

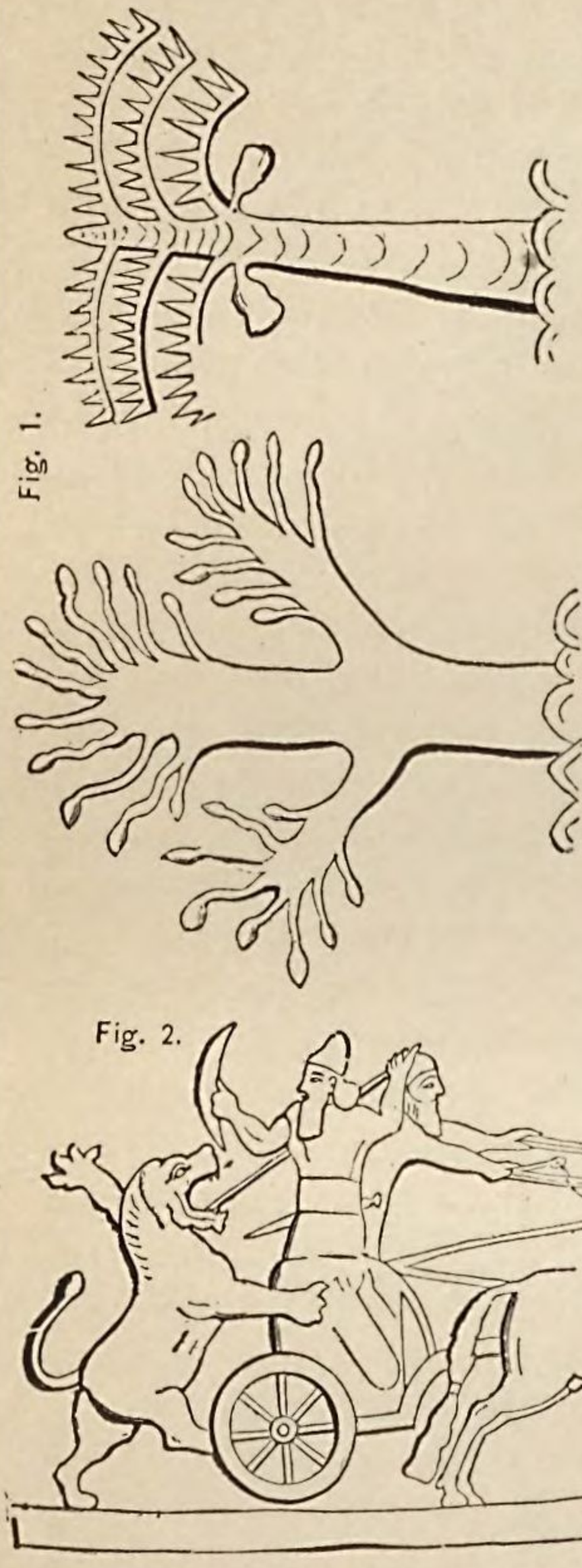


Fig. 1.

Trees (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.

King killing a lion (Nimrud).

Fig. 3.

Trees (Koyunjik).

ewer resting in a stand supported by bulls' feet, which appears in front of a temple at Khorsabad[280] (Pl. LXXXI., Fig. 3), and a wine vase (see Pl. LXXXI., Fig. 4) of ample dimensions, which is found in a banquet scene at the same place.[281] Some of the lamps are also graceful enough, and seem to be the prototypes out of which were developed the more elaborate productions of the Greeks. [Pl. LXXXII., Fig. 2.] Others are more simple, being without ornament of any kind, and nearly resembling a modern tea-pot (see No., IV. Pl. LXXXII., Fig. 2). The glazed pottery is, for the most part, tastefully colored. An amphora, with twisted arms, found at Nimrud (see Pl. LXXXIII., Fig. 1) is of two colors, a warm yellow, and a cold bluish green. The green predominates in the upper, the yellow in the under portion; but there is a certain amount of blending or mottling in the mid-region, which has a very pleasant effect. A similarly mottled character is presented by two other amphoræ from the same place, where the general hue is a yellow which varies in intensity, and the mottling is with a violet blue. In some cases the colors are not blended, but sharply defined by lines, as in a curious spouted cup figured by Mr. Layard, and in several fragmentary specimens.[282] Painted patterns are not uncommon upon the glazed pottery, though upon the unglazed they are scarcely ever found. The most usual colors are blue, yellow, and white; brown, purple, and lilac have been met with occasionally. These colors are thought to be derived chiefly from metallic oxides, over which was laid as a glazing a vitreous silicated substance.[283] On the whole, porcelain of this fine kind is rare in the Assyrian remains, and must be regarded as a material that was precious and used by few.

Assyrian glass is among the most beautiful of the objects which have been exhumed. M. Botta compared it to certain fabrics of Venice and Bohemia,[284] into which a number of different colors are artificially introduced. But a careful analysis has shown that the lovely prismatic hues which delight us in the Assyrian specimens, varying under different lights with all the delicacy and brilliancy of the opal, are due, not to art, but to the wonder-working hand of time, which, as it destroys the fabric, compassionately invests it with additional grace and beauty. Assyrian glass was either transparent or stained with a single uniform color.[285] It was composed, in the usual way, by a mixture of sand or silex with alkalis, and, like the Egyptian,[286] appears to have been first rudely fashioned into

shape by the blowpipe. It was then more carefully shaped, and, where necessary, hollowed out by a turning machine, the marks of which are sometimes still visible.[287] The principal specimens which have been discovered are small bottles and bowls, the former not more than three or four inches high, the latter from four to five inches in diameter. [Pl. LXXXIII., Fig. 4.] The vessels are occasionally inscribed with the name of a king, as is the case in the famous vase of Sargon, found by Mr. Layard at Nimrud, which is here figured. [Pl. LXXXIII., Fig. 2.] This is the earliest known specimen of *transparent* glass, which is not found in Egypt until the time of the Psammetichi. The Assyrians used also opaque glass, which they colored, sometimes red, with the suboxide of copper, sometimes white, sometimes of other hues. They seem not to have been able to form masses of glass of any considerable size ; and thus the employment of the material must have been limited to a few ornamental, rather than useful, purposes. A curious specimen is that of a pipe or tube, honey-combed externally, which Mr. Layard exhumed at Koyunjik, and of which the cut (Pl. LXXXIII., Fig. 1) is a rough representation.

An object found at Nimrud, in close connection with several glass vessels,[288] is of a character sufficiently similar to render its introduction in this place not inappropriate. This is a lens composed of rock crystal, about an inch and a half in diameter, and nearly an inch thick, having one plain and one convex surface, and somewhat rudely shaped and polished, which, however, gives a tolerably distinct focus at the distance of 4½ inches from the plane side, and which may have been used either as a magnifying glass or to concentrate the rays of the sun. The form is slightly oval, the longest diameter being one and six-tenths inch, the shortest one and four-tenths inch. The thickness is not uniform, but greater on one side than on the other. The plane surface is ill-polished and scratched, the convex one, not polished on a concave spherical disk, but fashioned on a lapidary's wheel, or by some method equally rude.[289] As a burning-glass the lens has no great power ; but it magnifies fairly, and may have been of great use to those who inscribed, or to those who sought to decipher, the royal memoirs.[290] It is the only object of the kind that has been found among the remains of antiquity, though it cannot be doubted that lenses were known and were used as burning-glasses by the Greeks.[291]

Some examples have been already given illustrating the

tasteful ornamentation of Assyrian furniture. It consisted, so far as we know, of tables, chairs, couches, high stools, foot-stools, and stands with shelves to hold the articles needed for domestic purposes. As the objects themselves have in all cases ceased to exist, leaving behind them only a few fragments, it is necessary to have recourse to the bas-reliefs for such notices as may be thence derived of their construction and character. In these representations the most ordinary form of table is one in which the principal of our camp-stools seems to be adopted, the legs crossing each other as in the illustrations (Pl. LXXXIV.). Only two legs are represented, but we must undoubtedly regard these two as concealing two others of the same kind at the opposite end of the table. The legs ordinarily terminate in the feet of animals, sometimes of bulls, but more commonly of horses. Sometimes between the two legs we see a species of central pillar, which, however, is not traceable below the point where the legs cross one another. The pillar itself is either twisted or plain (see No. III., Pl. LXXXIV.). Another form of table, less often met with, but simpler, closely resembles the common table of the moderns. It has merely the necessary flat top, with perpendicular legs at the corners. The skill of the cabinet-makers enabled them to dispense in most instances with cross-bars (see No. I.), which are, however, sometimes seen (see No. II., No. III., and No. IV.), uniting the legs of this kind of tables. The corners are often ornamented with lions' or rams' heads, and the feet are frequently in imitation of some animal form (see No. III. and No. IV.). Occasionally we find a representation of a three-legged table, as the specimen (Pl. LXXXIV., Fig. 4), which is from a relief at Koyunjik. The height of tables appears to have been greater than with ourselves ; the lowest reach nearly to a man's middle; the highest are level with the upper part of the chest.

Assyrian thrones and chairs were very elaborate. The throne of Sennacherib exhibited on its sides and arms three rows of carved figures, one above another (Pl. LXXXIV., Fig. 3), supporting the bars with their hands. The bars, the arms, and the back were patterned. The legs ended in a pine-shaped ornament, very common in Assyrian furniture. Over the back was thrown an embroidered cloth fringed at the end, which hung down nearly to the floor. A throne of Sargon's was adorned on its sides with three human figures, apparently representations of the king, below which was the war-horse

of the monarch, caparisoned as for battle.[292] [Pl. LXXXV., Fig. 1.] Another throne of the same monarch's had two large and four small figures of men at the side, while the back was supported on either side by a human figure of superior dimensions.[293] The use of chairs with high backs, like these, was apparently confined to the monarchs. Persons of less exalted rank were content to sit on seats which were either stools, or chairs with a low back level with the arms.[294]

Seats of this kind, whether thrones or chairs, were no doubt constructed mainly of wood. The ornamental work may, however, have been of bronze, either cast into the necessary shape, or wrought into it by the hammer. The animal heads at the ends of arms seem to have fallen under the latter description.[295] [Pl. LXXXV., Fig. 2.] In some cases, ivory was among the materials used: it has been found in the legs of a throne at Koyunjik,[296] and may not improbably have entered into the ornamentation of the best furniture very much more generally.

The couches which we find represented upon the sculptures are of a simple character. The body is flat, not curved; the legs are commonly plain, and fastened to each other by a cross-bar, sometimes terminating in the favorite pine-shaped ornament. One end only is raised, and this usually curves inward nearly in a semicircle. [Pl. LXXXV., Fig. 3.] The couches are decidedly lower than the Egyptian;[297] and do not, like them, require a stool or steps in order to ascend them.

Stools, however, are used with the chairs or thrones of which mention was made above—lofty seats, where such a support for the sitter's feet was imperatively required. [Pl. LXXXV., Fig. 4.] They are sometimes plain at the sides, and merely cut *en chevron* at the base; sometimes highly ornamented, terminating in lions' feet supported on cones, in the same[298] (or in volutes), supported on balls, and otherwise adorned with volutes, lion castings, and the like. The most elaborate specimen is the stool (No. III.) which supports the feet of Asshur-bani-pal's queen on a relief brought from the North Palace at Koyunjik, and now in the National Collection. Here the upper corners exhibit the favorite gradines, guarding and keeping in place an embroidered cushion; the legs are ornamented with rosettes and with horizontal mouldings, they are connected together by two bars, the lower one adorned with a number of double volutes, and the upper one with two

lions standing back to back; the stool stands on balls, surmounted first by a double moulding, and then by volutes.

Stands with shelves often terminate, like other articles of furniture, in animals' feet, most commonly lions', as in the accompanying specimens. [Pl. LXXXV., Fig. 5.]

Of the embroidered robes and draperies of the Assyrians, as of their furniture, we can judge only by the representations made of them upon the bas-reliefs. The delicate texture of such fabrics has prevented them from descending to our day even in the most tattered condition; and the ancient testimonies on the subject are for the most part too remote from the times of the Assyrians to be of much value.[299] Ezekiel's notice[300] is the only one which comes within such a period of Assyria's fall as to make it an important testimony, and even from this we cannot gather much that goes beyond the evidence of the sculptures. The sculptures show us that robes and draperies of all kinds were almost always more or less patterned; and this patterning, which is generally of an extremely elaborate kind, it is reasonable to conclude was the work of the needle. Sometimes the ornamentation is confined to certain portions of garments, as to the ends of sleeves and the bottoms of robes or tunics; at others it is extended over the whole dress. This is more particularly the case with the garments of the kings, which are of a magnificence difficult to describe, or to represent within a narrow compass. [Pl. LXXXVI., Fig. 1.] One or two specimens, however, may be given almost at random, indicating different styles of ornamentation usual in the royal apparel. Other examples will be seen in the many illustrations throughout this volume where the king is represented.[301] It is remarkable that the earliest representations exhibit the most elaborate types of all, after which a reaction seems to set in—simplicity is affected, which, however, is gradually trenched upon, until at last a magnificence is reached little short of that which prevailed in the age of the first monuments. The draperies of Asshur-izir-pal in the north-west palace at Nimrud, are at once more minutely labored and more tasteful than those of any later time. Besides elegant but unmeaning patterns, they exhibit human and animal forms, sacred trees, sphinxes, griffins, winged horses, and occasionally bull-hunts and lion-hunts. The upper part of this king's dress is in one instance almost covered with figures, which range themselves round a circular breast

ornament, whereof the cut opposite is a representation. Elsewhere his apparel is less superb, and indeed it presents almost every degree of richness, from the wonderful embroidery of the robe just mentioned to absolute plainness, in the celebrated picture of the lion-hunt.[302] [Pl. LXXXVI., Fig. 2.] With Sargon, the next king who has left many monuments, the case is remarkably different. Sargon is represented always in the same dress—a long fringed robe, embroidered simply with rosettes, which are spread somewhat scantily over its whole surface. Sennacherib's apparel is nearly of the same kind, or, if anything, richer, though sometimes the rosettes are omitted.[303] His grandson, Asshur-bani-pal, also affects the rosette ornament, but reverts alike to the taste and the elaboration of the early kings. He wears a breast ornament containing human figures, around which are ranged a number of minute and elaborate patterns. [Pl. LXXXVII.]

To this account of the arts, mimetic and other, in which the Assyrians appear to have excelled, it might be expected that there should be added a sketch of their scientific knowledge. On this subject, however, so little is at present known, while so much may possibly become known within a short time, that it seems best to omit it, or to touch it only in the lightest and most cursory manner. When the numerous tablets now in the British Museum shall have been deciphered, studied, and translated, it will probably be found that they contain a tolerably full indication of what Assyrian science really was; and it will then be seen how far it was real and valuable, in what respects mistaken and illusory. At present this mine is almost unworked, nothing more having been ascertained than that the subjects whereof the tables treat are various, and their apparent value very different. Comparative philology seems to have been largely studied, and the works upon it exhibit great care and diligence. Chronology is evidently much valued, and very exact records are kept whereby the lapse of time can even now be accurately measured. Geography and history have each an important place in Assyrian learning; while astronomy and mythology occupy at least as great a share of attention. The astronomical observations recorded are thought to be frequently inaccurate, as might be expected when there were no instruments, or none of any great value. Mythology is a very favorite subject, and appears to be treated most fully; but hitherto cuneiform scholars have scarcely penetrated below the surface of the mythological tablets, baffled by the ob-

scurity of the subject and the difficulty of the dialect which they are written.[304]

On one point alone, belonging to the domain of science, do the Assyrian representations of their life enable us to comprehend, at least to some extent, their attainments. The degree of knowledge which this people possessed on the subject of practical mechanics is illustrated with tolerable fulness in the bas-reliefs, more especially in the important series discovered at Koyunjik, where the transport of the colossal bulls from the quarry to the palace gateways is represented in the most elaborate detail.[305] [Pl. LXXXVIII.] The very fact that they were able to transport masses of stone, many tons in weight, over a considerable space of ground, and to place them on the summit of artificial platforms from thirty to eighty (or ninety) feet high, would alone indicate considerable mechanical knowledge. The further fact, now made clear from the bas-reliefs, that they wrought all the elaborate carving of the colossi before they proceeded to raise them or put them in place,[306] is an additional argument of their skill, since it shows that they had no fear of any accident happening in the transport. It appears from the representations that they placed their colossus in a standing posture, not on a truck or wagon of any kind, but on a huge wooden sledge, shaped nearly like a boat, casing it with an openwork of spars or beams, which crossed each other at right angles, and were made perfectly tight by means of wedges.[307] To avert the great danger of the mass toppling over sideways, ropes were attached to the top of the casing, at the point where the beams crossed one another, and were held taut by two parties of laborers, one on either side of the statue. Besides these, wooden forks or props were applied on either side to the second set of horizontal cross-beams, held also by men whose business it would be to resist the least inclination of the huge stone to lean to one side more than to the other. The front of the sledge on which the colossus stood was curved gently upwards, to facilitate its sliding along the ground, and to enable it to rise with readiness upon the rollers, which were continually placed before it by laborers just in front, while others following behind gathered them up when the bulky mass had passed over them. The motive power was applied in front by four gangs of men who held on to four large cables, at which they pulled by means of small ropes or straps fastened to them, and passed under one shoulder and over the other—an arrangement which enabled them to pull by weight as much as by

muscular strength, as the annexed figure will plainly show. [Pl. LXXXIX., Fig. 1.] The cables appear to have been of great strength, and are fastened carefully to four strong projecting pins—two near the front, two at the back part of the sledge, by a knot so tied that it would be sure not to slip. [Pl. LXXXIX., Fig. 4.] Finally, as in spite of the rollers, whose use in diminishing friction, and so facilitating progress, was evidently well understood, and in spite of the amount of force applied in front, it would have been difficult to give the first impetus to so great a mass, a lever was skilfully applied behind to raise the hind part of the sledge slightly, and so propel it forward, while to secure a sound and firm fulcrum, wedges of wood were inserted between the lever and the ground. The greater power of a lever at a distance from the fulcrum being known, ropes were attached to its upper end, which could not otherwise have been reached, and the lever was worked by means of them.

We have thus unimpeachable evidence as to the mode whereby the conveyance of huge blocks of stone along level ground was effected. But it may be further asked, how were the blocks raised up to the elevation at which we find them placed? Upon this point there is no direct evidence; but the probability is that they were drawn up inclined ways, sloping gently from the natural ground to the top of the platforms. The Assyrians were familiar with inclined ways,[308] which they used almost always in their attacks on walled places, and which in many cases they constructed either of brick or stone.[309] The Egyptians certainly employed them for the elevation of large blocks;[310] and probably in the earlier times most nations who affected massive architecture had recourse to the same simple but uneconomical plan.[311] The crane and pulley were applied to this purpose later. In the Assyrian sculptures we find no application of either to building, and no instance at all of the two in combination. Still each appears on the bas-reliefs separately—the crane employed for drawing water from the rivers, and spreading it over the lands,[312] the pulley for lowering and raising the bucket in wells. [Pl. LXXXIX., Fig. 3.]

We must conclude from these facts that the Assyrians had made considerable advances in mechanical knowledge, and were, in fact, acquainted, more or less, with most of the contrivances whereby heavy weights have commonly been moved and raised among the civilized nations of Europe. We have

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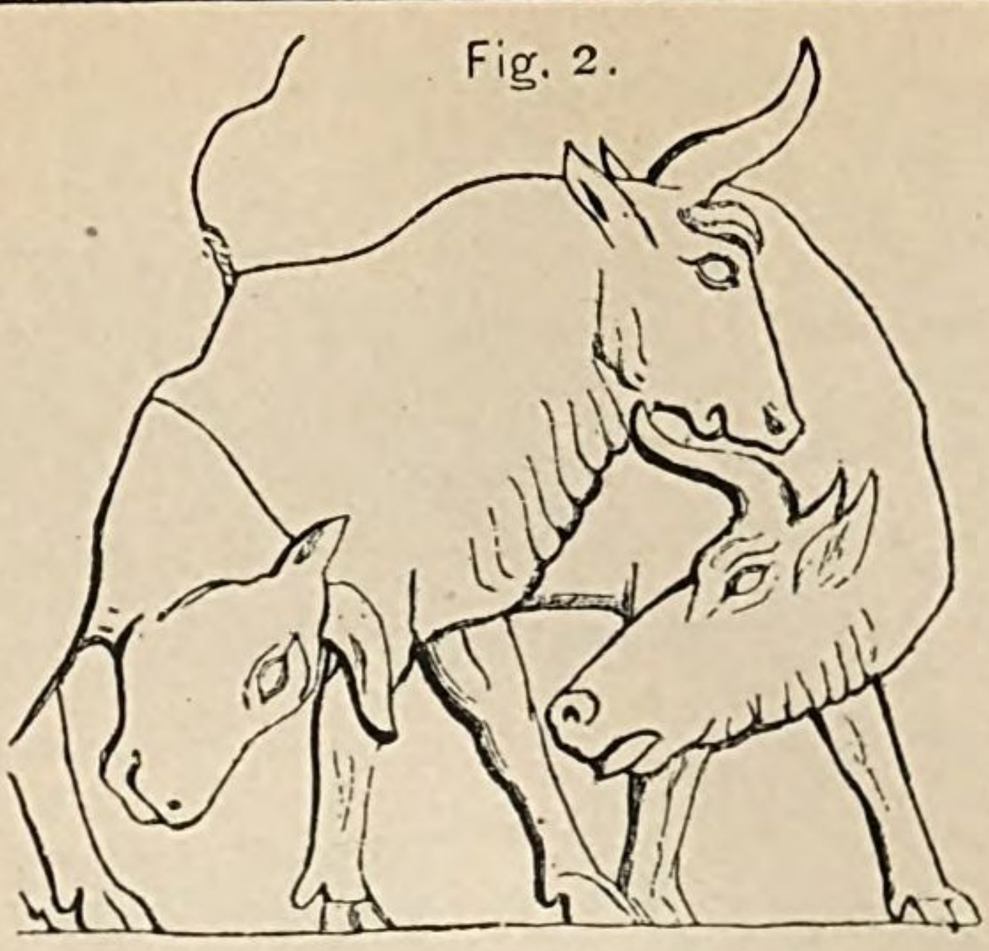
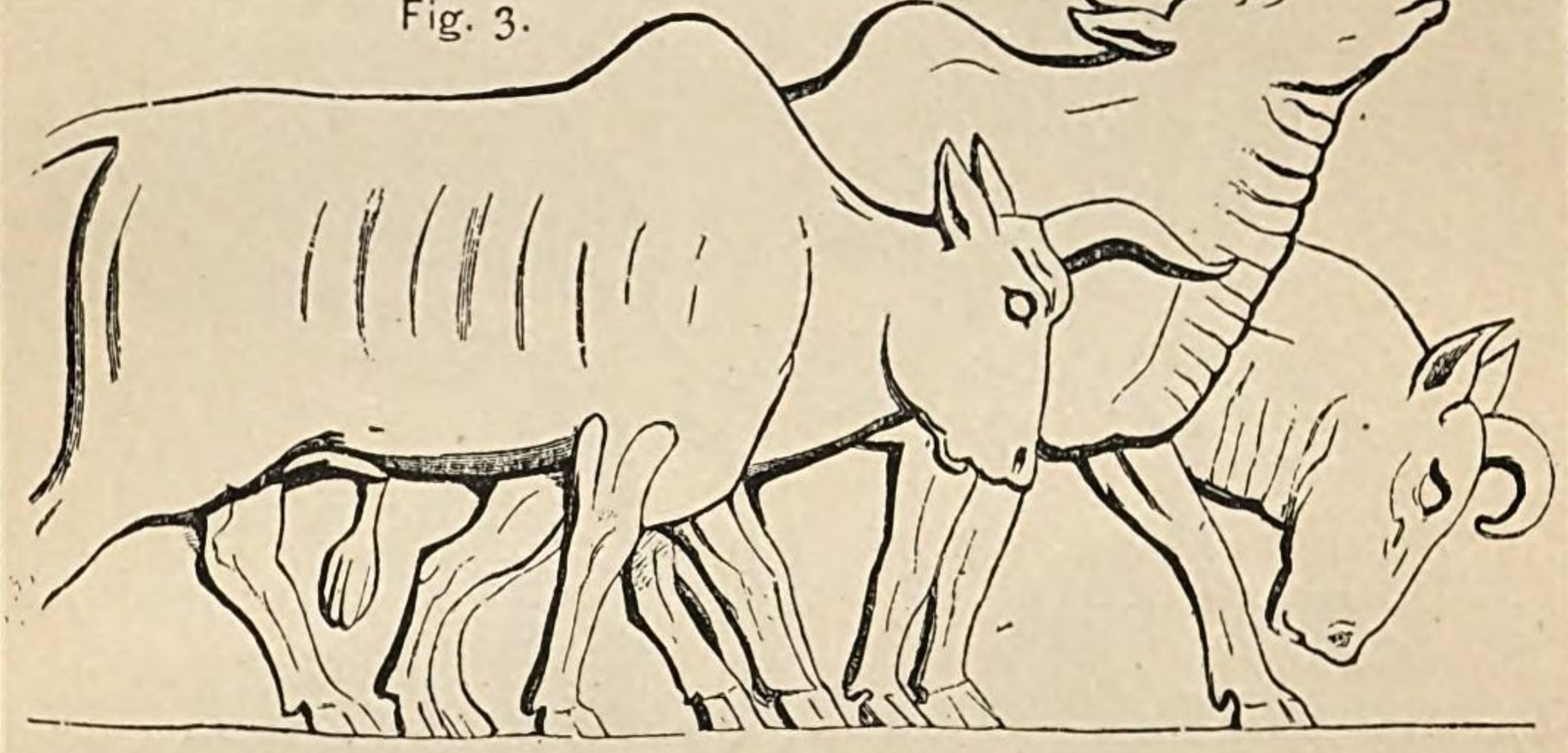
Plate. LXVII.

Fig. 2.



Assyrian oxen (Koyunjik).

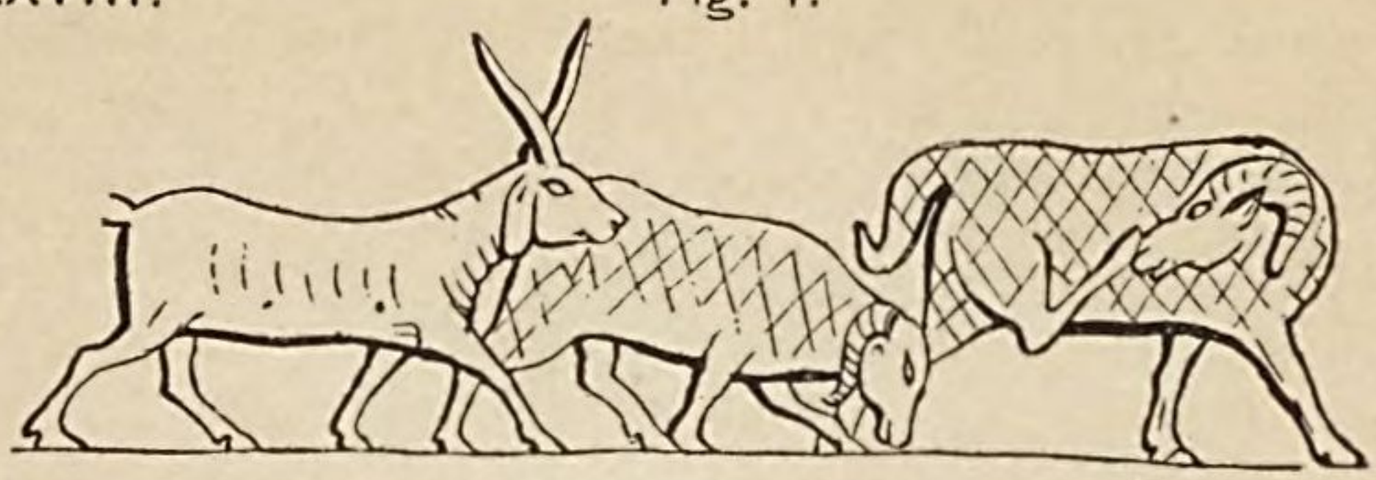
Fig. 3.



Assyrian oxen (Koyunjik).

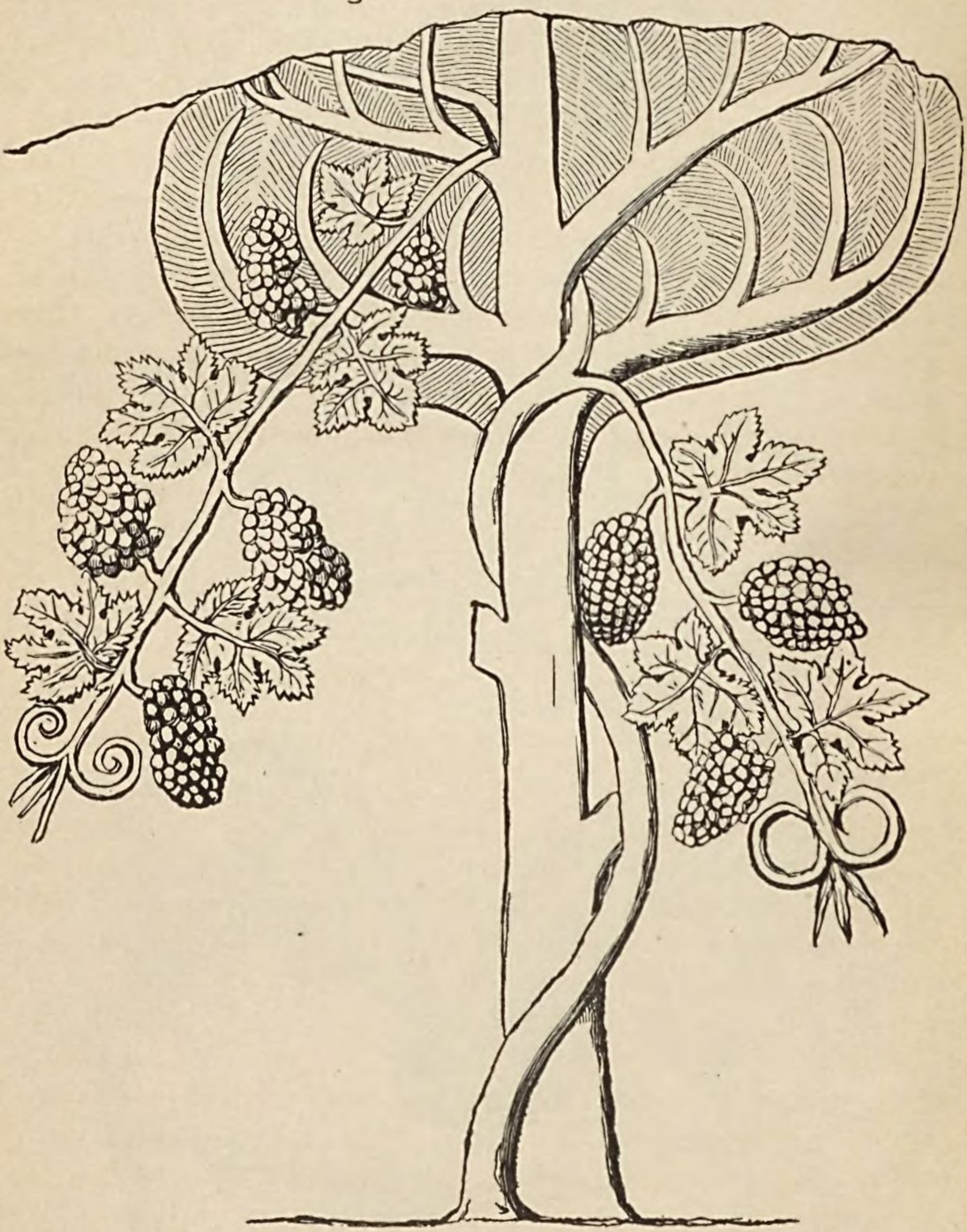
Fig. 1.

Groom and horses (Khorsabad).



Assyrian goat and sheep (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Vine trained on a fir (?), from the North Palace, Koyunjik.

also evidence of their skill in the mechanical processes of shaping pottery and glass, of casting and embossing metals, and of cutting intaglios upon hard stones.[313] Thus it was not merely in the ruder and coarser, but likewise in the more delicate processes, that they excelled. The secrets of metallurgy, of dyeing, enamelling, inlaying, glass-blowing, as well as most of the ordinary manufacturing processes, were known to them. In all the common arts and appliances of life, they must be pronounced at least on a par with the Egyptians, while in taste they greatly exceeded, not that nation only, but all the Orientals. Their "high art" is no doubt much inferior to that of Greece; but it has real merit, and is most remarkable, considering the time when it was produced. It has grandeur, dignity, boldness, strength, and sometimes even freedom and delicacy; it is honest and painstaking, unsparing of labor, and always anxious for truth. Above all, it is not lifeless and stationary, like the art of the Egyptians and the Chinese, but progressive and aiming at improvement.[314] To judge by the advance over previous works which we observe in the sculptures of the son of Esarhaddon, it would seem that if Assyria had not been assailed by barbaric enemies about his time, she might have anticipated by above a century the finished excellence of the Greeks.

CHAPTER VII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

"Whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent; their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind."—ISA. v. 28.

IN reviewing, so far as our materials permit, the manners and customs of the Assyrians, it will be convenient to consider separately their warlike and their peaceful usages. The sculptures furnish very full illustration of the former, while on the latter they throw light far more sparingly.

The Assyrians fought in chariots, on horseback, and on foot. Like most ancient nations, as the Egyptians,[1] the Greeks in the heroic times,[2] the Canaanites,[3] the Syrians,[4] the Jews and Israelites,[5] the Persians,[6] the Gauls,[7] the Britons,[8] and many others,[9] the Assyrians preferred the chariot as most honorable, and probably as most safe. The king invariably went out to war in a chariot, and always fought from it. excepting at

the siege of a town, when he occasionally dismounted and shot his arrows on foot. The chief state-officers and other personages of high rank followed the same practice. Inferior persons served either as cavalry or as foot-soldiers.

The Assyrian war-chariot is thought to have been made of wood.[10] Like the Greek and the Egyptian, it appears to have been mounted from behind, where it was completely open, or closed only by means of a shield, which (as it seems) could be hung across the aperture. It was completely panelled at the sides, and often highly ornamented, as will be seen from the various illustrations given in this chapter. The wheels were two in number, and were placed far back, at or very near the extreme end of the body, so that the weight pressed considerably upon the pole, as was the case also in Egypt.[11] They had remarkably broad felloes, thin and delicate spokes, and small or moderate-sized axles. [Pl. LXXXIX., Fig. 2, and XC., Figs. 1, 2.] The number of the spokes was either six or eight. The felloes appear to have been formed of three distinct circles of wood, the middle one being the thinnest, and the outer one far the thickest of the three. Sometimes these circles were fastened together externally by bands of mental, hatchet-shaped. In one or two instances we find the outermost circle divided by cross-bars, as if it had been composed of four different pieces. Occasionally there is a fourth circle, which seems to represent a metal tire outside the felloe, whereby it was guarded from injury. This tire is either plain or ornamented.

The wheels were attached to an axletree, about which they revolved, in the usual manner. The body was placed directly upon the axletree and upon the pole, without the intervention of any springs. The pole started from the middle of the axletree, and, passing below the floor of the body in a horizontal direction, thence commonly curved upwards till it had risen to about half the height of the body, when it was again horizontal for awhile, once more curving upwards at the end. It usually terminated in an ornament, which was sometimes the head of an animal—a bull, a horse, or a duck—sometimes a more elaborate and complicated work of art. [Pl. XC., Fig. 3.] Now and then the pole continued level with the bottom of the body till it had reached its full projection, and then rose suddenly to the height of the top of the chariot. It was often strengthened by one or more thin bars, probably of metal, which united it to the upper part of the chariot-front.[12]

Chariots were drawn either by two or three, never by four,

horses. They seem to have had but a single pole.[13] Where three horses were used, one must therefore have been attached merely by a rope or thong, like the side horses of the Greeks,[14] and can scarcely have been of much service for drawing the vehicle. He seems rightly regarded as a supernumerary, intended to take the place of one of the others, should either be disabled by a wound or accident.[15] It is not easy to determine from the sculptures how the two draught horses were attached to the pole. Where chariots are represented without horses, we find indeed that they have always a cross-bar or yoke;[16] but where horses are represented in the act of drawing a chariot, the cross-bar commonly disappears altogether. It would seem that the Assyrian artists, despairing of their ability to represent the yoke properly when it was presented to the eye endwise, preferred, for the most part, suppressing it wholly to rendering it in an unsatisfactory manner. Probably a yoke did really in every case pass over the shoulders of the two draught horses, and was fastened by straps to the collar which is always seen round their necks.

These yokes, or cross-bars, were of various kinds. Sometimes they appear to have consisted of a mere slight circular bar, probably of metal, which passed through the pole[17] sometimes of a thicker spar, through which the pole itself passed. In this latter case the extremities were occasionally adorned with heads of animals. [Pl. XCI., Fig. 1.] The most common kind of yoke exhibits a double curve, so as to resemble a species of bow unstrung. [Pl. XCI., Fig. 2.] Now and then a specimen is found very curiously complicated, being formed of a bar curved strongly at either end, and exhibiting along its course four other distinct curvatures having opposite to them apertures resembling eyes, with an upper and a lower eyelid. [Pl. XCI., Fig. 3.] It has been suggested that this yoke belonged to a four-horse chariot, and that to each of the four eyes (*a a a a*) there was a steed attached;[18] but, as no representation of a four-horse chariot has been found, this suggestion must be regarded as inadmissible. The probability seems to be that this yoke, like the others, was for two horses, on whose necks it rested at the points marked *b b*, the apertures (*c c c c*) lying thus on either side of the animals' necks, and furnishing the means whereby the yoke was fastened to the collar. It is just possible that we have in the sculptures of the later period a representation of the extremities (*d d*) of this kind of yoke, since in them a curious curve appears sometimes

on the necks of chariot-horses, just above the upper end of the collar.[19]

Assyrian chariots are exceedingly short; but, apparently, they must have been of a considerable width. They contain two persons at the least; and this number is often increased to three, and sometimes even to four. [Pl. XCI., Fig. 4.] The warrior who fights from a chariot is necessarily attended by his charioteer; and where he is a king, or a personage of high importance, he is accompanied by a second attendant, who in battle-scenes always bears a shield, with which he guards the person of his master. Sometimes, though rarely, four persons are seen in a chariot—the king or chief, the charioteer, and two guards, who protect the monarch on either side with circular shields or targes.[20] The charioteer is always stationed by the side of the warrior, not (as frequently with the Greeks [21]) behind him. The guards stand behind, and, owing to the shortness of the chariot, must have experienced some difficulty in keeping their places. They are evidently forced to lean backwards from want of room, and would probably have often fallen out, had they not grasped with one hand a rope or strap firmly fixed to the front of the vehicle.[22]

There are two principal types of chariots in the Assyrian sculptures, which may be distinguished as the earlier and the later.[23] The earlier are comparatively low and short. The wheels are six-spoked, and of small diameter. The body is plain, or only ornamented by a border, and is rounded in front, like the Egyptian [24] and the classical chariots.[25] [Pl. XCII., Fig 1.] Two quivers are suspended diagonally at the side of the body,[26] while a rest for a spear, commonly fashioned into the shape of a human head, occupies the upper corner at the back. From the front of the body to the further end of the pole, which is generally patterned and terminates in the head and neck of a bull or a duck, extends an ornamented structure, thought to have been of linen or silk stitched upon a framework of wood,[27] which is very conspicuous in the representation. A shield commonly hangs behind these chariots, perhaps closing the entrance; and a standard is sometimes fixed in them towards the front, connected with the end of the pole by a rope or bar.[28]

The later chariots are loftier and altogether larger than the earlier. The wheel is eight-spoked, and reaches as high as the shoulders of the horses, which implies a diameter of about five feet. [Pl. XCII., Fig. 2.] The body rises a foot, or rather

more, above this; and the riders thus from their elevated position command the whole battle-field. The body is not rounded, but made square in front; it has no quivers attached to it externally, but has, instead, a projection at one or both of the corners which seems to have served as an arrow-case.[29] This projection is commonly patterned, as is in many cases the entire body of the chariot, though sometimes the ornamentation is confined to an elegant but somewhat scanty border. The poles are plain, not patterned, sometimes, however, terminating in the head of a horse; there is no ornamental framework connecting them with the chariot, but in its stead we see a thin bar, attached to which, either above or below, there is in most instances a loop, whereto we may suppose that the reins were occasionally fastened.[30] No shield is suspended behind these chariots; but we sometimes observe an embroidered drapery hanging over the back, in a way which would seem to imply that they were closed behind, at any rate by a cross-bar.

The trappings of the chariot-horses belonging to the two periods are not very different. They consist principally of a headstall, a collar, a breast-ornament, and a sort of huge tassel pendent at the horse's side. The headstall was formed commonly of three straps: one was attached to the bit at either end, and passed behind the ears over the neck; another, which was joined to this above, encircled the smallest part of the neck; while a third, crossing the first at right angles, was carried round the forehead and the cheek bones.[31] At the point where the first and second joined, or a little in front of this, rose frequently a waving plume, or a crest composed of three huge tassels, one above another; while at the intersection of the second and third was placed a rosette[32] or other suitable ornament. The first strap was divided where it approached the bit into two or three smaller straps, which were attached to the bit in different places. A fourth strap sometimes passed across the nose from the point where the first strap subdivided. All the straps were frequently patterned; the bit was sometimes shaped into an animal form;[33] and streamers occasionally floated from the nodding plume or crest which crowned the heads of the war-steeds.

The collar is ordinarily represented as a mere broad band passing round the neck, not at the withers (as with ourselves), but considerably higher up, almost midway between the withers and the cheek-bone. Sometimes it is of uniform width,[34]

while often it narrows greatly as it approaches the back of the neck. It is generally patterned, and appears to have been a mere flat leathern band. It is impossible to say in what exact way the pole was attached to it, though in the later sculptures we have elaborate representations of the fastening. The earlier sculptures seem to append to the collar one or more patterned straps, which, passing round the horse's belly immediately behind the fore legs, served to keep it in place, while at the same time they were probably regarded as ornamental; but under the later kings these belly-bands were either reduced to a single strap, or else dispensed with altogether.

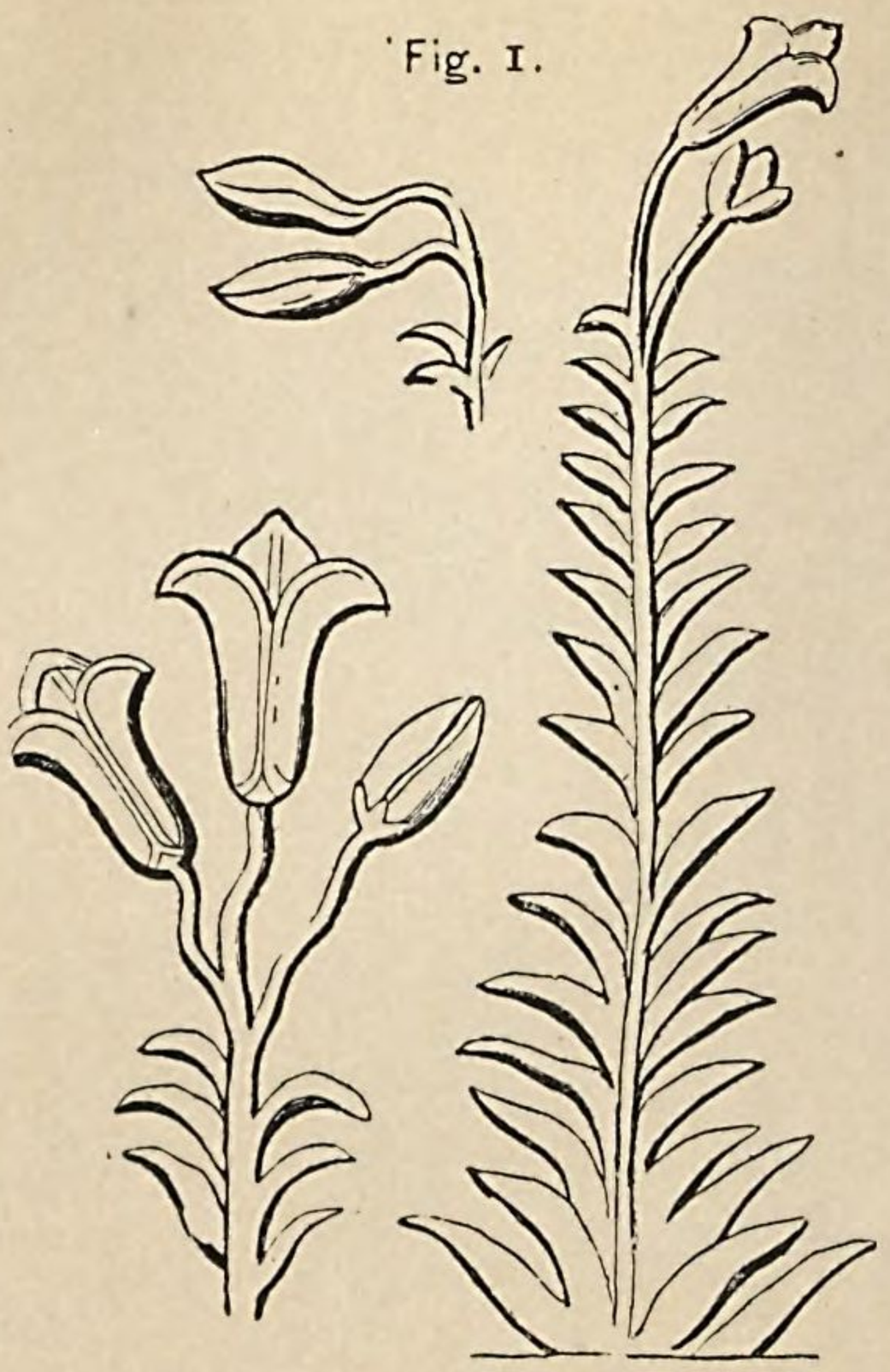
The breast-ornament consists commonly of a fringe, more or less complicated. The simplest form, which is that of the most ancient times, exhibits a patterned strap with a single row of long tassels pendent from it, as in the annexed representation. At a later date we find a double and even a triple row of tassels.[35]

The pendent side-ornament is a very conspicuous portion of the trappings. It is attached to the collar either by a long straight strap or by a circular band which falls on either side of the neck. The upper extremity is often shaped into the form of an animal's head, below which comes most commonly a circle or disk, ornamented with a rosette, a Maltese cross, a winged bull, or other sacred emblem, while below the circle hang huge tassels in a single row or smaller ones arranged in several rows. In the sculptures of Sargon at Khorsabad, the tassels of both the breast and side ornaments were colored, the tints being in most cases alternately red and blue.[36]

Occasionally the chariot-horses were covered from the ears almost to the tail with rich cloths, magnificently embroidered over their whole surface.[37] [Pl. XCIII., Fig. 2.] These cloths encircled the neck, which they closely fitted, and, falling on either side of the body, were then kept in place by means of a broad strap round the rump and a girth under the belly.[38]

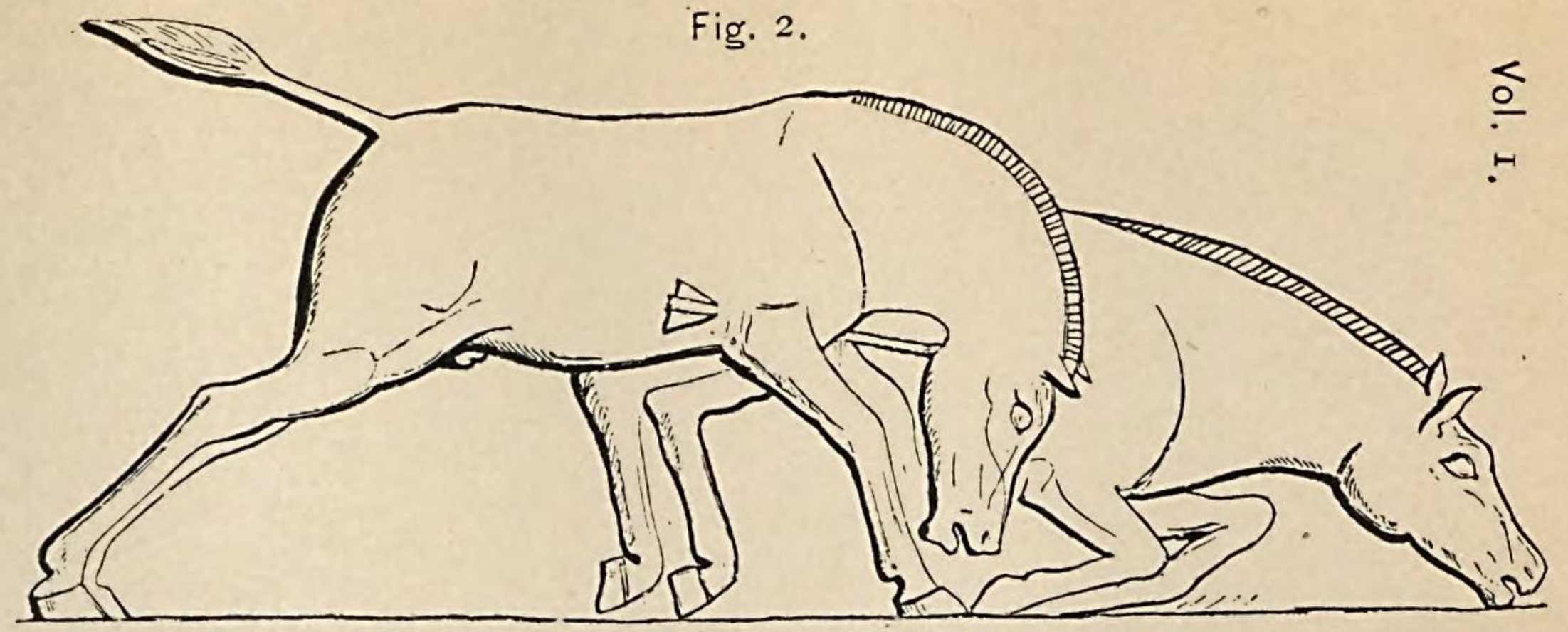
A simpler style of clothing chariot-horses is found towards the close of the later period, where we observe, below the collar, a sort of triple breastplate, and over the rest of the body a plain cloth, square cut, with flaps descending at the arms and quarters, which is secured in its place by three narrow straps fastened on externally.[39] The earlier kind of clothing has the appearance of being for ornament; but this looks as if it was meant solely for protection.

Fig. 1.



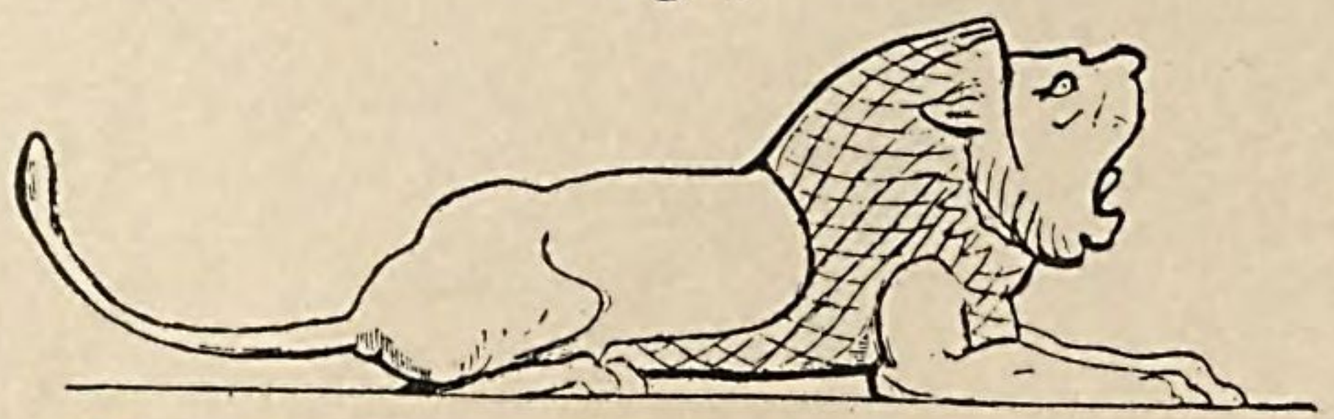
Lilies, from the North Palace, Koyunjik.

Fig. 2.



No. I. Death of two Wild Asses, from the North Palace, Koyunjik.

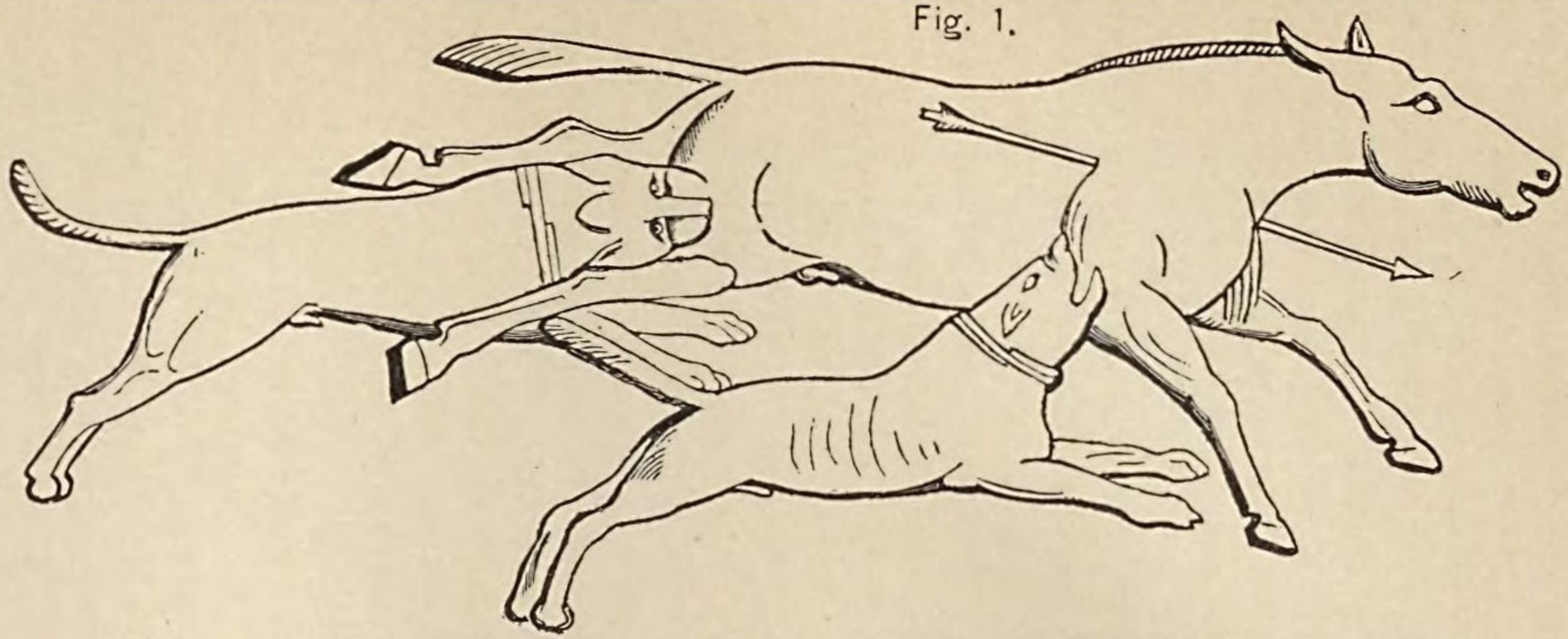
Fig. 3.



No. II. Lion about to spring, from the North Palace, Koyunjik.

Plate LXX.

Fig. 1.



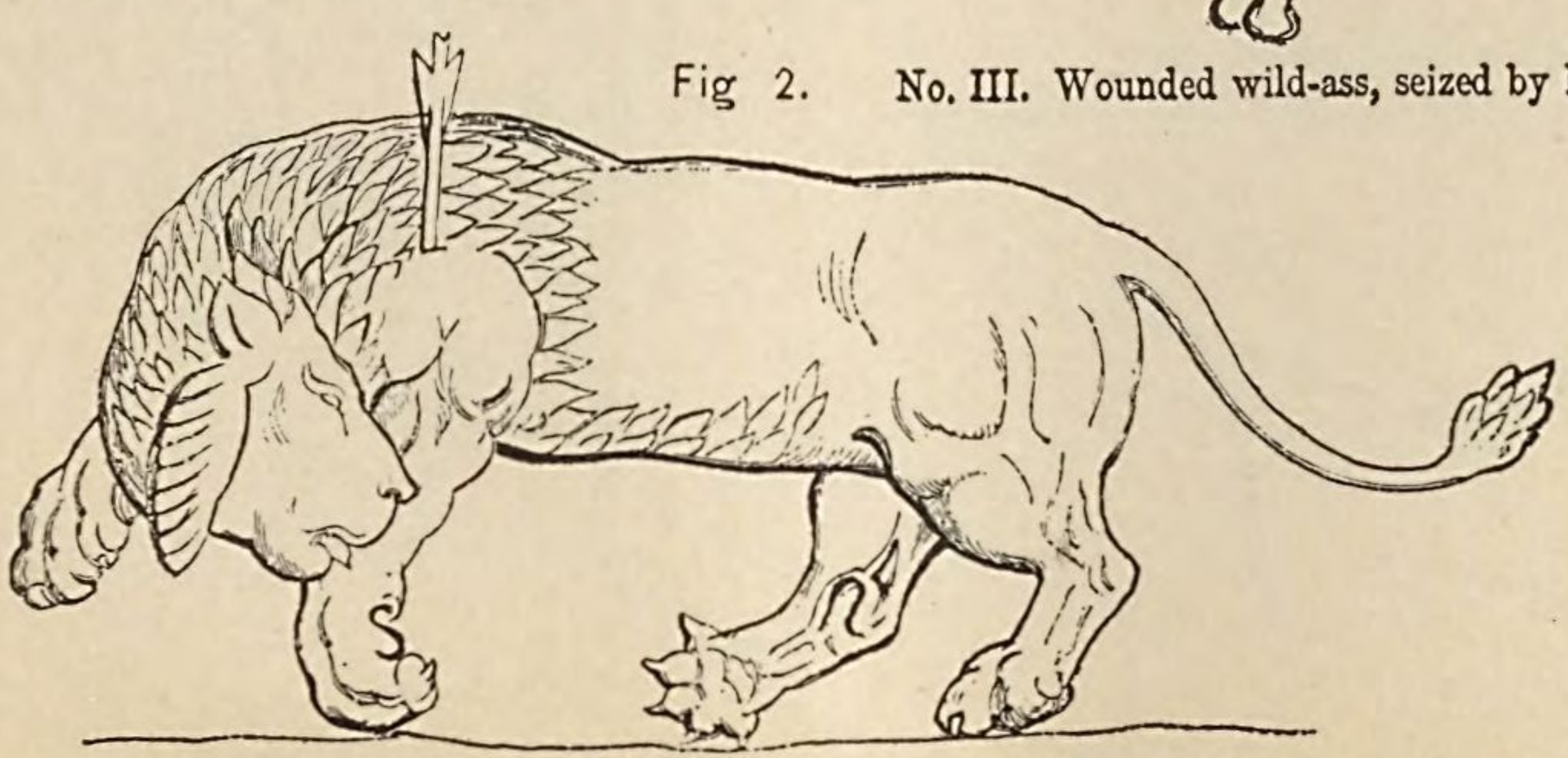


Fig 2. No. III. Wounded wild-ass, seized by hounds, from the North Palace, Koyunjik.

No. I. Wounded Lion about to fall, from the North Palace, Koyunjik.

Besides the trappings already noticed, the Assyrian chariot-horses had frequently strings of beads suspended round their necks, between the ears and the collar; they had also, not unfrequently, tassels or bells attached to different parts of the headstall (Pl. XCIII., Fig. 3), and finally they had, in the later period most commonly, a curious ornament upon the forehead, which covered almost the whole space between the ears and the eyes, and was composed of a number of minute bosses, colored, like the tassels of the breast ornament,[40] alternately red and blue.

Each horse appears to have been driven by two reins[41]—one attached to either end of the bit in the ordinary manner, and each passed through a ring or loop in the harness, whereby the rein was kept down and a stronger purchase secured to the driver. The shape of the bit within the mouth, if we may judge by the single instance of an actual bit which remains to us, bore a near resemblance to the modern snaffle. [Pl. XCIV., Fig. 1.] Externally the bit was large, and in most cases clumsy—a sort of cross-bar extending across the whole side of the horse's face, commonly resembling a double axe-head, or a hammer. Occasionally the shape was varied, the hatchet or hammer being replaced by forms similar to those annexed, or by the figure of a horse at full gallop.[42] The rein seems, in the early times, to have been attached about midway in the cross-bar,[43] while afterwards it became usual to attach it near the lower end.[44] This latter arrangement was probably found to increase the power of the driver.

The use of the bearing-rein, which prevailed in Egypt,[45] was unknown to the Assyrians, or disapproved by them. The driving-reins were separate, not stitched or buckled together, and were held in the two hands separately. The right hand grasped the reins, whatever their number, which were attached at the horses' right cheeks, while the left hand performed the same office with the remaining reins. The charioteer urged his horses onward with a powerful whip, having a short handle, and a thick plaited or twisted lash, attached like the lash of a modern horsewhip, sometimes with, sometimes without, a loop, and often subdivided at the end into two or three tails. [Pl. XCIV., Fig. 4.]

Chariot-horses were trained to three paces, a walk, a trot, and a gallop. In battle-pieces they are commonly represented at full speed, in marches trotting, in processions walking in a stately manner. Their manes were frequently hogged,[46]

though more commonly they lay on the neck, falling (apparently) upon either side indifferently. Occasionally a portion only was hogged, while the greater part remained in its natural condition.[47] The tail was uncut, and generally almost swept the ground, but was confined by a string or ribbon tied tightly around it about midway. Sometimes, more especially in the later sculptures, the lower half of the tail is plaited and tied up into a loop or bunch[48] (Pl. XCIV., Fig. 5), according to the fashion which prevails in the present day through most parts of Turkey and Persia.

The warrior who fought from a chariot was sometimes merely dressed in a tunic, confined at the waist by a belt; sometimes, however, he wore a coat of mail, very like the Egyptian,[49] consisting of a sort of shirt covered with small plates or scales of metal. This shirt reached at least as low as the knees, beneath which the chariot itself was sufficient protection. It had short sleeves, which covered the shoulder and upper part of the arm, but left the elbow and fore-arm quite undefended.[50] The chief weapon of the warrior was the bow, which is always seen in his hands, usually with the arrow upon the string; he wears, besides, a short sword, suspended at his left side by a strap, and he has commonly a spear within his reach; but we never see him using either of these weapons. He either discharges his arrows against the foe from the standing-board of his chariot, or, commanding the charioteer to halt, descends, and, advancing a few steps before his horses' heads, takes a surer and more deadly aim from *terra firma*. In this case his attendant defends him from missiles by extending in front of him a shield, which he holds in his left hand, while at the same time he makes ready to repel any close assailant by means of a spear or sword grasped firmly in his right. The warrior's face and arms are always bare; sometimes the entire head is undefended,[51] though more commonly it has the protection of a helmet. This, however, is without a visor, and does not often so much as cover the ears. In some few instances only is it furnished with flaps or lappets, which, where they exist, seem to be made of metal scales, and, falling over the shoulders, entirely conceal the ears, the back of the head, the neck, and even the chin.[52]

The position occupied by chariots in the military system of Assyria is indicated in several passages of Scripture, and distinctly noticed by many of the classical writers. When Isaiah began to warn his countrymen of the miseries in store for

them at the hands of the new enemy which first attacked Judæa in his day, he described them as a people "whose arrows were sharp, and all their bows bent, whose horses' hoofs should be counted like flint, and their *wheels* like a whirlwind."[53] When in after days he was commissioned to raise their drooping courage by assuring them that they would escape Sennacherib, who had angered God by his pride, he noticed, as one special provocation of Jehovah, that monarch's confidence in "the multitude of his *chariots*."[54] Nahum again, having to denounce the approaching downfall of the haughty nation, declares that God is "against her, and will burn her *chariots* in the smoke."[55] In the fabulous account which Ctesias gave of the origin of Assyrian greatness, the war-chariots of Ninus were represented as amounting to nearly eleven thousand,[56] while those of his wife and successor, Semiramis, were estimated at the extravagant number of a hundred thousand![57] Ctesias further stated that the Assyrian chariots, even at this early period, were armed with scythes, a statement contradicted by Xenophon, who ascribes this invention to the Persians,[58] and one which receives no confirmation from the monuments. Amid all this exaggeration and inventiveness, one may still trace a knowledge of the fact that war-chariots were highly esteemed by the Assyrians from a very ancient date, while from other notices we may gather that they continued to be reckoned an important arm of the military service to the very end of the empire.[59]

Next to the war-chariots of the Assyrians we must place their cavalry, which seems to have been of scarcely less importance in their wars. Ctesias, who amid all his exaggerations shows glimpses of some real knowledge of the ancient condition of the Assyrian people, makes the number of the horsemen in their armies always greatly exceed that of the chariots.[60] The writer of the book of Judith gives Holofernes 12,000 horse-archers,[61] and Ezekiel seems to speak of all the "desirable young men" as "horsemen riding upon horses."[62] The sculptures show on the whole a considerable excess of cavalry over chariots, though the preponderance is not uniformly exhibited throughout the different periods.

During the time of the Upper dynasty, cavalry appears to have been but little used. Tiglath-Pileser I. in the whole of his long Inscription has not a single mention of them, though he speaks of his chariots continually. In the sculptures of Asshur-izir-pal, the father of the Black-Obelisk king, while

chariots abound, horsemen occur only in rare instances. Afterwards, under Sargon and Sennacherib, we notice a great change in this respect. The chariot comes to be almost confined to the king, while horsemen are frequent in the battle scenes.

In the first period the horses' trappings consisted of a headstall, a collar, and one or more strings of beads. The headstall was somewhat heavy, closely resembling that of the chariot-horses of the time, representations of which have been already given.[63] It had the same heavy axe-shaped bit, the same arrangement of straps, and nearly the same ornamentation. The only marked difference was the omission of the crest or plume, with its occasional accompaniment of streamers. The collar was very peculiar. It consisted of a broad flap, probably of leather, shaped almost like a half-moon, which was placed on the neck about half way between the ears and the withers, and thence depended over the breast, where it was broadened out and ornamented by large drooping tassels. Occasionally the collar was plain,[64] but more often it was elaborately patterned. Sometimes pomegranates hung from it, alternating with the tassels.[65]

The cavalry soldiers of this period ride without any saddle.[66] Their legs and feet are bare, and their seat is very remarkable. Instead of allowing their legs to hang naturally down the horses' sides, they draw them up till their knees are on a level with their chargers' backs, the object (apparently) being to obtain a firm seat by pressing the base of the horse's neck between the two knees. The naked legs seem to indicate that it was found necessary to obtain the fullest and freest play of the muscles to escape the inconveniences of a fall.

The chief weapon of the cavalry at this time is the bow. Sword and shield indeed are worn, but in no instance do we see them used. Cavalry soldiers are either archers or mere attendants who are without weapons of offence. One of these latter accompanies each horse-archer in battle, for the purpose of holding and guiding his steed while he discharges his arrows. The attendant wears a skull cap and a plain tunic, the archer has an embroidered tunic, a belt to which his sword is attached, and one of the ordinary pointed helmets.

In the second period the cavalry consists in part of archers, in part of spearmen. Unarmed attendants are no longer found, both spearmen and archers appearing to be able to manage their own horses. Saddles have now come into

common use: they consist of a simple cloth, or flap of leather, which is either cut square, or shaped somewhat like the saddle-cloths of our own cavalry.[67] A single girth beneath the belly is their ordinary fastening; but sometimes they are further secured by means of a strap or band passed round the breast, and a few instances occur of a second strap passed round the quarters. The breast-strap is generally of a highly ornamented character. The head-stall of this period is not unlike the earlier one, from which it differs chiefly in having a crest, and also a forehead ornament composed of a number of small bosses. It has likewise commonly a strap across the nose, but none under the cheek-bones. It is often richly ornamented, particularly with rosettes, bells, and tassels.[68]

The old pendent collar is replaced by one encircling the neck about halfway up, or is sometimes dispensed with altogether. Where it occurs, it is generally of uniform width, and is ornamented with rosettes or tassels. No conjecture has been formed of any use which either form of collar could serve; and the probability is that they were intended solely for ornament.

A great change is observable in the sculptures of the second period with respect to the dress of the riders. [Pl. XCV., Fig. 1.] The cavalry soldier is now completely clothed,[69] with the exception of his two arms, which are bare from a little below the shoulder. He wears most commonly a tunic which fits him closely about the body, but below the waist expands into a loose kilt or petticoat, very much longer behind than in front, which is sometimes patterned, and always terminates in a fringe. Round his waist he has a broad belt; and another, of inferior width, from which a sword hangs, passes over his left shoulder.[70] His legs are encased in a close-fitting pantaloon or trouser, over which he wears a laced boot or greave, which generally reaches nearly to the knee, though sometimes it only covers about half the calf. [Pl. XCV., Fig. 2.] This costume, which is first found in the time of Sargon, and continues to the reign of Asshur-bani-pal, Esarhaddon's son, may probably be regarded as the regular cavalry uniform under the monarchs of the Lower Empire. In Sennacherib's reign there is found in conjunction with it another costume, which is unknown to the earlier sculptures. This consists of a dress closely fitting the whole body, composed apparently of a coat of mail, leather or felt breeches, and a high greave or jack-boot. [Pl. XCVI., Fig. 1.] The wearers of this costume are spearmen

or archers indifferently. The former carry a long weapon, which has generally a rather small head, and is grasped low down the shaft. The bow of the latter is either round-arched or angular, and seems to be not more than four feet in length; the arrows measure less than three feet, and are slung in a quiver at the archer's back. Both spearmen and archers commonly carry swords, which are hung on the left side, in a diagonal, and sometimes nearly in a horizontal position. In some few cases the spearman is also an archer, and carries his bow on his right arm, apparently as a reserve in case he should break or lose his spear.[71]

The seat of the horseman is far more graceful in the second than in the first period; his limbs appear to move freely, and his mastery over his horse is such that he needs no attendant. The spearman holds the bridle in his left hand; the archer boldly lays it upon the neck of his steed, who is trained either to continue his charge, or to stand firm while a steady aim is taken. [Pl. XCV., Fig. 3.]

In the sculptures of the son and successor of Esarhaddon, the horses of the cavalry carry not unfrequently, in addition to the ordinary saddle or pad, a large cloth nearly similar to that worn sometimes by chariot-horses, of which a representation has been already given.[72] It is cut square with two drooping lappets, and covers the greater part of the body. Occasionally it is united to a sort of breastplate which protects the neck, descending about halfway down the chest. The material may be supposed to have been thick felt or leather, either of which would have been a considerable protection against weapons.

While the cavalry and the chariots were regarded as the most important portions of the military force, and were the favorite services with the rich and powerful, there is still abundant reason to believe that Assyrian armies, like most others,[73] consisted mainly of foot. Ctesias gives Ninus 1,700,000 footmen to 210,000 horsemen, and 10,600 chariots.[74] Xenophon contrasts the multitude of the Assyrian infantry with the comparatively scanty numbers of the other two services.[75] Herodotus makes the Assyrians serve in the army of Xerxes on foot only.[76] The author of the book of Judith assigns to Holofernes an infantry force ten times as numerous as his cavalry.[77] The Assyrian monuments entirely bear out the general truth involved in all these assertions, showing us, as they do, at least ten Assyrian warriors on foot for each one mounted

on horseback, and at least a hundred for each one who rides in a chariot. However terrible to the foes of the Assyrians may have been the shock of their chariots and the impetuosity of their horsemen, it was probably to the solidity of the infantry,[78] to their valor, equipment, and discipline, that the empire was mainly indebted for its long series of victories.

In the time of the earliest sculptures, all the Assyrian foot-soldiers seem to have worn nearly the same costume. This consisted of a short tunic, not quite reaching to the knees, confined round the waist by a broad belt, fringed, and generally opening in front, together with a pointed helmet, probably of metal. The arms, legs, neck, and even the feet, were ordinarily bare, although these last had sometimes the protection of a very simple sandal. [Pl. XCVI., Fig. 2.] Swordsmen used a small straight sword or dagger which they wore at their left side in an ornamented sheath, and a shield which was either convex and probably of metal, or oblong-square and composed of wickerwork.[79] [Pl. XCVI., Fig. 2.] Spearmen had shields of a similar shape and construction, and carried in their right hands a short pike or javelin, certainly not exceeding five feet in length. [Pl. XCVI., Fig. 4.] Sometimes, but not always, they carried, besides the pike, a short sword. Archers had rounded bows about four feet in length, and arrows a little more than three feet long. Their quivers, which were often highly ornamented, hung at their backs, either over the right or over the left shoulder. [Pl. XCVI., Fig. 4.] They had swords suspended at their left sides by a cross-belt, and often carried maces, probably of bronze or iron, which bore a rosette or other ornament at one end, and a ring or strap at the other. The tunics of archers were sometimes elaborately embroidered;[80] and on the whole they seem to have been regarded as the flower of the foot-soldiery. Generally they are represented in pairs, the two being in most cases armed and equipped alike; but, occasionally, one of the pair acts as guard while the other takes his aim. In this case both kneel on one knee, and the guard, advancing his long wicker shield, protects both himself and his comrade from missiles, while he has at the same time his sword drawn to repel all hand-to-hand assailants. [Pl. XCVII., Fig. 1.]

In the early part of the second period, which synchronizes with the reign of Sargon, the difference in the costumes of the foot-soldiers becomes much more marked. The Assyrian

infantry now consists of two great classes, archers and spearmen.[81] The archers are either light-armed or heavy-armed, and of the latter there are two clearly distinct varieties. The light-armed have no helmet, but wear on their heads a mere fillet or band, which is either plain or patterned. [Pl. XCVI., Fig. 3.] Except for a cross-belt which supports the quiver, they are wholly naked to the middle. Their only garment is a tunic of the scantiest dimensions, beginning at the waist, round which it is fastened by a broad belt or girdle, and descending little more than half-way down the thigh. In its make it sometimes closely resembles the tunic of the first period,[82] but more often it has the peculiar pendent ornament which has been compared to the Scotch phillibeg,[83] and which will be here given that name. It is often patterned with squares and gradines. The light-armed archer has usually bare feet; occasionally, however, he wears the slight sandal of this period, which is little more than a cap for the heel held in place by two or three strings passed across the instep. There is nothing remarkable in his arms, which resemble those of the preceding period; but it may be observed that, while shooting, he frequently holds two arrows in his right hand besides that which is upon the string. He shoots either kneeling or standing, generally the latter. His ordinary position is in the van of battle, though sometimes a portion of the heavy-armed troops precede him.[84] He has no shield, and is not protected by an attendant,[85] thus running more risk than any of the rest of the army.

The more simply equipped of the heavy archers are clothed in a coat of mail, which reaches from their neck to their middle, and partially covers the arms. Below this they wear a fringed tunic reaching to the knees, and confined at the waist by a broad belt of the ordinary character. Their feet have in most instances the protection of a sandal, and they wear on their heads the common or pointed helmet. They usually discharge their arrows kneeling on the left knee, with the right foot advanced before them. During this operation they are protected by an attendant, who is sometimes dressed like themselves, sometimes merely clad in a tunic, without a coat of mail. Like them, he wears a pointed helmet; and while in one hand he carries a spear, with the other he holds forward a shield, which is either of a round form—apparently, of metal embossed with figures[86]—or oblong-square in shape, and evidently made of wickerwork. Archers of this class are the

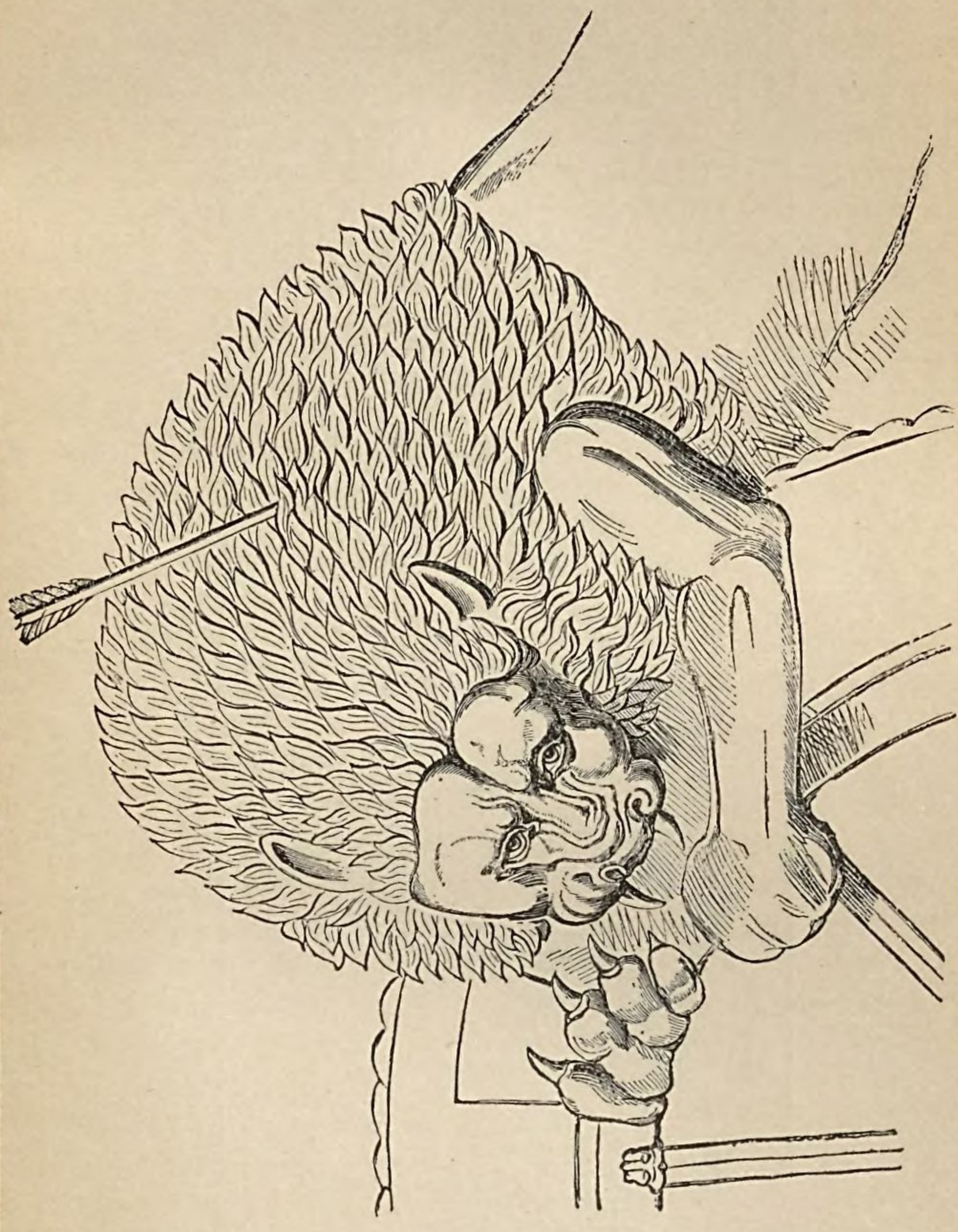
least common, and scarcely ever occur unless in combination with some of the class which has the heaviest equipment.

The principal characteristic of the third or most heavily armed class of archers is the long robe, richly fringed, which descends nearly to their feet, thus completely protecting all the lower part of their person. [Pl. XCVII., Fig. 2.] Above this they wear a coat of mail exactly resembling that of archers of the intermediate class, which is sometimes crossed by a belt ornamented with crossbars. Their head is covered by the usual pointed helmet, and their feet are always, or nearly always, protected by sandals. They are occasionally represented without either sword or quiver,[87] but more usually they have a short sword at their left side, which appears to have been passed through their coat of mail, between the armor plates, and in a few instances they have also quivers at their backs.[88] Where these are lacking, they generally either carry two extra arrows in their right hand,[89] or have the same number borne for them by an attendant.[90] They are never seen unattended: sometimes they have one, sometimes two attendants,[91] who accompany them, and guard them from attack. One of these almost always bears the long wicker shield, called by the Greeks *γέρρον*,[92] which he rests firmly upon the ground in front of himself and comrade. The other, where there is a second, stands a little in the rear, and guards the archer's head with a round shield or targe. Both attendants are dressed in a short tunic, a phillibeg, a belt, and a pointed helmet. Generally they wear also a coat of mail and sandals, like those of the archer. They carry swords at their left sides, and the principal attendant, except when he bears the archer's arrows, guards him from attack by holding in advance a short spear. The archers of this class never kneel, but always discharge their arrows standing. They seem to be regarded as the most important of the foot-soldiers, their services being more particularly valuable in the siege of fortified places.

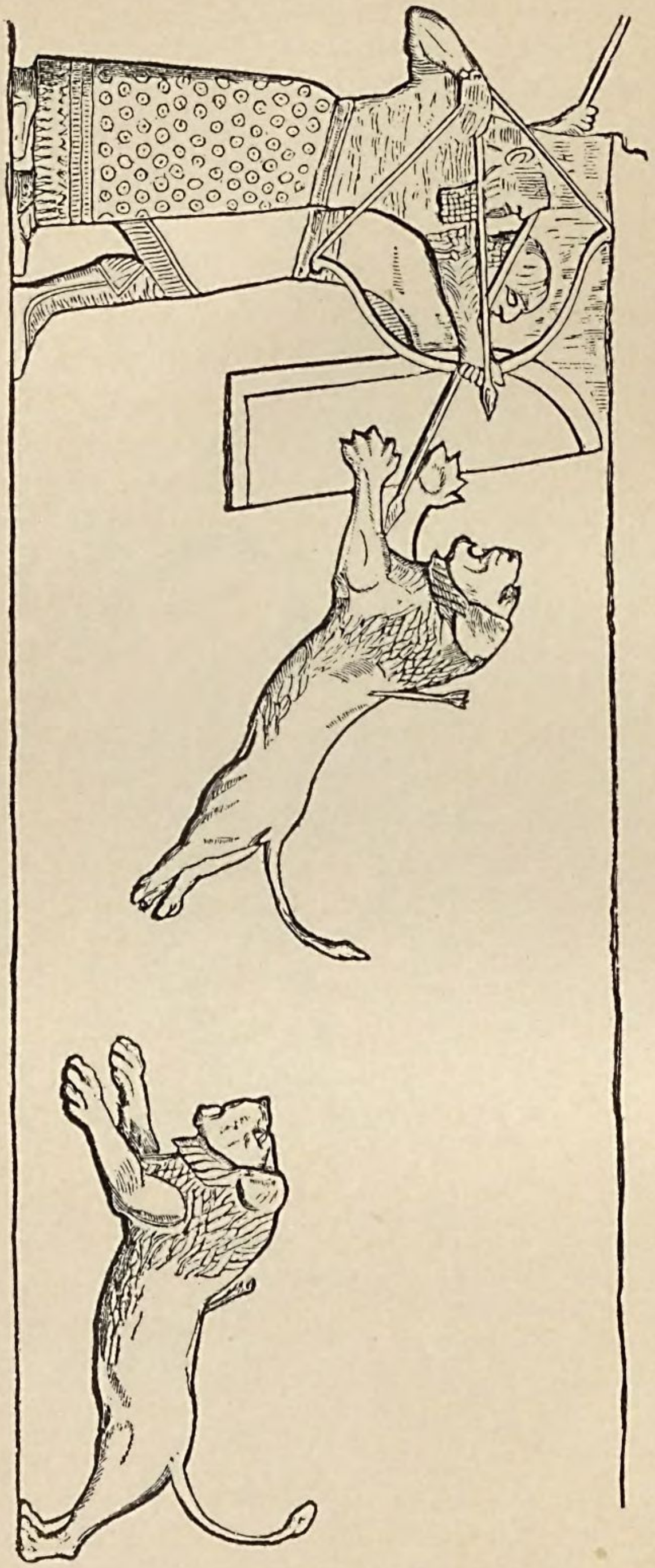
The spearmen of this period are scarcely better armed than the second or intermediate class of archers. Except in very rare instances they have no coat of mail, and their tunic, which is either plain or covered with small squares, barely reaches to the knee. The most noticeable point about them is their helmet, which is never the common pointed or conical one, but is always surmounted by a crest of one kind or another.[93] [Pl. XCVII., Fig. 3.] A further very frequent peculiarity is the arrangement of their cross-belts, which meet on the

back and breast, and are ornamented at the points of junction with a circular disk, probably of metal. The shield of the spearman is also circular, and is formed—generally, if not always—of wickerwork, with (occasionally) a central boss of wood or metal. [Pl. XCVII., Fig. 4.] In most cases their legs are wholly bare; but sometimes they have sandals, while in one or two instances[94] they wear a low boot or greave laced in front, and resembling that of the cavalry.[95] [Pl. XCVII., Fig. 4.] The spear with which they are armed varies in length, from about four to six feet. [Pl. XCVIII., Fig. 1.] It is grasped near the lower extremity, at which a weight was sometimes attached, in order the better to preserve the balance. Besides this weapon they have the ordinary short sword. The spearmen play an important part in the Assyrian wars, particularly at sieges, where they always form the strength of the storming party.

Some important changes seem to have been made under Sennacherib in the equipment and organization of the infantry force. These consisted chiefly in the establishment of a greater number of distinct corps differently armed, and in an improved equipment of the more important of them. Sennacherib appears to have been the first to institute a corps of slingers, who at any rate make their earliest appearance in his sculptures. They were a kind of soldier well-known to the Egyptians;[96] and Sennacherib's acquaintance with the Egyptian warfare may have led to their introduction among the troops of Assyria. The slinger in most countries where his services were employed was lightly clad, and reckoned almost as a supernumerary. It is remarkable that in Assyria he is, at first, completely armed according to Assyrian ideas of completeness, having a helmet, a coat of mail to the waist, a tunic to the knees, a close-fitting trouser, and a short boot or greave. The weapon which distinguishes him appears to have consisted of two pieces of rope or string,[97] attached to a short leathern strap which received the stone. [Pl. XCVIII., Fig. 4.] Previous to making his throw, the slinger seems to have whirled the weapon round his head two or three times, in order to obtain an increased impetus—a practice which was also known to the Egyptians and the Romans.[98] With regard to ammunition, it does not clearly appear how the Assyrian slinger was supplied. He has no bag like the Hebrew slinger,[99] no *sinus* like the Roman.[100] Frequently we see him simply provided with a single extra stone, which he



No. II. Wounded lion biting a chariot-wheel, from the North Palace, Koyunjik.



King shooting a lion on the spring, from the North Palace, Koyunjik.

carries in his left hand. Sometimes, besides this reserve, he has a small heap of stones at his feet; but whether he has collected them from the field, or has brought them with him and deposited them where they lie, is not apparent.

Sennacherib's archers fall into four classes, two of which may be called heavy-armed and two light-armed. None of them exactly resemble the archers of Sargon. The most heavily equipped wears a tunic, a coat of mail reaching to the waist, a pointed helmet, a close-fitting trouser, and a short boot or greave. [Pl. XCVIII., Fig. 5.] He is accompanied by an attendant (or sometimes by two attendants [101]) similarly attired, and fights behind a large wicker shield or *gerrhon*. A modification of this costume is worn by the second class, the archers of which have bare legs, a tunic which seems to open at the side, and a phillibeg. They fight without the protection of a shield, generally in pairs, who shoot together. [Pl. XCVIII., Fig. 3.]

The better equipped of the light-armed archers of this period have a costume which is very striking. Their head-dress consists of a broad fillet, elaborately patterned, from which there often depends on either side of the head a large lappet, also richly ornamented, generally of an oblong-square shape, and terminating in a fringe. [Pl. XCVIII., Fig. 2.] Below this they wear a closely fitting tunic, as short as that worn by the light-armed archers of Sargon,[102] sometimes patterned, like that, with squares and gradines, sometimes absolutely plain. The upper part of this tunic is crossed by two belts of very unusual breadth, which pass respectively over the right and the left shoulder. There is also a third broad belt round the waist; and both this and the transverse belts are adorned with elegant patterns. The phillibeg depends from the girdle, and is seen in its full extent, hanging either in front or on the right side. The arms are naked from the shoulder, and the legs from considerably above the knee, the feet alone being protected by a scanty sandal.[103] The ordinary short sword is worn at the side, and a quiver is carried at the back; the latter is sometimes kept in place by means of a horizontal strap which passes over it and round the body. [Pl. XCIX., Fig. 2.]

The archers of the lightest equipment wear nothing but a fillet, with or without lappets, upon the head, and a striped tunic,[104] longer behind than in front, which extends from the neck to the knees, and is confined at the waist by a girdle. [Pl. XCIX., Fig. 1.] Their arms, legs, and feet are bare, they

have seldom any sword, and their quiver seems to be suspended only by a single horizontal strap, like that represented in Pl. XCIX., Fig. 2. They do not appear very often upon the monuments: when seen, they are interspersed among archers and soldiers of other classes.

Sennacherib's foot spearmen are of two classes only. The better armed have pointed helmets, with lappets protecting the ears, a coat of mail descending to the waist and also covering all the upper part of the arms, a tunic opening at the side, a phillibeg, close-fitting trousers, and greaves of the ordinary character. [Pl. XCIX., Fig. 3.] They carry a large convex shield, apparently of metal, which covers them almost from head to foot, and a spear somewhat less than their own height[105] Commonly they have a short sword at their right side. Their shield is often ornamented with rows of bosses towards the centre and around the edge. It is ordinarily carried in front;[106] but when the warrior is merely upon the march, he often bears it slung at his back, as in the accompanying representation. There is reason to suspect that the spearmen of this description constituted the royal body-guard. They are comparatively few in number, and are usually seen in close proximity to the monarch, or in positions which imply trust, as in the care of prisoners and of the spoil. They never make the attacks in sieges, and are rarely observed to be engaged in battle. Where several of them are seen together, it is almost always in attendance upon the king whom they constantly precede upon his journeys.[107]

The inferior spearmen of Sennacherib are armed nearly like those of Sargon.[108] They have crested helmets, plain tunics confined at the waist by a broad girdle, cross-belts ornamented with circular disks where they meet in the centre of the breast, and, most commonly, round wicker shields. The chief points wherein they differ from Sargon's spearmen are the following: they usually (though not universally) wear trousers and greaves; they have sleeves to their tunics, which descend nearly to the elbow; and they carry sometimes, instead of the round shield, a long convex one arched at the top. [Pl. XCIX., Fig. 4.] Where they have not this defence, but the far commoner targe, it is always of larger dimensions than the targe of Sargon, and is generally surrounded by a rim. [Pl. XCIX., Fig. 4.] Sometimes it appears to be of metal; but more often it is of wickerwork, either of the plain construction common in Sargon's time, or of one considerably more elaborate.

Among the foot soldiers of Sennacherib we seem tc find a corps of pioneers.[109] They wear the same dress as the better equipped of the spearmen, but carry in their hands, instead of a spear, a doubled-headed axe or hatchet, wherewith they clear the ground for the passage and movements of the army. They work in pairs, one pulling at the tree by its branches while the other attacks the stem with his weapon.

After Sennacherib's time we find but few alterations in the equipment of the foot soldiers. Esarhaddon has left us no sculptures, and in those of his son and successor, Asshur-bani-pal, the costumes of Sennacherib are for the most part reproduced almost exactly. The chief difference is that there are not at this time quite so many varieties of equipment, both archers and spearmen being alike divided into two classes only, light-armed and heavy-armed. The light-armed archers correspond to Sennacherib's bowmen of the third class.[110] They have the fillet, the plain tunic, the cross-belts, the broad girdle, and the phillibeg. They differ only in having no lappets over the ears and no sandals. The heavy-armed archers resemble the first class[111] of Sennacherib exactly, except that they are not seen shooting from behind the *gerrhon*.

In the case of the spearmen, the only novelty consists in the shields. The spearmen of the heavier equipment, though sometimes they carry the old convex oval shield, more often have one which is made straight at the bottom, and rounded only at top. [Pl. C., Fig. 1.] The spearmen of the lighter equipment have likewise commonly a shield of this shape, but it is of wicker-work instead of metal, like that borne occasionally by the light-armed spearmen of Sennacherib.[112]

Besides spearmen and archers, we see among the foot soldiers of Asshur-bani-pal, slingers, mace-bearers, and men armed with battle-axes. For the slingers Sennacherib's heavy equipment[113] has been discarded; and they wear nothing but a plain tunic, with a girdle and cross-belts. [Pl. C., Fig. 2.] The mace-bearers and men with axes have the exact dress of Asshur-bani-pal's heavy-armed spearmen, and may possibly be spearmen who have broken or lost their weapons. It makes, however, against this view, that they have no shields, which spearmen always carry. Perhaps, therefore, we must conclude that towards the close of the empire, besides spearmen, slingers, and archers, there were distinct corps of mace-bearers[114] and axe-bearers.

The arms used by the Assyrians have been mentioned, and

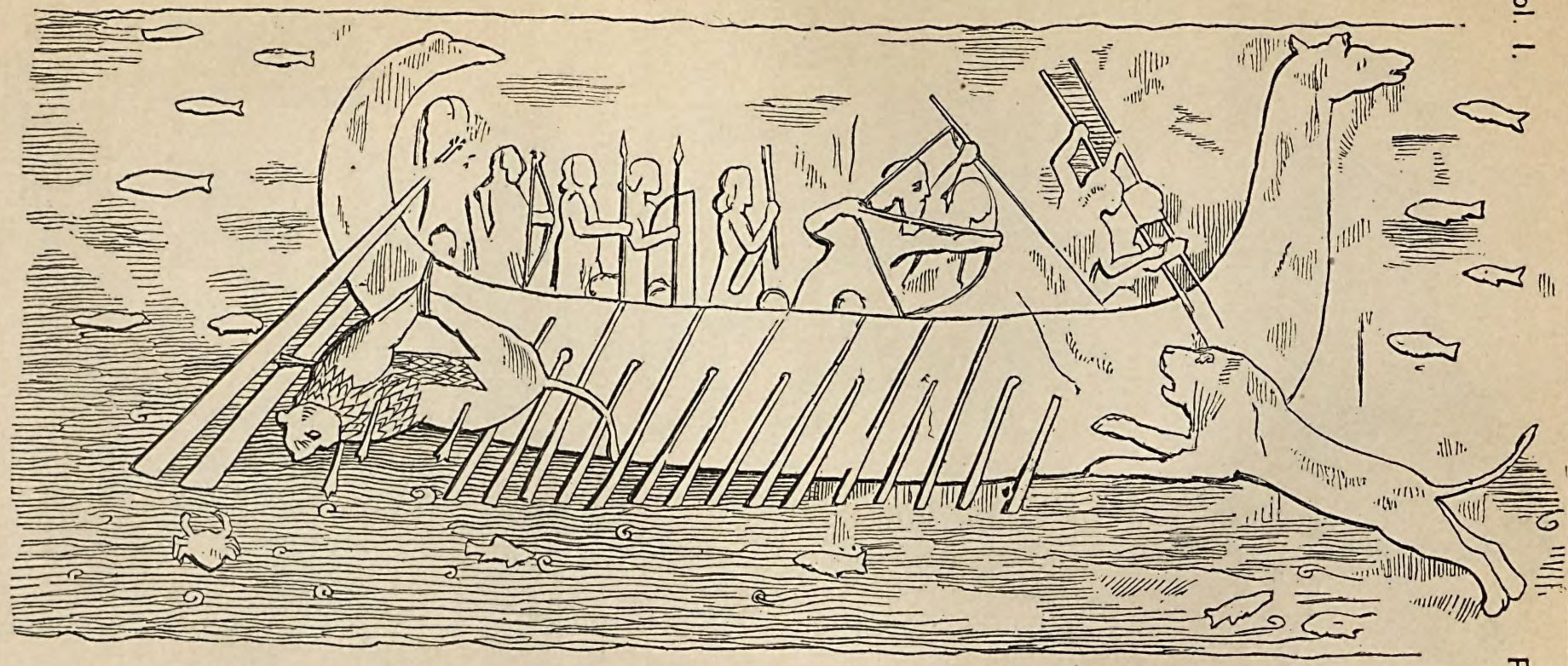
to a certain extent described, in the foregoing remarks upon the various classes of their soldiers. Some further details may, however, be now added on their character and on the variety observable in them.

The common Assyrian pointed helmet has been sufficiently described already, and has received abundant illustration both in the present and in former chapters. It was at first regarded as Scythic in character; but Mr. Layard long ago observed [115] that the resemblance which it bears to the Scythian cap is too slight to prove any connection. That cap appears, whether we follow the foreign or the native representations of it,[116] to have been of felt, whereas the Assyrian pointed helmet was made of metal; it was much taller than the Assyrian head-dress, and it was less upright. [Pl. C., Fig. 3.]

The pointed helmet admitted of but few varieties. In its simplest form it was a plain conical casque, with one or two rings round the base, and generally with a half-disk in front directly over the forehead. [Pl. C., Fig. 4.] Sometimes, however, there was appended to it a falling curtain covered with metal scales, whereby the chin, neck, ears, and back of the head were protected. More often it had, in lieu of this effectual but cumbrous guard, a mere lappet or cheek-piece, consisting of a plate of metal, attached to the rim, which descended over the ears in the form of a half-oval or semicircle. If we may judge by the remains actually found, the chief material of the helmet was iron;[117] copper was used only for the rings and the half-disk in front, which were inlaid into the harder metal.

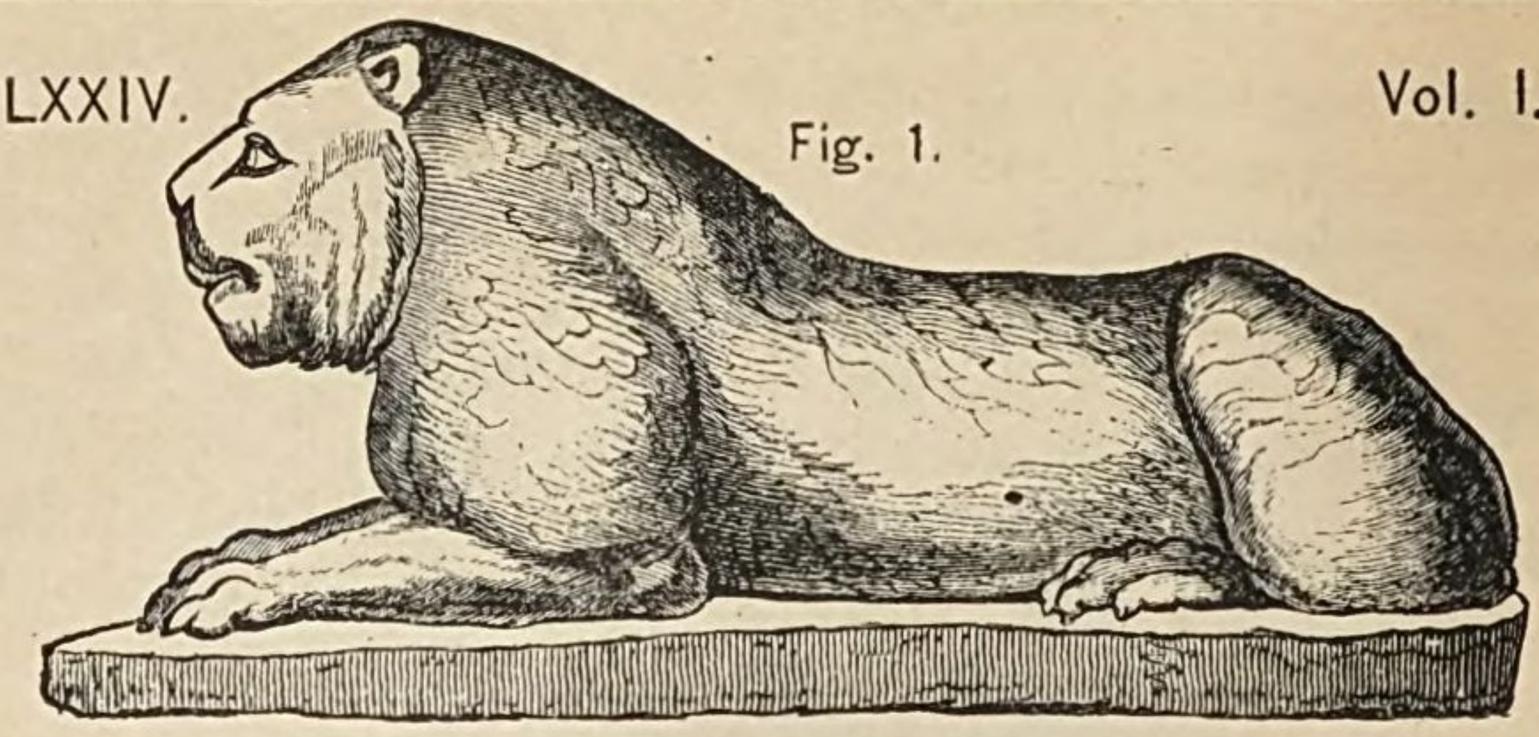
As if to compensate themselves for the uniformity to which they submitted in this instance, the Assyrians indulged in a variety of crested helmets. [Pl. C., Fig. 5.] We cannot positively say that they invented the crest;[118] but they certainly dealt with it in the free spirit which is usually seen where a custom is of home growth and not a foreign importation. They used either a plain metal crest, or one surmounted by tufts of hair; and they either simply curved the crest forwards over the front of the helmet, or extended it and carried it backwards also. In this latter case they generally made the curve a complete semicircle, while occasionally they were content with a small segment, less even than a quarter of a circle.[119] They also varied considerably the shape of the lappet over the ear, and the depth of the helmet behind and before the lappet.

Assyrian coats of mail were of three sizes, and of two dif-



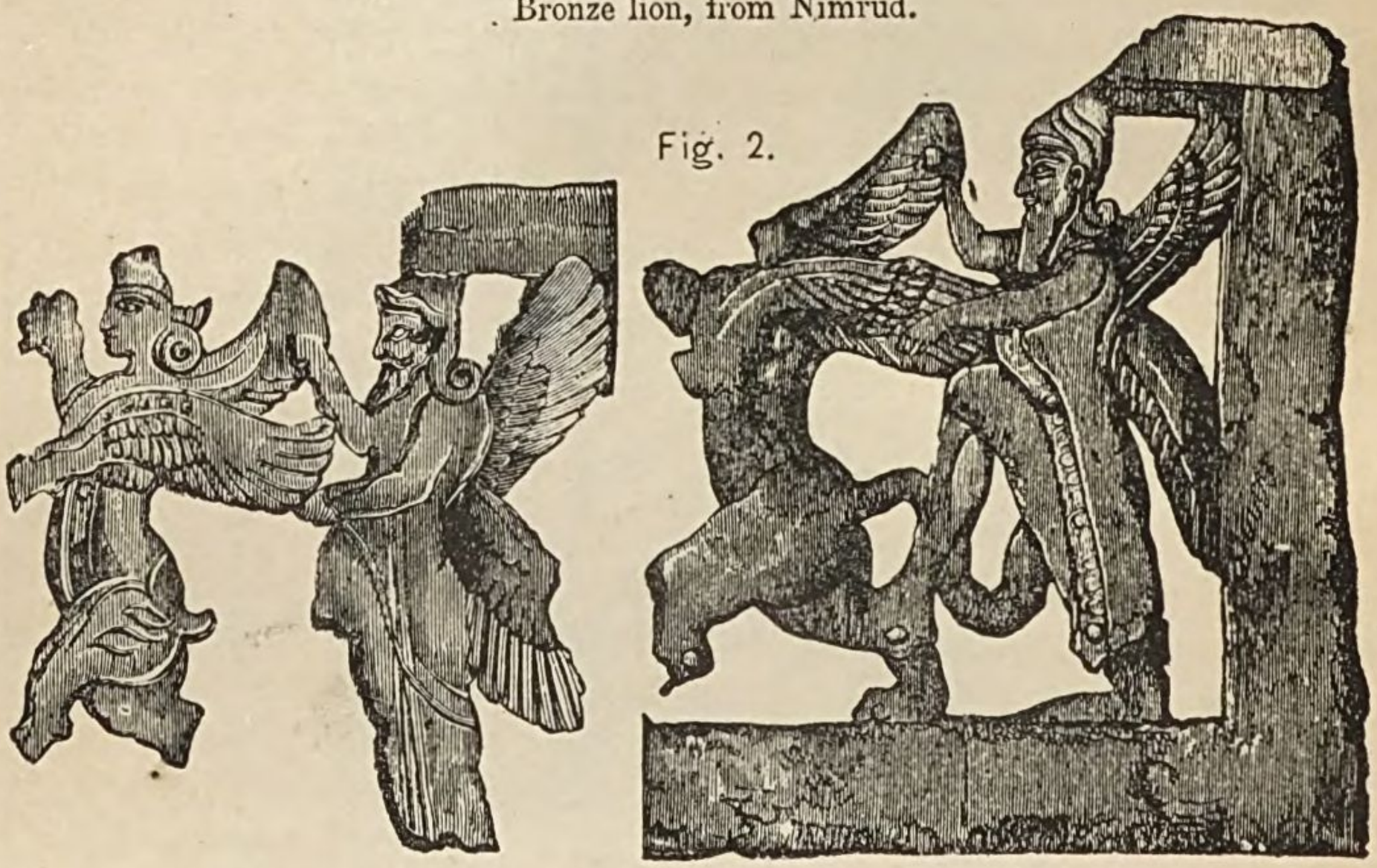
Lion-hunt in a river, from the North Palace, Koyunjik (ab. B. C. 660).

Fig. 1.



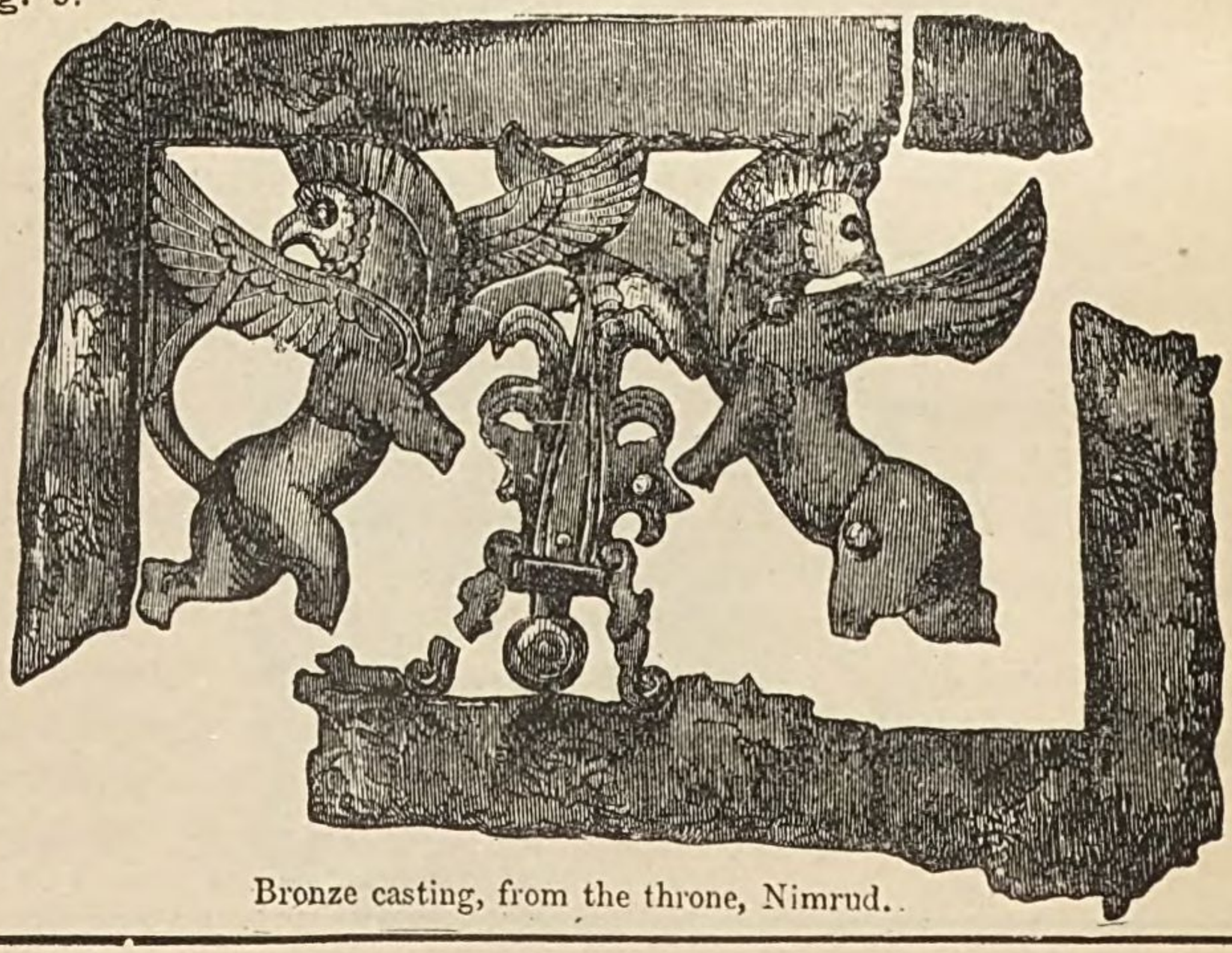
Bronze lion, from Nimrud.

Fig. 2.



Fragments of bronze ornaments of the throne from Nimrud.

Fig. 3.



Bronze casting, from the throne, Nimrud.

ferent constructions. In the earlier times they were worn long, descending either to the feet or to the knees; and at this period they seem to have been composed simply of successive rows of similar iron scales sewn on to a shirt of linen or felt. [Pl. CI., Fig. 1.] Under the later monarchs the coat of mail reached no lower than the waist, and it was composed of alternate bands of dissimilar arrangement and perhaps of different material. Mr. Layard suggests that at this time the scales, which were larger than before, were "fastened to bands of iron or copper."[120] But it is perhaps more probable that scales of the old character alternated in rows with scales of a new shape and smaller dimensions. [Pl. CI., Fig. 2.] The old scales were oblong, squared at one end and rounded at the other, very much resembling the Egyptian. They were from two to three inches, or more, in length, and were placed side by side, so that their greater length corresponded with the height of the wearer. The new scales seem to have been not more than an inch long; they appear to have been pointed at one end, and to have been laid horizontally, each a little overlapping its fellow.[121] It was probably found that this construction, while possessing quite as much strength as the other, was more favorable to facility of movement.

Remains of armor belonging to the second period have been discovered in the Assyrian ruins.[122] The scales are frequently embossed over their whole surface with groups of figures and fanciful ornaments. The small scales of the first period have no such elaborate ornamentation, being simply embossed in the centre with a single straight line, which is of copper inlaid into the iron.[123]

The Assyrian coat of mail, like the Egyptian,[124] had commonly a short sleeve, extending about half way down to the elbow. [Pl. CI., Fig. 3.] This was either composed of scales set similarly to those of the rest of the cuirass,[125] or of two, three, or more rows placed at right angles to the others. The greater part of the arm was left without any protection.

A remarkable variety existed in the form and construction of the Assyrian shields. The most imposing kind is that which has been termed the *gerrhon*, from its apparent resemblance to the Persian shield mentioned under that name by Herodotus.[126] [Pl. CI., Fig. 4.] This was a structure in wickerwork, which equalled or exceeded the warrior in height, and which was broad enough to give shelter to two or even three men. In shape it was either an oblong square, or such a square with

a projection at top, which stood out at right angles to the body of the shield; or, lastly, and most usually, it curved inwards from a certain height, gradually narrowing at the same time, and finally ending in a point. Of course a shield of this vast size, even although formed of a light material, was too heavy to be very readily carried upon the arm. The plan adopted was to rest it upon the ground, on which it was generally held steady by a warrior armed with sword or spear, while his comrade, whose weapon was the bow, discharged his arrows from behind its shelter. Its proper place was in sieges, where the roof-like structure at the top was especially useful in warding off the stones and other missiles which the besieged threw down upon their assailants. We sometimes see it employed by single soldiers, who lean the point against the wall[127] of the place, and, ensconcing themselves beneath the penthouse thus improvised, proceed to carry on the most critical operations of the siege in almost complete security.

Modifications of this shield, reducing it to a smaller and more portable size, were common in the earlier times, when among the shields most usually borne we find one of wicker-work oblong-square in shape, and either perfectly flat, or else curving slightly inwards both at top and at bottom.[128] This shield was commonly about half the height of a man, or a little more; it was often used as a protection for two,[129] but must have been scanty for that purpose.

Round shields were commoner in Assyria than any others. They were used by most of those who fought in chariots, by the early monarchs' personal attendants, by the cross-belted spearmen, and by many of the spearmen who guarded archers. In the most ancient times they seem to have been universally made of solid metal, and consequently they were small, perhaps not often exceeding two feet, or two feet and a half, in diameter.[130] They were managed by means of a very simple handle, placed in the middle of the shield at the back, and fastened to it by studs or nails, which was not passed over the arm but grasped by the hand.[131] The rim was bent inwards, so as to form a deep groove all round the edge. The material of which these shields were composed was in some cases certainly bronze;[132] in others it may have been iron; in a few silver, or even gold.[133] Some metal shields were perfectly plain; others exhibited a number of concentric rings;[134] others again were inlaid or embossed with tasteful and elaborate patterns.

Among the later Assyrians the round metal shield seems to have been almost entirely disused, its place being supplied by a wicker buckler of the same shape, with a rim round the edge made of solid wood or of metal, and sometimes with a boss in the centre.[135] [Pl. CII., Fig. 1.] The weight of the metal shield must have been considerable; and this both limited their size and made it difficult to move them with rapidity. With the change of material we perceive a decided increase of magnitude, the diameter of the wicker buckler being often fully half the warrior's height, or not much short of three feet.

Convex shields, generally of an oblong form, were also in common use during the later period, and one kind is found in the very earliest sculptures. This is of small dimensions and of a clumsy make.[136] Its curve is slight, and it is generally ornamented with a perpendicular row of spikes or teeth, in the centre of which we often see the head of a lion. [Pl. CII., Fig. 2.]

The convex shields of later date were very much larger than these. [Pl. CIII., Fig. 3.] They were sometimes square at bottom and rounded at top, in which case they were either made of wickerwork, or (apparently) of metal.[137] These latter had generally a boss in the centre, and both this and the edge of the shield were often ornamented with a row of rosettes or rings. Shields of this shape were from four to five feet in height, and protected the warrior from the head to the knee. On a march they were often worn upon the back, like the convex shield of the Egyptians, which they greatly resembled.

The more ordinary convex shield was of an oval form, like the convex shield of the Greeks,[138] but larger, and with a more prominent centre. [Pl. CIII., Fig. 1.] In its greater diameter it must often have exceeded five feet, though no doubt sometimes it was smaller. It was generally ornamented with narrow bands round the edge and round the boss at the centre, the space between the bands being frequently patterned with rings or otherwise. Like the other form of convex shield, it could be slung at the back,[139] and was so carried on marches, on crossing rivers,[140] and other similar occasions.

The offensive arms certainly used by the Assyrians were the bow, the spear, the sword, the mace, the sling, the axe or hatchet, and the dagger. They may also have occasionally made use of the javelin, which is sometimes seen among the arrows of a quiver. But the actual employment of this weapon

in war has not yet been found upon the bas-reliefs. If faithfully represented, it must have been very short,—scarcely, if at all, exceeding three feet.[141] [Pl. CIII., Fig. 2.]

Assyrian bows were of two kinds, curved and angular. Compared with the Egyptian,[142] and with the bows used by the archers of the middle ages, they were short, the greatest length of the strung bow being about four feet. They seem to have been made of a single piece of wood, which in the angular bow was nearly of the same thickness throughout, but in the curved one tapered gradually towards the two extremities. At either end was a small knob or button, in the later times often carved into the representation of a duck's head. [Pl. CIII., Fig. 3.] Close above this was a notch or groove, whereby the string was held in place. The mode of stringing was one still frequently practised in the East. The bowman stooped, and placing his right knee against the middle of the bow on its inner side, pressed it downwards, at the same time drawing the two ends of the bow upwards with his two hands. [Pl. CIII., Fig. 4.] A comrade stood by, and, when the ends were brought sufficiently near, slipped the string over the knob into the groove, where it necessarily remained. The bend of the bow, thus strung, was slight. When full drawn, however, it took the shape of a half-moon, which shows that it must have possessed great elasticity. [Pl. CIV., Fig. 4.] The bow was known to be full drawn when the head of the arrow touched the archer's left hand.

The Assyrian angular bow was of smaller size than the curved one. It was not often carried unless as a reserve by those who also possessed the larger and better weapon. [Pl. CIV., Fig. 5.]

Bows were but seldom unstrung. When not in use, they were carried strung, the archer either holding them by the middle with his left hand, or putting his arm through them, and letting them rest upon his shoulders,[143] or finally carrying them at his back in a bow-case. [Pl. CIV., Fig. 1.] The bow-case was a portion of the quiver, as frequently with the Greeks,[144] and held only the lower half of the bow, the upper portion projecting from it.

Quivers were carried by foot and horse archers at their backs, in a diagonal position, so that the arrows could readily be drawn from them over the right shoulder. They were commonly slung in this position by a strap of their own, attached to two rings, one near the top and the other near the bottom

of the quiver, which the archer slipped over his left arm and his head. Sometimes, however, this strap seems to have been wanting, and the quiver was either thrust through one of the cross-belts, or attached by a strap which passed horizontally round the body a little above the girdle.[145] [Pl. CIV., Fig. 2.] The archers who rode in chariots carried their quivers at the chariot's side, in the manner which has been already described and illustrated.[146]

The ornamentation of quivers was generally elaborate. [Pl. CIV., Fig. 3.] Rosettes and bands constituted their most usual adornment; but sometimes these gave place to designs of a more artistic character, as wild bulls, griffins, and other mythic figures. Several examples of a rich type have been already given in the representations of chariots,[147] but none exhibit this peculiarity. One further specimen of a chariot quiver is therefore appended, which is among the most tasteful hitherto discovered. [Pl. CIV., Fig. 3.]

The quivers of the foot and horse archers were less richly adorned than those of the bowmen who rode in chariots, but still they were in almost every case more or less patterned. The rosette and the band here too constituted the chief resource of the artist, who, however, often introduced with good effect other well-known ornaments, as the guilloche, the boss and cross, the zigzag, etc.

Sometimes the quiver had an ornamented rod attached to it, which projected beyond the arrows and terminated in a pomegranate blossom or other similar carving. [Pl. CV., Fig. 1]. To this rod was attached the rings which received the quiver strap, a triple tassel hanging from them at the point of attachment. The strap was probably of leather, and appears to have been twisted or plaited.

It is uncertain whether the material of the quivers was wood or metal. As, however, no remains of quivers have been discovered in any of the ruins, while helmets, shields, daggers, spear-heads, and arrow-heads have been found in tolerable abundance, we may perhaps assume that they were of the more fragile substance, which would account for their destruction. In this case their ornamentation may have been either by carving or painting,[148] the bosses and rosettes being perhaps in some cases of metal, mother-of-pearl, or ivory. Ornaments of this kind were discovered by hundreds at Nimrud in a chamber which contained arms of many descriptions.[149] Quivers have in some cases a curious rounded head,

which seems to have been a lid or cap used for covering the arrows.[150] They have also, occasionally, instead of this, a kind of bag[151] at their top, which falls backwards, and is ornamented with tassels. [Pl. CV., Fig. 2.] Both these constructions, however, are exceptional, a very large majority of the quivers being open, and having the feathered ends of the arrows projecting from them.

There is nothing remarkable in the Assyrian arrows except their perfect finish and completeness in all that constitutes the excellence of such a weapon. The shaft was thin and straight, and was probably of reed, or of some light and tough wood.[152] The head was of metal,[153] either of bronze or iron, and was generally diamond-shaped, like a miniature spear-head. [Pl. CV., Fig. 4.] It was flattish, and for greater strength had commonly a strongly raised line down the centre. The lower end was hollowed, and the shaft was inserted into it. The notching and feathering of the shaft were carefully attended to. It is doubtful whether three feathers were used, as by ourselves and by the Egyptians,[154] or two only, as by many nations. The fact that we never see more than two feathers upon the monuments cannot be considered decisive, since the Assyrian artists, from their small knowledge of perspective, would have been unable to represent all three feathers. So far as we can judge from the representations, it would seem that the feathers were glued to the wood exactly as they are with ourselves. The notch was somewhat large, projecting beyond the line of the shaft—a construction rendered necessary by the thickness of the bowstring, which was seldom less than of the arrow itself. [Pl. CV., Fig. 5.]

The mode of drawing the bow was peculiar. It was drawn neither to the ear, nor to the breast, but to the shoulder. In the older sculptures the hand that draws it is represented in a curiously cramped and unnatural position,[155] which can scarcely be supposed to be true to nature. But in the later bas-reliefs greater accuracy seems to have been attained, and there we probably see the exact mode in which the shooting was actually managed. The arrow was taken below the feathers by the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the forefinger bent down upon it in the way represented in the accompanying illustration, and the notch being then placed upon the string, the arrow was drawn backwards by the thumb and forefinger only, the remaining three fingers taking no part in the operation. [Pl. CVI., Fig. 1.] The bow was grasped by the left hand

between the fingers and the muscle of the thumb, the thumb itself being raised, and the arrow made to pass between it and the bow, by which it was kept in place and prevented from slipping. The arrow was then drawn till the cold metal head touched the forefinger of the left hand, upon which the right hand quitted its hold, and the shaft sped on its way. To save the left arm from being bruised or cut by the bowstring, a guard, often simply yet effectively ornamented, was placed upon it, at one end passing round the thumb and at the other round the arm a little above the elbow. [Pl. CVI., Fig. 2.]

The Assyrians had two kinds of spears, one a comparatively short weapon, varying from five to six feet in length, with which they armed a portion of their foot soldiers, the other a weapon nine or ten feet long, which was carried by most of their cavalry.[156] The shaft seems in both cases to have been of wood, and the head was certainly of metal, either bronze or iron.[157] [Pl. CVI., Fig. 3.] It was most usually diamond-shaped, but sometimes the side angles were rounded off, and the contour became that of an elongated pear. [Pl. CVI., Fig. 4.] In other instances, the jambs of the spear-head were exceedingly short, and the point long and tapering. The upper end of the shaft was sometimes weighted,[158] and it was often carved into some ornamental form, as a fir-cone or a pomegranate blossom, while in the earlier times it was further occasionally adorned with streamers. [Pl. CVI., Fig. 4.] The spear of the Assyrians seems never to have been thrown, like that of the Greeks, but was only used to thrust with, as a pike.

The common sword of the Assyrians was a short straight weapon, like the sword of the Egyptians, or the *acinaces* of the Persians.[159] It was worn at the left side, generally slung by a belt of its own which was passed over the right shoulder, but sometimes thrust through the girdle or (apparently) through the armor.[160] It had a short rounded handle, more or less ornamented (Pl. CVII., Fig. 1), but without any cross-bar or guard,[161] and a short blade which tapered gradually from the handle to the point. The swordsman commonly thrust with his weapon, but he could cut with it likewise, for it was with this arm that the Assyrian warrior was wont to decapitate his fallen enemy. The sheath of the sword was almost always tastefully designed, and sometimes possessed artistic excellence of a high order. [Pl. CVII., Fig. 3.] The favorite terminal ornament consisted of two lions clasping one another, with their heads averted and their mouths agape. Above this, pat-

terns in excellent taste usually adorned the scabbard, which moreover exhibited occasionally groups of figures, sacred trees, and other mythological objects.

Instead of the short sword, the earlier warriors had a weapon of a considerable length. This was invariably slung at the side by a cross-belt passing over the shoulder. In its ornamentation it closely resembled the later short sword, but its hilt was longer and more tasteful.

One or two instances occur where the sword of an Assyrian warrior is represented as curved slightly. The sheath in these cases is plain, and terminates in a button. [Pl. CVII., Fig. 5.]

The Assyrian mace was a short thin weapon, and must either have been made of a very tough wood, or—and this is more probable—of metal. [Pl. CVIII., Fig. 1.] It had an ornamented head, which was sometimes very beautifully modelled and generally a strap or string at the lower end, by which it could be grasped with greater firmness. Foot archers frequently carried it in battle, especially those who were in close attendance upon the king's person. It seems, however, not to have been often used as a warlike weapon until the time of the latest sculptures, when we see it wielded, generally with both hands, by a certain number of the combatants.[162] In peace it was very commonly borne by the royal attendants, and it seems also to have been among the weapons used by the monarch himself, for whom it is constantly carried by one of those who wait most closely upon his person. [Pl. CVIII., Fig. 1.]

The battle-axe was a weapon but rarely employed by the Assyrians. It is only in the very latest sculptures and in a very few instances that we find axes represented as used by the warriors for any other purpose besides the felling of trees. Where they are seen in use against the enemy, the handle is short, the head somewhat large, and the weapon wielded with one hand. Battle-axes had heads of two kinds. [Pl. CVIII., Fig. 1.] Some were made with two blades, like the *bipennis* of the Romans, and the *labra* of the Lydians and Carians;[163] others more nearly resembled the weapons used by our own knights in the middle ages, having a single blade, and a mere ornamental point on the other side of the haft.

The dagger was worn by the Assyrian kings at almost all times in their girdles, and was further often assigned to the mythic winged beings, hawk-headed or human-headed, which occur so frequently in the sculptures; but it seems to have been very seldom carried by subjects.[164] It had commonly a

straight handle, slightly concave, and very richly chased, exhibiting the usual Assyrian patterns, rosettes, chevrons, guilloches, pine-cones, and the like. [Pl. CVII., Fig. 6.] Sometimes, however, it was still more artistically shaped, being cast into the form of a horse's head and neck. In this case there was occasionally a chain attached at one end to the horse's chin, and at the other to the bottom of his neck, which, passing outside the hand, would give it a firmer hold on the weapon. The sheaths of daggers seem generally to have been plain, or nearly so, but occasionally they terminated in the head of an animal, from whose mouth depended a tassel. [Pl. CVIII., Fig. 2.]

Though the Assyrian troops were not marshalled by the aid of standards, like the Roman and the Egyptian, yet still a kind of standard is occasionally to be recognized in the bas-reliefs. This consists of a pole of no great height, fixed upright at the front of a chariot, between the charioteer and the warrior, and carrying at the top a circular frame, within which are artistic representations of gods or sacred animals. Two bulls, back to back, either trotting or running at speed, are a favorite device. Above them sometimes stands a figure in a horned cap, shooting his arrows against the enemy. Occasionally only one bull is represented, and the archer shoots standing upon the bull's back.[165] Below the circular framework are minor ornaments, as lions' and bulls' heads, or streamers adorned with tassels.[166] [Pl. CVIII., Fig. 2.]

We do not obtain much information from the monuments with respect to the military organization or the the tactics of the Assyrians. It is clear, however, that they had advanced beyond the first period in military matters, when men fight in a confused mass of mingled horse, foot, and chariots, heavy-armed and light-armed spearmen, archers, and slingers, each standing and moving as mere chance may determine. It is even certain that they had advanced beyond the second period, when the phalanx order of battle is adopted, the confused mass being replaced by a single serried body presenting its best armed troops to the enemy, and keeping in the rear, to add their weight to the charge, the weaker and more imperfectly protected. It was not really left for Cyaxares the Mede to "be the first to organize an Asiatic army—to divide the troops into companies and form distinct bodies of the spearmen, the archers, and the cavalry."[167] The Assyrian troops were organized in this way, at least from the time of Sennacherib, on

whose sculptures we find, in the first place, bodies of cavalry on the march unaccompanied by infantry;[168] secondly, engagements where cavalry only are acting against the enemy;[169] thirdly, long lines of spearmen on foot marching in double file, and sometimes divided into companies;[170] and, fourthly, archers drawn up together, but similarly divided into companies, each distinguished by its own uniform.[171] We also meet with a corps of pioneers, wearing a uniform and armed only with a hatchet,[172] and with bodies of slingers, who are all armed and clothed alike.[173] If, in the battles and the sieges of this time, the troops seem to be to a great extent confused together, we may account for it partly by the inability of the Assyrian artists to represent bodies of troops in perspective,[174] partly by their not aiming at an actual, but rather at a typical representation of events,[175] and partly also by their fondness for representing, not the preparation for battle or its first shock, but the rout and flight of the enemy and their own hasty pursuit of them.

The wars of the Assyrians, like those of ancient Rome, consisted of annual inroads into the territories of their neighbors, repeated year after year, till the enemy was exhausted, sued for peace, and admitted the suzerainty of the more powerful nation. The king in person usually led forth his army, in spring or early summer, when the mountain passes were opened, and, crossing his own borders, invaded some one or other of the adjacent countries. The monarch himself invariably rode forth in his chariot, arrayed in his regal robes, and with the tiara upon his head; he was accompanied by numerous attendants, and generally preceded and followed by the spearmen of the Royal Guard, and a detachment of horse-archers. Conspicuous among the attendants were the charioteer who managed the reins, and the parasol-bearer, commonly a eunuch, who, standing in the chariot behind the monarch, held the emblem of sovereignty over his head. A bow-bearer, a quiver-bearer, and a mace-bearer were usually also in attendance, walking before or behind the chariot of the king, who, however, did not often depend for arms wholly upon them, but carried a bow in his left hand, and one or more arrows in his right, while he had a further store of the latter either in or outside his chariot. Two or three led horses were always at hand, to furnish a means of escape in any difficulty. The army, marshalled in its several corps, in part preceded the royal *cortége*, in part followed at a little distance behind it.[176]

On entering the enemy's country, if a wooded tract presented itself, the corps of pioneers was thrown out in advance, and cleared away the obstructions. When a river was reached too deep to be forded, the horses were detached from the royal and other chariots by grooms and attendants; the chariots themselves were embarked upon boats and rowed across the stream; while the horses, attached by ropes to a post near the stern of the boat, swam after it. The horses of the cavalry were similarly drawn across by their riders. The troops, both cavalry and infantry, and the attendants, a very numerous body, swam the stream, generally upon inflated skins,[177] which they placed under them, holding the neck in their left hand, and sometimes increasing the inflation as they went by applying the orifice at the top of the neck to their mouths. [Pl. CVIII., Fig. 3.] We have no direct evidence as to the mode in which the baggage of an army, which must have been very considerable, was conveyed, either along the general line of route, or when it was necessary to cross a river. We may conjecture that in the latter case it was probably placed upon rafts supported on inflated skins, such as those which conveyed stones from distant quarries to be used in the Assyrian buildings.[178] In the former, we may perhaps assume that the conveyance was chiefly by beasts of burden, camels and asses, as the author of the book of Judith imagined.[179] Carts may have been used to some extent; since they were certainly employed to convey back to Assyria the spoil of the conquered nations.[180]

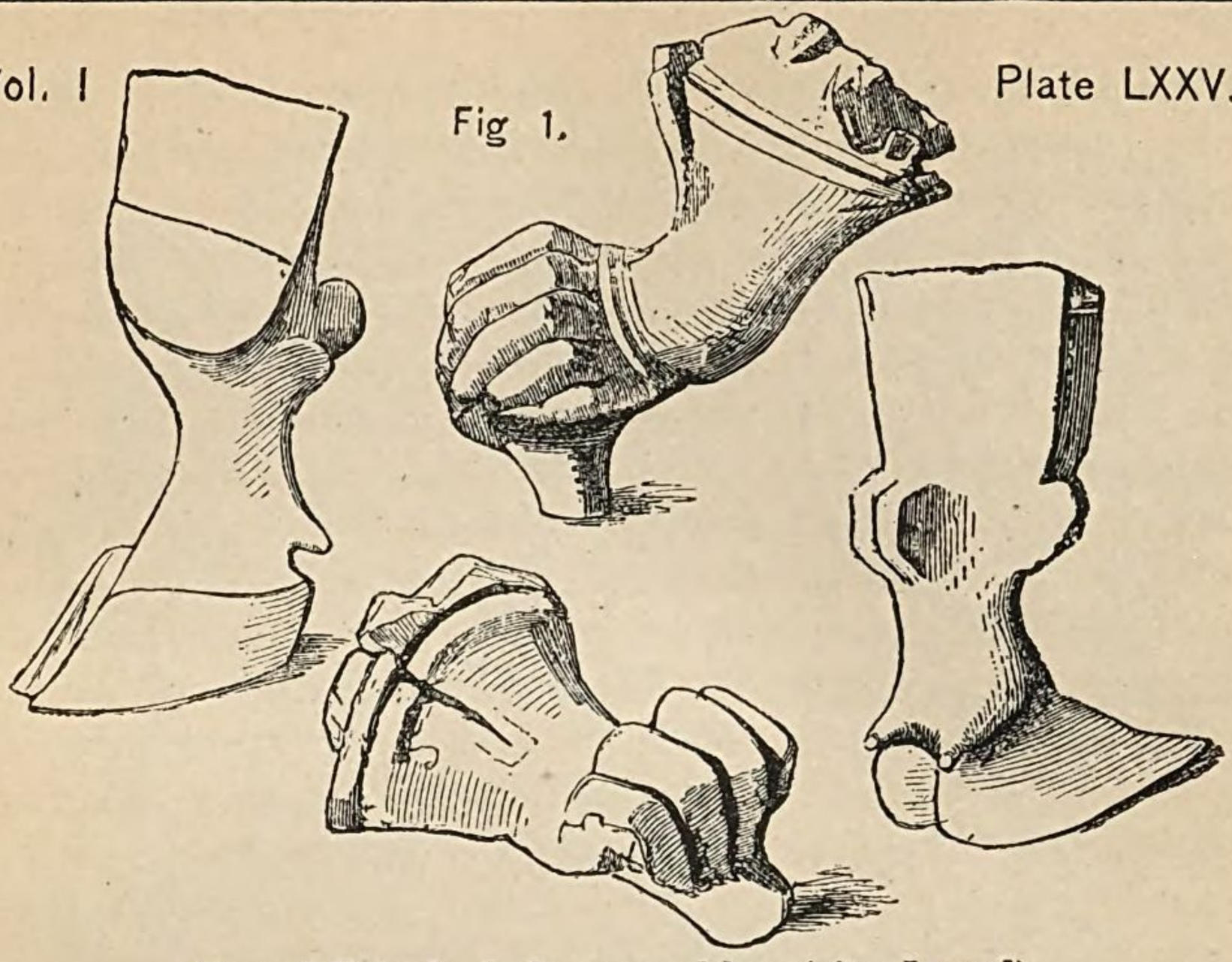
It does not appear whether the army generally was provided with tents or not. Possibly the bulk of the soldiers may have bivouacked in the open field, unless when they were able to obtain shelter in towns or villages taken from the enemy. Tents, however, were certainly provided for the monarch and his suite. [Pl. CIX., Fig. 1.] Like the tents of the Romans, these appear to have been commonly pitched within a fortified enclosure, which was of an oval shape.[181] They were disposed in rows, and were all nearly similar in construction and form, the royal tent being perhaps distinguished from the others by a certain amount of ornamentation and by a slight superiority of size. The material used for the covering was probably felt.[182] All the tents were made open to the sky in the centre, but closed in at either extremity with a curious semicircular top. [Pl. CIX., Fig. 1.] The two tops were unequal of size. Internally, either both of them, or at any rate the larger ones, were sup-

ported by a central pole, which threw out branches in different directions resembling the branches of a tree or the spokes of a parasol. Sometimes the walls of the tent had likewise the support of poles, which were kept in place by ropes passed obliquely from the top of each to the ground in front of them, and then firmly secured by pegs. Each tent had a door, square-headed, which was placed at the side, near the end which had the smaller covering. The furniture of tents consisted of tables, couches, footstools, and domestic utensils of various kinds. [PL. CIX., Fig. 1.] Within the fortified enclosure, but outside the tents, were the chariot and horses of the monarch, an altar where sacrifice could be made, and a number of animals suitable for food, as oxen, sheep, and goats.[183]

It appears that occasionally the advance of the troops was along a road.[184] Ordinarily, however, they found no such convenience, but had to press forward through woods and over mountains as they best could. Whatever the obstructions, the chariot of the monarch was in some way or other conveyed across them, though it is difficult to suppose that he could have always remained, as he is represented, seated in it. Probably he occasionally dismounted, and made use of one of the led horses by which he was always accompanied, while sometimes he even condescended to proceed on foot.[185] [Pl. CIX., Fig. 2.] The use of palanquins or litters seem not to have been known to the Assyrians, though it was undoubtedly very ancient in Asia; but the king was sometimes carried on men's shoulders, seated on his throne in the way that we see the enthroned gods borne in many of the sculptures.[186]

The first object in entering a country was to fight, if possible, a pitched battle with the inhabitants. The Assyrians were always confident of victory in such an encounter, being better armed, better disciplined, and perhaps of stronger frames than any of their neighbors.[187] There is no evidence to show how their armies were drawn up, or how the troops were handled in an engagement; but it would seem that in most cases, after a longer or a shorter resistance, the enemy broke and fled, sometimes throwing away his arms, at other times fighting as he retired, always vigorously pursued by horse and foot, and sometimes driven headlong into a river.[188] Quarter was not very often given in a battle. The barbarous practice of rewarding those who carried back to camp the heads of foemen prevailed; and this led to the massacre in many cases even of the wounded, the disarmed, and the unresisting, though occa-

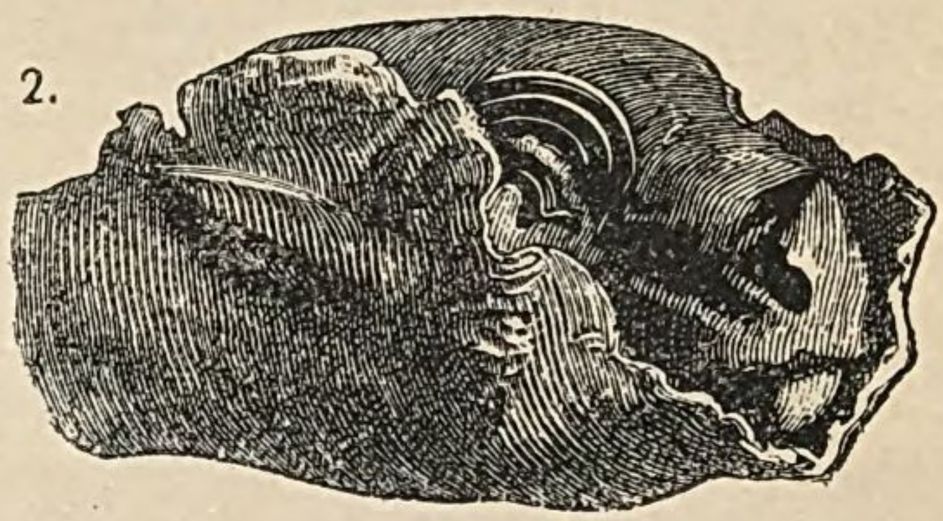
Fig 1.



Feet of Tripods, in bronze and iron (after Layard).

Fig. 2.

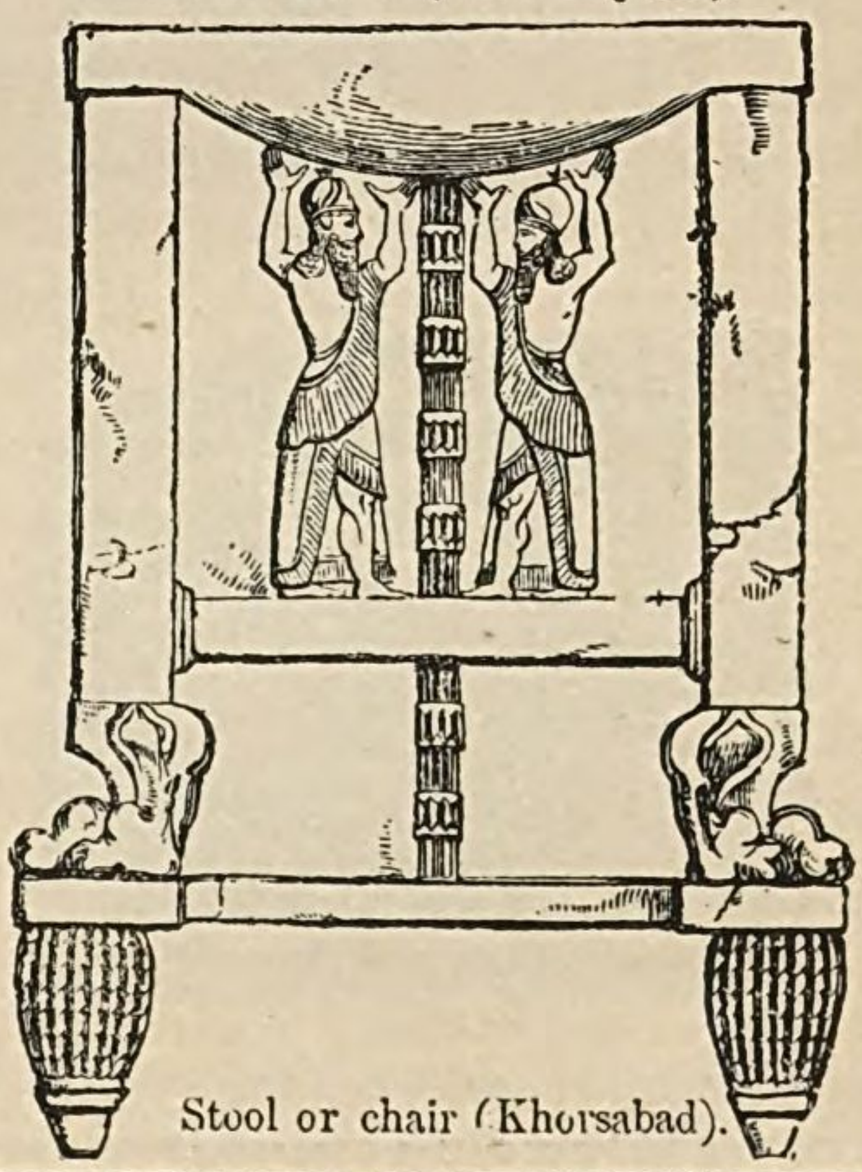
Bronze Bull's Head, from Throne (after Layard)



Bronze Head, part of Throne, showing bitumen inside (after Layard).

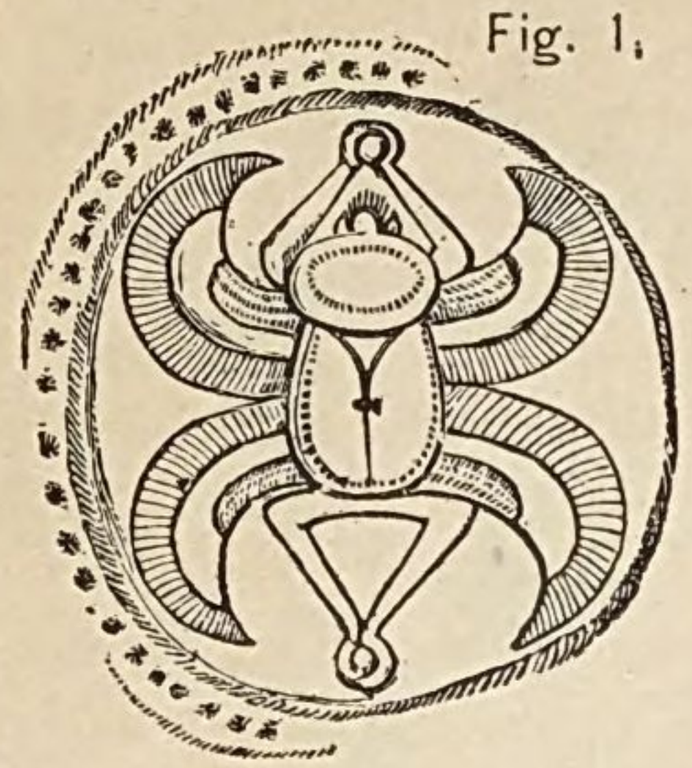
Fig. 3.

End of a sword-sheath.
(N.-W. Palace, Nimrud.)



Stool or chair (Khorsabad).

Fig. 1.



Engraved scarab in centre of cup.
(N.-W. Palace, Nimrud.)

Fig. 3.

Earring.
(N.W. Palace.
Nimrud.)

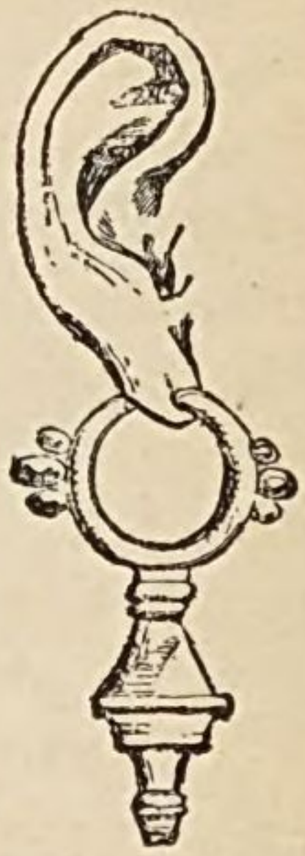


Fig. 2.

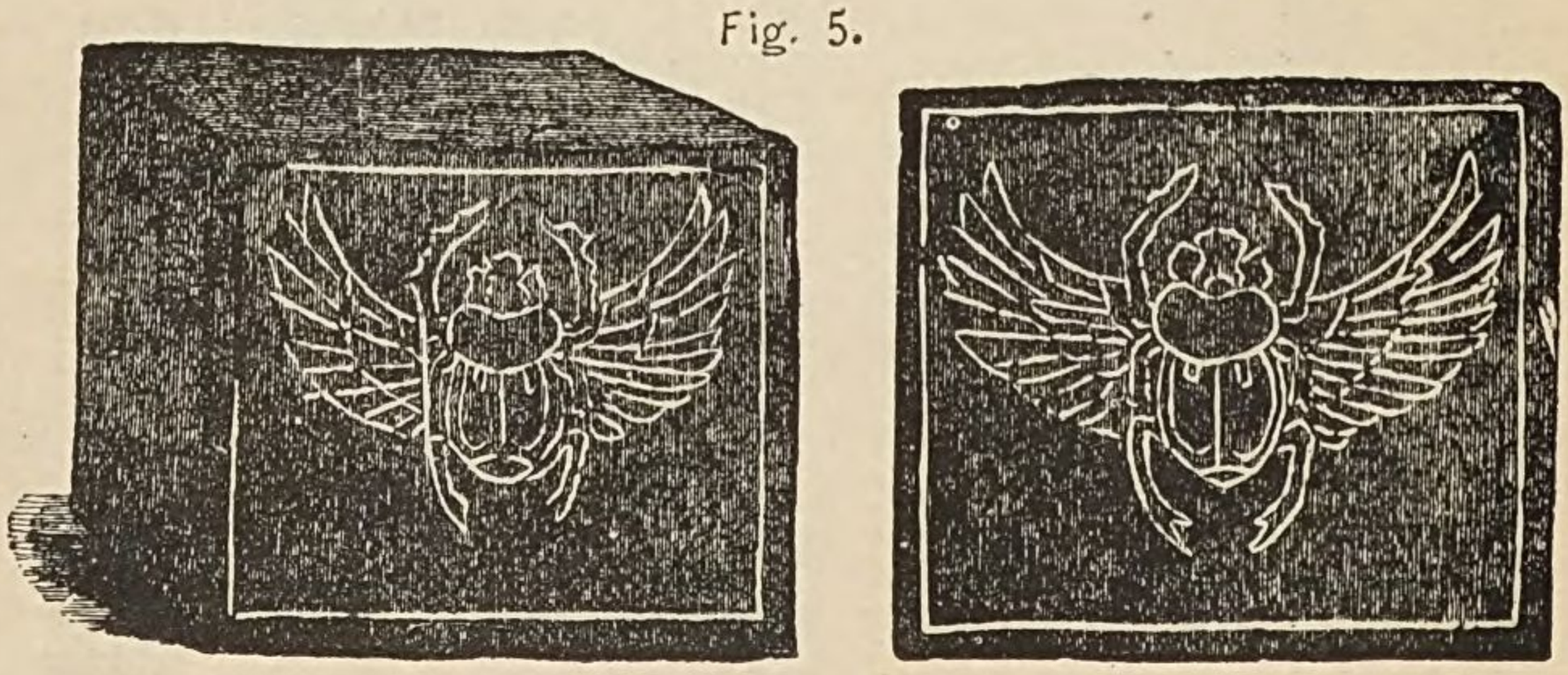
No. I. No. II.
Egyptian head-dresses on bronze dishes, from Nimrud.

Assyrian earrings.
(Khorsabad.)

Fig. 4.

Egyptian scarab (from Wilkinson).

Fig. 5.



Bronze cubes inlaid with gold. (Original size.)

sionally quarter was given, more especially to generals and other leading personages whom it was of importance to take alive. Even while the engagement continued, it would seem that soldiers might quit the ranks, decapitate a fallen foe, and carry off his head to the rear, without incurring any reproof;[189] and it is certain that, so soon as the engagement was over, the whole army turned to beheading the fallen, using for this purpose the short sword which almost every warrior carried at his left side. A few unable to obtain heads, were forced to be content with gathering the spoils of the slain and of the fled, especially their arms, such as quivers, bows, helmets, and the like; while their more fortunate comrades, proceeding to an appointed spot in the rear,[190] exhibited the tokens of their valor, or of their good luck, to the royal scribes, who took an exact account of the amount of the spoil, and of the number of the enemy killed.

When the enemy could no longer resist in the open field, he usually fled to his strongholds. Almost all the nations with whom the Assyrians waged their wars possessed fortified cities, or castles, which seem to have been places constructed with a good deal of skill, and possessed of no inconsiderable strength. According to the representations of the sculptures, they were all nearly similar in character, the defences consisting of high battlemented walls, pierced with loopholes or windows towards their upper part, and flanked at intervals along their whole course by towers. [Pl. CIX., Fig. 3.] Often they possessed two or more enceintes, which in the bas-reliefs are represented one above the other; and in these cases the outermost circuit was sometimes a mere plain continuous wall, as in the illustration. They were entered by large gateways, most commonly arched, and closed by two huge gates or doors, which completely filled up the aperture. Occasionally, however, the gateways were square-headed, as in the illustration, where there occurs, moreover, a very curious ornamentation of the battlements.[191] [Pl. CX., Fig. 1.]

These fortified places the Assyrians attacked in three principal ways. Sometimes they endeavored to take them by escalade, advancing for this purpose a number of long ladders against different parts of the walls, thus distracting the enemy's attention and seeking to find a weak point. Up the ladders proceeded companies of spearmen and archers in combination, the spearmen invariably taking the lead, since their large shields afforded them a protection which archers advancing in

file up a ladder could not have. Meanwhile from below a constant discharge was kept up by bowmen and slingers, the former of whom were generally protected by the *gerrhon* or high wicker shield, held in front of them by a comrade. The besieged endeavored to dislodge and break the ladders, which are often represented in fragments;[192] or, failing in this attempt, sought by hurling down large stones, and by discharges from their bows and slings, to precipitate and destroy their assailants. If finally they were unable by these means to keep the Assyrians from reaching the topmost rounds of the ladders, they had recourse to their spears, and man to man, spear to spear, and shield to shield, they still struggled to defend themselves. The Assyrians always represent the sieges which they conduct as terminating successfully; but we may be tolerably sure that in many instances the invader was beaten back, and forced to relinquish his prey, or to try fresh methods of obtaining it.

If the escalade failed, or if it was thought unadvisable to attempt it, the plan most commonly adopted was to try the effect of the battering-ram. [Pl. CX., Fig. 3.] The Assyrian armies were abundantly supplied with these engines, of which we see as many as seven engaged in a single siege.[193] They were variously designed and arranged. Some had a head shaped like the point of a spear;[194] others, one more resembling the end of a blunderbuss.[195] All of them were covered with a framework, which was of ozier, wood, felt, or skins, for the better protection of those who worked the implement; but some appear to have been stationary, having their framework resting on the ground itself,[196] while others were moveable, being provided with wheels, which in the early times were six,[197] but in the later times four only. Again, sometimes, combined with the ram and its framework was a moveable tower containing soldiers, who at once fought the enemy on a level, and protected the engine from their attacks. Fire was the weapon usually turned against the ram, torches, burning tow, or other inflammable substances being cast from the walls upon its framework, which, wherever it was of ozier or of wood, could be easily set alight and consumed. To prevent this result, the workers of the ram were sometimes provided with a supply of water, which they could direct through leathern or metal pipes against the combustibles.[198] At other times they sought to protect themselves by suspending from a pole in front of their engine a curtain of cloth, leather, or some other non-inflammable substance.[199]

Another mode of meeting the attacks of the battering-ram was by catching the point with a chain suspended by its two ends from the walls, and then, when the ram was worked, diverting the stroke by drawing the head upwards.[200] To oppose this device, the besiegers provided some of their number with strong metal hooks, and stationed them below the ram, where they watched for the descent of the chain. As soon as ever it caught the head of the ram, they inserted their hooks into its links, and then hanging upon it with their whole weight, prevented its interference with the stroke.

Battering-rams were frequently used against the walls from the natural ground at their foot. Sometimes, however, the besiegers raised vast mounds against the ramparts, and advanced their engines up these, thus bringing them on a level with the upper and weaker portions of the defences. Of this nature probably were the mounds spoken of in Scripture as employed by the Babylonians [201] and Egyptians,[202] as well as the Assyrians,[203] in their sieges of cities. The intention was not so much to pile up the mounds till they were on a level with the top of the walls as to work the battering-ram with greater advantage from them. A similar use was made of mounds by the Peloponnesian Greeks, who nearly succeeded in taking Platæa in this way.[204] The mounds were not always composed entirely of earth; the upper portion was often made of several layers of stone or brick, arranged in regular order, so as to form a sort of paved road, up which the rams might be dragged with no great difficulty. Trees, too, were sometimes cut down and built into the mound.[205]

Besides battering-rams, the Assyrians appear to have been acquainted with an engine resembling the catapult, or rather the *balista* [206] of the Romans. [Pl. CXI., Fig. 1.] This engine, which was of great height, and threw stones of a large size, was protected, like the ram, by a framework, apparently of wood, covered with canvas, felt, or hides. The stones thrown from the engine were of irregular shape, and it was able to discharge several at the same time. The besiegers worked it from a mound or inclined plane, which enabled them to send their missiles to the top of the ramparts.[207] It had to be brought very close to the walls in order to be effective—a position which gave the besieged an opportunity of assailing it by fire. Perhaps it was this liability which caused the infrequent use of the engine in question, which is rare upon the earlier, and absent from the later, sculptures.

The third mode of attack employed by the Assyrians in their sieges of fortified places was the mine. While the engines were in full play, and the troops drawn up around the place assailed the defenders of the walls with their slings and bows, warriors, singly, or in twos and threes, advanced stealthily to the foot of the ramparts, and either with their swords and the points of their spears, or with implements better suited for the purpose, such as crowbars and pickaxes, attacked the foundations of the walls, endeavoring to remove the stones one by one, and so to force an entrance. While thus employed, the assailant commonly either held his shield above him as a protection, or was guarded by the shield of a comrade;[208] or, finally, if he carried the curved *gerrhon*, leant it against the wall, and then placed himself under its shelter.[209] [Pl. CX., Fig. 2.] Sometimes, however, he dispensed with the protection of a shield altogether, and, trusting to his helmet and coat of mail, which covered him at all vital points, pursued his labor without paying any attention to the weapons aimed at him by the enemy.[210]

Occasionally the efforts of the besiegers were directed against the gates, which they endeavored to break open with axes, or to set on fire by an application of the torch. From this latter circumstance we may gather that the gates were ordinarily of wood, not, like those of Babylon[211] and Veii,[212] of brass. In the hot climate of Southern Asia wood becomes so dry by exposure to the sun that the most solid doors may readily be ignited and consumed.[213]

When at last the city or castle was by some of these means reduced, and the garrison consented to surrender itself, the work of demolition, already begun, was completed. Generally the place was set on fire; sometimes workmen provided with pickaxes and other tools mounted upon the ramparts and towers, hurled down the battlements, broke breaches in the walls, or even levelled the whole building. [Pl. CXII., Fig. 1.] Vengeance was further taken by the destruction of the valuable trees in the vicinity, more especially the highly prized date-palms, which were cut with hatchets half through their stems at the distance of about two feet from the ground, and then pulled or pushed down. [Pl. CXI., Fig. 2.] Other trees were either treated similarly, or denuded of their branches.[214] Occasionally the destruction was of a less wanton and vengeful character. Timber-trees were cut down for transport to Assyria, where they were used in the construction of the royal

palaces;[215] and fruit-trees were occasionally taken up by the roots, removed carefully, and planted in the gardens and orchards of the conquerors.[216] Meanwhile there was a general plundering of the captured place. The temples were entered, and the images of the gods, together with the sacred vessels, which were often of gold and silver,[217] were seized and carried off in triumph.[218] [Pl. CXI., Fig. 4.] This was not mere cupidity. It was regarded as of the utmost importance to show that the gods of the Assyrians were superior to those of other countries, who were powerless to protect either their votaries or even themselves from the irresistible might of the servants of Asshur. The ordinary practice was to convey the images of the foreign gods from the temples of the captured places to Assyria, and there to offer them at the shrines of the principal Assyrian deities.[219] Hence the special force of the proud question, "*Where are* the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? *Where are* the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah?"[220] Where are they but carried captive to Assyria, prisoners and slaves in the temples of those deities whose power they ventured to resist?

The houses of the city were also commonly plundered, and everything of value in them was carried off. Long files of men, each bearing some article of furniture out of the gate of a captured town, are frequent upon the bas-reliefs, where we likewise often observe in the train of a returning army carts laden with household stuff of every kind, alternating with long strings of captives. All the spoil seems to have been first brought by the individual plunderers to one place, where it was carefully sorted and counted in the presence and under the superintendence of royal scribes, who took an exact inventory of the whole before it was carried away by its captors. [Pl. CXI., Fig. 3.] Scales were used to determine the weight of articles made of the precious metals,[221] which might otherwise have been subjected to clipping. We may conclude from these practices that a certain proportion of the value of all private spoil was either due to the royal treasury, or required to be paid to the gods in acknowledgment of their aid and protection. Besides the private spoil, there was a portion which was from the first set apart exclusively for the monarch. This consisted especially of the public treasure of the captured city, the gold and silver, whether in bullion, plate, or ornaments, from the palace of its prince, and the idols, and probably the other valuables, from the temples.

The inhabitants of a captured place were usually treated with more or less of severity. Those regarded as most responsible for the resistance or the rebellion were seized; generally their hands were manacled either before them or behind their backs, while sometimes fetters were attached to their feet,[222] and even rings passed through their lips,[223] and in this abject guise they were brought into the presence of the Assyrian king. Seated on his throne in his fortified camp without the place, and surrounded by his attendants, he received them one by one, and instantly pronounced their doom. On some he proudly placed his foot,[224] some he pardoned, a few he ordered for execution, many he sentenced to be torn from their homes and carried into slavery.

Various modes of execution seem to have been employed in the case of condemned captives. One of them was empalement. This has always been, and still remains, a common mode of punishment in the East; but the manner of empaling which the Assyrians adopted was peculiar. They pointed a stake at one end, and, having fixed the other end firmly into the ground, placed their criminal with the pit of his stomach upon the point, and made it enter his body just below the breastbone.[225] This method of empaling must have destroyed life tolerably soon, and have thus been a far less cruel punishment than the crucifixion of the Romans. We do not observe it very often in the Assyrian sculptures, nor do we ever see it applied to more than a few individuals.[226] It was probably reserved for those who were considered the worst criminals.[227]

Another very common mode of executing captives was by beating in their skulls with a mace. In this case the victim commonly knelt; his two hands were placed before him upon a block or cushion; behind him stood two executioners, one of whom held him by a cord round the neck, while the other, seizing his back hair in one hand, struck him a furious blow upon the head with a mace which he held in the other.[228] [Pl. CXI., Fig. 5.] It must have been rarely, if ever, that a second blow was needed.

Decapitation was less frequently practised. The expression, indeed, "I cut off their heads," is common in the Inscriptions;[229] but in most instances it evidently refers to the practice, already noticed,[230] of collecting the heads of those who had fallen in battle. Still there are instances, both in the Inscriptions[231] and in the sculptures,[232] of what appears to have been a formal execution of captives by beheading. In these

cases the criminal, it would seem, stood upright, or bending a little forwards, and the executioner, taking him by a lock of hair with his left hand, struck his head from his shoulders with a short sword, which he held in his right. [Pl. CXII., Fig. 5.]

It is uncertain whether a punishment even more barbarous than these was not occasionally resorted to. In two or three bas-reliefs executioners are represented in the act of flaying prisoners with a knife. The bodies are extended upon the ground or against a wall, to which they are fastened by means of four pegs attached by strings or thongs to the two wrists and the two ankles. The executioner leans over the victim, and with his knife detaches the skin from the flesh.[233] One would trust that this operation was not performed until life was extinct. We know that it was the practice of the Persians,[234] and even of the barbarous Scythians,[235] to flay the corpses, and not the living forms, of criminals and of enemies; we may hope, therefore, that the Assyrians removed the skin from the dead, to use it as a trophy or as a warning,[236] and did not inflict so cruel a torture on the living.

Sometimes the punishment awarded to a prisoner was mutilation instead of death. Cutting off the ears close to the head, blinding the eyes with burning-irons, cutting off the nose, and plucking out the tongue by the roots, have been in all ages favorite Oriental punishments.[237] We have distinct evidence that some at least of these cruelties were practised by the Assyrians. Asshur-izir-pal tells us in his great Inscription that he often cut off the noses and the ears of prisoners; while a slab of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esarhaddon, shows a captive in the hands of the torturers, one of whom holds his head firm and fast, while another thrusts his hand into his mouth for the purpose of tearing out the tongue.[238]

The captives carried away by the conquerors consisted of men, women, and children. The men were formed into bands, under the conduct of officers, who urged them forward on their way by blows, with small regard to their sufferings. Commonly they were conveyed to the capital, where they were employed by the monarchs in the lower or higher departments of labor, according to their capacities. The skilled workmen were in request to assist in the ornamentation of shrines and palaces, while the great mass of the unskilled were made use of to quarry and drag stone, to raise mounds, make bricks, and the like.[239] Sometimes, instead of being thus employed in task-work in or near the capital, the captives were simply

settled in new regions, where it was thought that they would maintain the Assyrian power against native malcontents.[240] Thus Esarhaddon planted Babylonians, Susanchites, Dehavites, Elamites, and others in Samaria,[241] while Sargon settled his Samaritan captives in Gauzanitis and in "the cities of the Medes."[242]

The women and children carried off by the conquerors were treated with more tenderness than the men. [Pl. CXII., Fig. 2.] Sometimes on foot, but often mounted on mules,[243] or seated in carts drawn by bullocks or asses,[244] they followed in the train of their new masters, not always perhaps unwilling to exchange the monotony of domestic life at home for the excitement of a new and unknown condition in a fresh country. We seldom see them exhibiting any signs of grief. The women and children are together, and the mothers lavish on their little ones the usual caresses and kind offices, taking them in their laps, giving them the breast, carrying them upon their shoulders, or else leading them by the hand. At intervals they were allowed to stop and rest; and it was not even the practice to deprive them of such portion of their household stuff as they might have contrived to secure before quitting their homes. This they commonly bore in a bag or sack, which was either held in the hand or thrown over one shoulder. When they reached Assyria, it would seem that they were commonly assigned as wives to the soldiers of the Assyrian army.[245]

Together with their captives, the Assyrians carried off vast quantities of the domesticated animals, such as oxen, sheep, goats, horses, asses, camels, and mules. The numbers mentioned in the Inscriptions are sometimes almost incredible. Sennacherib, for instance, says that in one foray he bore off from the tribes on the Euphrates "7200 horses and mares, 5230 camels, 11,000 mules, 120,000 oxen, and 800,000 sheep"![246] Other kings omit particulars, but speak of the captured animals which they led away as being "too numerous to be counted," or "countless as the stars of heaven."[247] The Assyrian sculptors are limited by the nature of their art to comparatively small numbers, but they show us horses, camels, and mules in the train of a returning army,[248] together with groups of the other animals,[249] indicative of the vast flocks and herds continually mentioned in the Inscriptions.

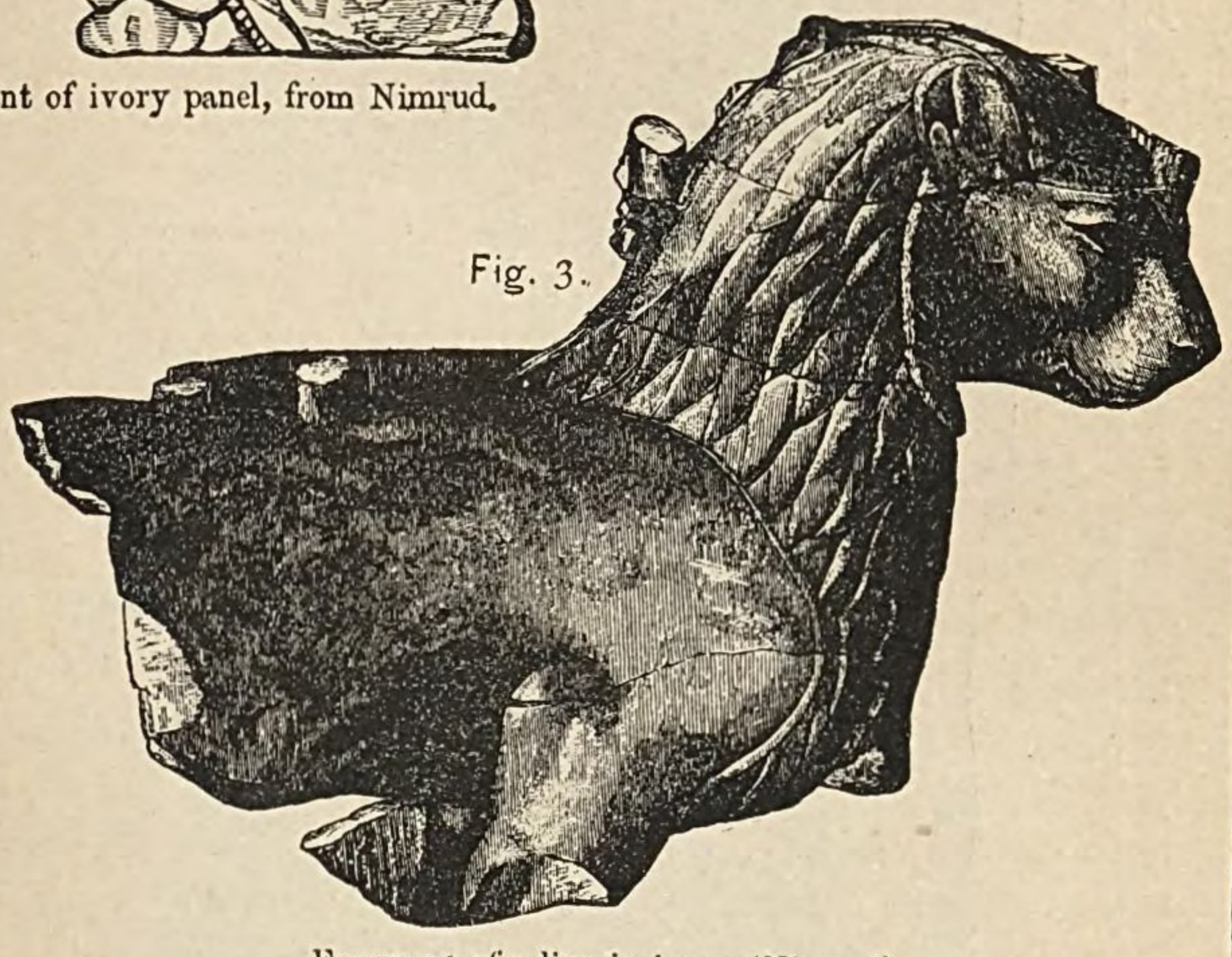
Occasionally the monarchs were not content with bringing home domesticated animals only, but took the trouble to

Plate LXXVII.

Fig. 1.

Fragment of ivory panel, from Nimrud.

Fig. 3.



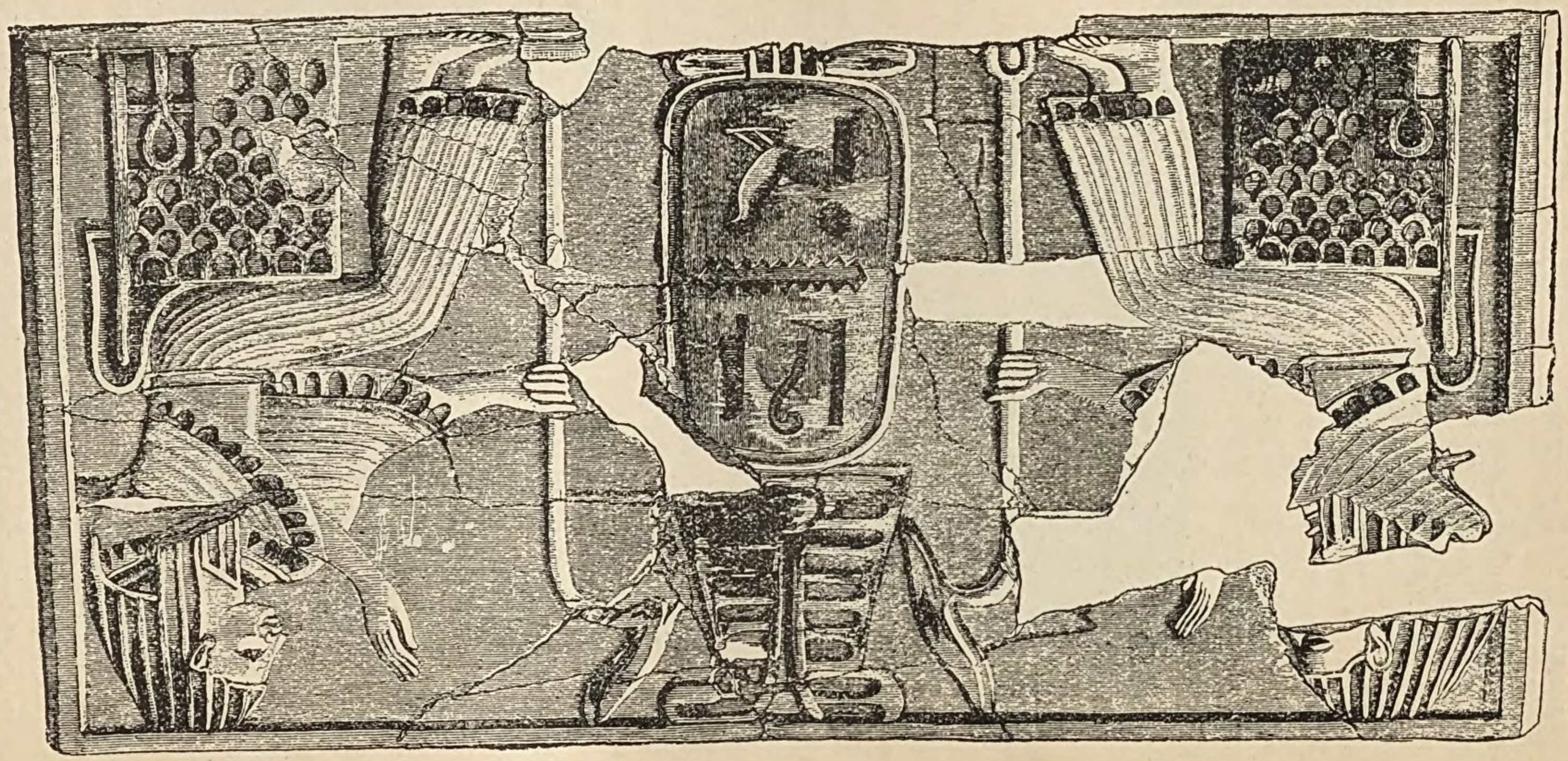
Fragment of a lion in ivory (Nimrud).

Fig. 4.

Royal attendant (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2

Fragment of a stag in ivory (Nimrud).



Figures and Cartouche, with Hieroglyphics, on an ivory panel, North-West Palace, Nimrud (after Layard).

transport from distant regions into Assyria wild beasts of various kinds. Tiglath-Pileser I. informs us in general terms that, besides carrying off the droves of the horses, cattle, and asses that he obtained from the subjugated countries, he "took away and drove off the herds of the wild goats and the ibexes, the wild sheep and the wild cattle;"[250] and another monarch mentions that in one expedition he carried off from the middle Euphrates a drove of forty wild cattle, and also a flock of twenty ostriches.[251] The object seems to have been to stock Assyria with a variety and an abundance of animals of chase.

The foes of the Assyrians would sometimes, when hard pressed, desert the dry land, and betake themselves to the marshes, or cross the sea to islands where they trusted that they might be secure from attack. Not unfrequently they obtained their object by such a retreat, for the Assyrians were not a maritime people. Sometimes, however, they were pursued. The Assyrians would penetrate into the marshes by means of reed boats, probably not very different from the *terradas* at present in use among the Arabs of the Mesopotamian marsh districts.[252] Such boats are represented upon the bas-reliefs as capable of holding from three to five armed men.[253] On these the Assyrian foot-soldiers would embark, taking with them a single boatman to each boat, who propelled the vessel much as a Venetian gondolier propels his gondola, *i.e.*, with a single long oar or paddle, which he pushed from him standing at the stern. They would then in these boats attack the vessels of the enemy, which are always represented as smaller than theirs, run them down or board them, kill their crews or force them into the water, or perhaps allow them to surrender. Meanwhile, the Assyrian cavalry was stationed round the marsh among the tall reeds which thickly clothed its edge, ready to seize or slay such of the fugitives as might escape from the foot.

When the refuge sought was an island, if it lay near the shore, the Assyrians would sometimes employ the natives of the adjacent coast to transport beams of wood and other materials by means of their boats, in order to form a sort of bridge or mole reaching from the mainland to the isle whereto their foes had fled.[254] Such a design was entertained, or at least professed, by Xerxes after the destruction of his fleet in the battle of Salamis,[255] and it was successfully executed by Alexander the Great, who took in this way the new or island

Tyre.[256] From a series of reliefs discovered at Khorsabad we may conclude that more than two hundred years before the earlier of these two occasions, the Assyrians had conceived the idea, and even succeeded in carrying out the plan,[257] of reducing islands near the coast by moles.

Under the Chaldæans, whose "cry was in their ships,"[258] the Assyrians seem very rarely to have adventured themselves upon the deep. If their enemies fled to islands which could not be reached by moles, or to lands across the sea, in almost every instance they escaped. Such escapes are represented upon the sculptures,[259] where we see the Assyrians taking a maritime town at one end, while at the other the natives are embarking their women and children, and putting to sea, without any pursuit being made after them. In none of the bas-reliefs do we observe any sea-going vessels with Assyrians on board; and history tells us of but two or three expeditions by sea in which they took part. One of these was an expedition by Sennacherib against the coast of the Persian Gulf, to which his Chaldæan enemies had fled. On this occasion he brought shipwrights from Phœnicia to Assyria, and made them build him ships there, which were then launched upon the Tigris, and conveyed down to the sea. With a fleet thus constructed, and probably manned, by Phœnicians, Sennacherib crossed to the opposite coast, defeated the refugees, and embarking his prisoners on board, returned in triumph to the mainland.[260] Another expedition was that of Shalmaneser IV. against the island Tyre.[261] Assyrians are said to have been personally engaged in it; but here again we are told that they embarked in ships furnished to them by the Phœnicians, and manned chiefly by Phœnician sailors.

When a country was regarded as subjugated, the Assyrian monarch commonly marked the establishment of his sovereignty by erecting a memorial in some conspicuous or important situation within the territory conquered, as an enduring sign of his having taken possession. These memorials were either engraved on the natural rock or on solid blocks of stone cut into the form of a broad low *stele*. They contained a figure of the king, usually enclosed in an arched frame; and an inscription, of greater or less length, setting forth his name, his titles, and some of his exploits. More than thirty such memorials are mentioned in the extant Inscriptions, and the researches of recent times have recovered some ten or twelve of them.[262] They uniformly represent the king in his sacer-

dotal robes, with the sacred collar round his neck, and the emblems of the gods above his head, raising the right hand in the act of adoration, as if he were giving thanks to Asshur and his guardian deities on account of his successes.

It is now time to pass from the military customs of the Assyrians to a consideration of their habits and usages in time of peace, so far as they are made known to us either by historical records or by the pictorial evidence of the bas-reliefs. And here it may be convenient to treat separately of the public life of the king and court, and of the private life of the people.

In Assyria, as in most Oriental countries, the keystone of the social arch, the central point of the system, round which all else revolved, and on which all else depended, was the monarch. "L'état, c'est moi" might have been said with more truth by an Assyrian prince than even by the "Grand Monarque," whose *dictum* it is reported to have been. Alike in the historical notices, and in the sculptures, we have the person of the king presented to us with consistent prominence, and it is consequently with him that we most naturally commence the present portion of our inquiry.

The ordinary dress of the monarch in time of peace was a long flowing robe, reaching to the ankles, elaborately patterned and fringed, over which was worn, first, a broad belt, and then a species of open mantle, or chasuble, very curiously contrived. [Pl. CXII., Fig. 3.] This consisted mainly of two large flaps, both of which were commonly rounded, though sometimes one of them was square at bottom.[263] These fell over the robe in front and behind, leaving the sides open, and so exposing the under dress to view. The two flaps must have been sewn together at the places marked with the dotted lines *a b* and *c d*,[264] the space from *a* to *c* being left open, and the mantle passed by that means over the head. At *d g* there was commonly a short sleeve (*h*), which covered the upper part of the left arm, but the right arm was left free, the mantle falling on either side of it. Sometimes, besides the flaps, the mantle seems to have had two pointed wings attached to the shoulders (*a f b* and *c e h* in the illustration), which were made to fall over in front. Occasionally there was worn above the chasuble a broad diagonal belt ornamented with a deep fringe, and some-

times there depended at the back of the dress a species of large hood.[265]

The special royal head-dress was a tall mitre or tiara, which at first took the shape of the head, but rose above it to a certain height in a gracefully curved line, when it was covered in with a top, flat, like that of a hat, but having a projection towards the centre, which rose up into a sort of apex, or peak, not however pointed, but either rounded or squared off. The tiara was generally ornamented with a succession of bands, between which were commonly patterns more or less elaborate. Ordinarily the lowest band, instead of running parallel with the others, rose with a gentle curve towards the front, allowing room for a large rosette over the forehead, and for other similar ornaments. If we may trust the representations on the enamelled bricks, supported as they are to some extent by the tinted reliefs, we may say that the tiara was of three colors, red, yellow, and white.[266] The red and white alternated in broad bands; the ornaments upon them were yellow, being probably either embroidered on the material of the head-dress in threads of gold, or composed of thin gold plates which may have been sown on. The general material of the tiara is likely to have been cloth or felt; it can scarcely have been metal, if the deep crimson tint of the bricks and the reliefs is true. [Pl. CXII,. Fig. 4.]

In the early sculptures the tiara is more depressed than in the later, and it is also less richly ornamented. It has seldom more than two bands, viz., a narrow one at top, and at bottom a broader curved one, rising towards the front. To this last are attached two long strings or lappets, which fall behind the monarch's back to a level with his elbow. [Pl. CXIII., Fig. 1.]

Another head-dress which the monarch sometimes wore was a sort of band or fillet. This was either elevated in front and ornamented with a single rosette, like the lowest band of the tiara, or else of uniform width and patterned along its whole course.[267] In either case there depended from it, on each side of the back hair, a long ribbon or streamer, fringed at the end, and sometimes ornamented with a delicate pattern. [Pl. CXIII., Fig. 2.]

The monarch's feet were protected by sandals or shoes. In the early sculptures sandals only appear in use, shoes being unknown[268] (as it would seem) until the time of Sennacherib. The sandals worn were of two kinds. The simplest sort had a

very thin sole and a small cap for the heel, made apparently of a number of strips of leather[269] sewn together. It was held in place by a loop over the great-toe, attached to the fore part of the sole, and by a string which was laced backwards and forwards across the instep, and then tied in a bow. [Pl. CXIII., Fig. 4.]

The other kind of sandal had a very different sort of sole; it was of considerable thickness, especially at the heel, from which it gradually tapered to the toe. Attached to this was an upper leather which protected the heel and the whole of the side of the foot, but left the toes and the instep exposed. A loop fastened to the sole[270] received the great-toe, and at the point where the loop was inserted two straps were also made fast, which were then carried on either side the great-toe to the top of the foot, where they crossed each other, and, passing twice through rings attached to the edge of the upper leather, were finally fastened, probably by a buckle, at the top of the instep. [Pl. CXIII., Fig. 6.]

The shoe worn by the later kings was of a coarse and clumsy make, very much rounded at the toe, patterned with rosettes, crescents, and the like, and (apparently) laced in front. In this respect it differed from the shoe of the queen, which will be represented presently,[271] and also from the shoes worn by the tribute-bearers. [Pl. CXIII., Fig. 5.]

The accessory portions of the royal costume were chiefly belts, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and earrings. Besides the belt round the waist, in which two or three highly ornamented daggers were frequently thrust, and the broad fringed cross-belt, of which mention was made above,[272] the Assyrian monarch wore a narrow cross-belt passing across his right shoulder, from which his sword hung at his left side. This belt was sometimes patterned with rosettes. It was worn over the front flap of the chasuble, but under the back flap, and was crossed at right angles by the broad fringed belt, which was passed over the right arm and head so as to fall across the left shoulder.

The royal necklaces were of two kinds. Some consisted merely of one or more strings of long lozenge-shaped beads slightly chased, and connected by small links, ribbed perpendicularly. [Pl. CXIII., Fig. 7.] The other kind was a band or collar, perhaps of gold, on which were hung a number of sacred emblems: as the crescent or emblem of the Moon-God, Sin; the four-rayed disk, the emblem of the Sun-God, Shamas;

the six-rayed or eight-rayed disk, the emblem of Gula, the Sun-Goddess; the horned cap, perhaps the emblem of the king's guardian genius; and the double or triple bolt, which was the emblem of Vul, the god of the atmosphere. This sacred collar was a part of the king's civil and not merely of his sacerdotal dress; as appears from the fact that it was sometimes worn when the king was merely receiving prisoners.[273] [Pl. CXIII., Fig. 8.]

The monarch wore a variety of armlets. The most common was a plain bar of a single twist, the ends of which slightly overlapped each other. A more elegant kind was similar to this, except that the bar terminated in animal heads carefully wrought, among which the heads of rams, horses, and ducks were the most common. A third sort has the appearance of being composed of a number of long strings or wires, confined at intervals of less than an inch by cross bands at right angles to the wires. This sort was carried round the arm twice, and even then its ends overlapped considerably. It is probable that all the armlets were of metal, and that the appearance of the last was given to it by the workman in imitation of an earlier and ruder armlet of worsted or leather. [Pl. CXIV., Fig. 1.]

The bracelets of the king, like his armlets, were sometimes mere bars of metal, quite plain and without ornament. More often, however, they were ribbed and adorned with a large rosette at the centre. Sometimes, instead of one simple rosette, we see three double rosettes, between which project small points, shaped like the head of a spear. Occasionally these double rosettes appear to be set on the surface of a broad bar, which is chased so as to represent brickwork. In no case can we see how the bracelets were fastened; perhaps they were elastic, and were slipped over the hand.[274] [Pl. CXIV., Fig. 3.]

Specimens of royal earrings have been already given in an earlier chapter of this volume.[275] The most ordinary form in the more ancient times was a long drop, which was sometimes delicately chased.[276] Another common kind was an incomplete Maltese cross, one arm of the four being left out because it would have interfered with the ear. [Pl. CXIV., Fig. 2.] In later times there was a good deal of variety in the details; but the drop and the cross were always favorite features.

When the monarch went out to the hunt or to the battle, he laid aside such ornaments as encumbered him, reserving how-

ever his earrings, bracelets, and armlets, and then, stripping off his upper dress or chasuble, appeared in the under robe which has been already described.[277] This robe was confined at the waist by a broad cincture or girdle, outside of which was worn a narrowish belt wherein daggers were often thrust. In early times this cincture seems to have been fastened by a ribbon with long streaming ends, which are very conspicuous in the Nimrud sculptures. At the same period the monarch often wore, when he hunted or went out to battle, a garment which might have been called an apron, if it had not been worn behind instead of in front. This was generally patterned and fringed very richly, besides being ornamented with one or more long pendent tassels. [Pl. CXIV., Fig. 4.]

The sacerdotal dress of the king, or that which he commonly wore when engaged in the rites of his religion, differed considerably from his ordinary costume. His inner garment, indeed, seems to have been the usual long gown with a fringe descending to the ankles; but this was almost entirely concealed under an ample outer robe, which was closely wrapped round the form and kept in place by a girdle. A deep fringe, arranged in two rows, one above the other, and carried round the robe in curved sweeps at an angle with the horizontal line, is the most striking feature of this dress, which is also remarkable for the manner in which it confines and conceals the left arm, while the right is left free and exposed to view. A representation of a king thus apparelled will be found in an earlier part of this work,[278] taken from a statue now in the British Museum. It is peculiar in having the head uncovered, and in the form of the implement borne in the right hand. It is also incomplete as a representation, from the fact that all the front of the breast is occupied by an inscription. Other examples[279] show that the tiara was commonly worn as a part of the sacerdotal costume; that the sacred collar[280] adorned the breast, necklaces the neck, and bracelets the two arms; while in the belt, which was generally to some extent knotted, were borne two or three daggers. The mace seems to have been a necessary appendage to the costume, and was always grasped just below its head by the left hand.

We have but one representation of an Assyrian queen. Despite the well-known stories of Semiramis and her manifold exploits, it would seem that the Assyrians secluded their females with as rigid and watchful a jealousy as modern Turks or Persians. The care taken with respect to the direction of

the passages in the royal *hareem* has been noticed already.[281] It is quite in accordance with the spirit thus indicated, and with the general tenor of Oriental habits, that neither in inscriptions[282] nor in sculptured representations do the Assyrians allow their women to make more than a most rare and occasional appearance. Fortunately for us, their jealousy was sometimes relaxed to a certain extent; and in one scene, recovered from the *débris* of an Assyrian palace[283] we are enabled to contemplate at once the domestic life of the monarch and the attire and even the features of his consort.

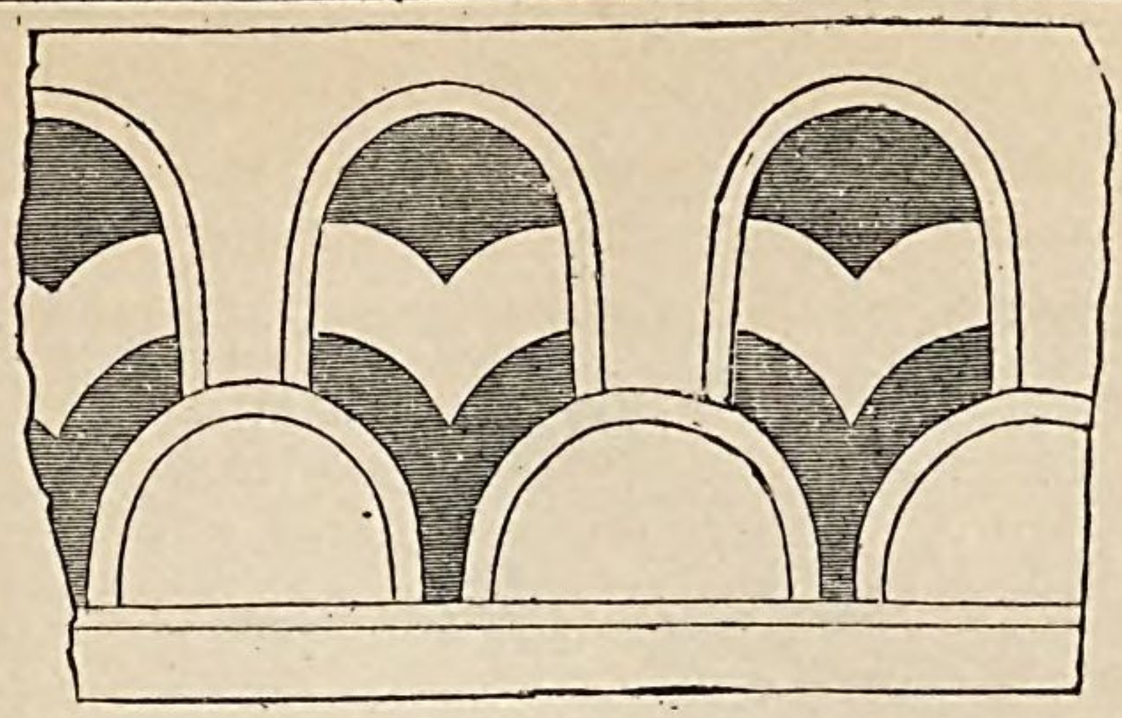
It appears that in the private apartments, while the king, like the Romans and the modern Orientals, reclined upon a couch leaning his weight partly upon his left elbow,[284] and having his right arm free and disposable, her majesty the queen sat in a chair of state by the couch's side, near its foot, and facing her lord. [Pl. CXV., Fig. 1.] Two eunuchs provided with large fans were in attendance upon the monarch, and the same number waited upon the queen, standing behind her chair. Her majesty, whose hair was arranged nearly like that of her royal consort, wore upon her head a band or fillet having something of the appearance of a crown of towers, such as encircles the brow of Cybele on Greek coins and statues. Her dress was a long-sleeved gown reaching from the neck to the feet, flounced and trimmed at the bottom in an elaborate way, and elsewhere patterned with rosettes, over which she wore a fringed tunic or frock descending half-way between the knees and the feet. [Pl. CXV., Fig. 3.] In addition to these two garments, she wore upon her back and shoulders a light cloak or cape, patterned (like the rest of her dress) with rosettes and edged with a deep fringe. Her feet were encased in shoes of a clumsy make, also patterned. Her ornaments, besides the crown upon her head, were earrings, a necklace, and bracelets. Her hair was cushioned, and adorned with a drapery which hung over the back. Her feet rested on a handsome footstool, also cushioned.

On the slab from which this description is taken the royal pair seem to be refreshing themselves with wine. Each supports on the thumb and fingers of the right hand a saucer or shallow drinking-cup, probably of some precious metal, which they raise to their lips simultaneously, as if they were pledging one another. The scene of the entertainment is the palace garden; for trees grow on either side of the main figures, while over their heads a vine hangs its festoons and its rich

Vol. I.

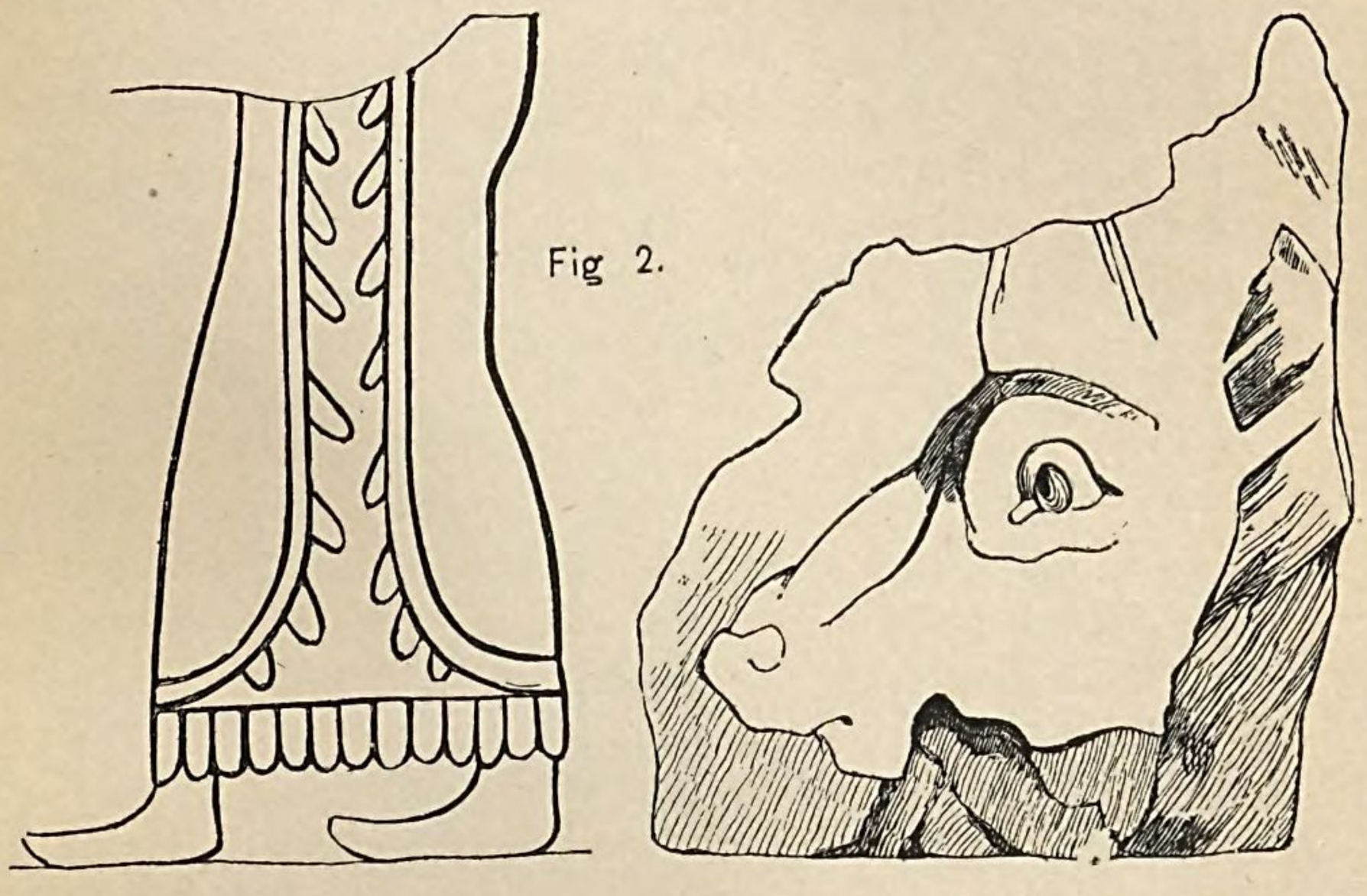
Plate LXXIX.

Fig. 1.



Arcade work, on enamelled brick (Nimrud).

Fig 2.



No. I.

Human figure, on enamelled brick (from Nimrud).

No. II.

Ram's head, on enamelled brick (from Nimrud).

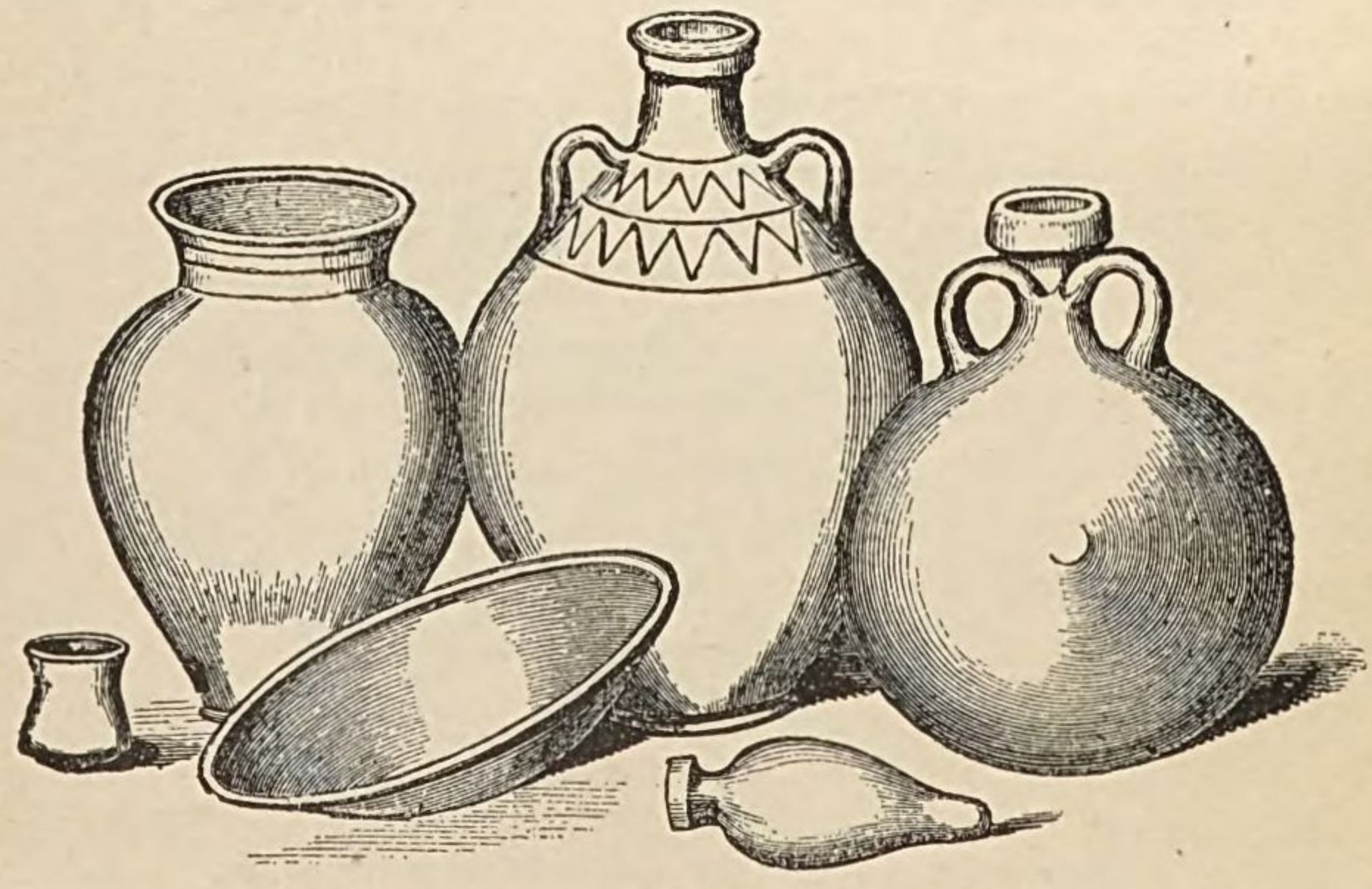
Fig. 3

Impression of ancient Assyrian cylinder, in serpentine.

Fig. 1.

King and attendants, on enamelled brick (from Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



Assyrian vases, amphoræ, &c. (after Birch).

clusters. By the side of the royal couch, and in front of the queen, is a table covered with a table-cloth, on which are a small box or casket, a species of shallow bowl which may have held incense or perfume of some kind, and a third article frequently seen in close proximity to the king, but of whose use it is impossible to form a conjecture. At the couch's head stands another curious article, a sort of tall vase surmounted by a sugarloaf, which probably represents an altar. The king bears in his left hand the lotus or sacred flower, while the queen holds in hers what looks like a modern fan. All the lower part of the monarch's person is concealed beneath a coverlet, which is plain, except that it has tassels at the corners and an embroidered border.

The officers in close attendance upon the monarch varied according to his employment. In war he was accompanied by his charioteer, his shield-bearer or shield-bearers, his groom, his quiver-bearer, his mace-bearer, and sometimes by his parasol-bearer. In peace the parasol-bearer is always represented as in attendance, except in hunting expeditions, or where he is replaced by a fan-bearer. The parasol, which exactly resembled that still in use throughout the East, was reserved exclusively for the monarch. [Pl. CXVI., Fig. 1.] It had a tall and thick pole, which the bearer grasped with both his hands, and in the early times a somewhat small circular top. Under the later kings the size of the head was considerably enlarged, and, at the same time, a curtain or flap was attached, which, falling from the edge of the parasol, more effectually protected the monarch from the sun's rays. The head of the parasol was fringed with tassels, and the upper extremity of the pole commonly terminated in a flower or other ornament. In the later time both the head and the curtain which depended from it were richly patterned. If we may trust the remains of color upon the Khorsabad sculptures, the tints preferred were red and white, which alternated in bands upon the parasol as upon the royal tiara.

There was nothing very remarkable in the dress or quality of the royal attendants. Except the groom, the charioteer, and the shield-bearers, they were in the early times almost invariably eunuchs; but the later kings seem to have preferred eunuchs for the offices of parasol-bearer and fan-bearer only. The dress of the eunuchs is most commonly a long fringed gown, reaching from the neck to the feet, with very short sleeves, and a broad belt or girdle confining the gown at the

waist. Sometimes they have a cross-belt also; and occasionally both this and the girdle round the waist are richly fringed.[285] The eunuchs commonly wear earrings, and sometimes armlets and bracelets; in a few instances they have their necks adorned with necklaces, and their long dresses elaborately patterned.[286] Their heads are either bare,[287] or at most encircled with a fillet.

A peculiar physiognomy is assigned to this class of persons —the forehead low, the nose small and rounded, the lips full, the chin large and double, the cheeks bloated. [Pl. CXV., Fig. 2.] They are generally represented as shorter and stouter than the other Assyrians. Though placed in confidential situations about the person of the monarch, they seem not to have held very high or important offices. The royal Vizier is never a eunuch, and eunuchs are rarely seen among the soldiers; they are scribes, cooks, musicians, perhaps priests;[288] they are grooms-in-waiting, huntsmen, parasol-bearers, and fan-bearers; but it cannot be said with truth that they had the same power in Assyria which they have commonly possessed in the more degraded of the Oriental monarchies. It is perhaps a sound interpretation of the name Rabsaris in Scripture to understand it as titular, not appellative,[289] and to translate it "the Chief Eunuch" or "the Master of the Eunuchs;" and if so, we have an instance of the employment by one Assyrian king of a person of this class on an embassy to a petty sovereign: but the sculptures are far from bearing out the notion that eunuchs held the *same* high position in the Assyrian court as they have since held generally in the East,[290] where they have not only continually filled the highest offices of state, but have even attained to sovereign power. On the contrary, their special charge seems rather to have been the menial offices about the person of the monarch, which imply confidence in the fidelity of those to whom they are entrusted, but not submission to their influence in the conduct of state affairs. And it is worthy of notice that, instead of becoming more influential as time went on, they appear to have become less so; in the later sculptures the royal attendants are far less generally eunuchs than in the earlier ones;[291] and the difference is most marked in the more important offices.[292]

It is not quite certain that the Chief Eunuch is represented upon the sculptures. Perhaps we may recognize him in an attendant, who commonly bears a fan, but whose special badge of office is a long fringed scarf or band, which hangs down

below his middle both before him and behind him, being passed over the left shoulder. [Pl. CXVI., Fig. 2.] This officer appears, in one bas-relief, alone in front of the king; in another, he stands on the right hand of the Vizier, level with him, facing the king as he drinks; in a third, he receives prisoners after a battle; while in another part of the same sculpture he is in the king's camp preparing the table for his master's supper. There is always a good deal of ornamentation about his dress, which otherwise nearly resembles that of the inferior royal attendants, consisting of a long fringed gown or robe, a girdle fringed or plain, a cross-belt generally fringed, and the scarf already described. His head and feet are generally bare, though sometimes the latter are protected by sandals.[293] He is found only upon the sculptures of the early period.

Among the officers who have free access to the royal person, there is one who stands out with such marked prominence from the rest that he has been properly recognized as the Grand Vizier or prime-minister[294]—at once the chief counsellor of the monarch, and the man whose special business it was to signify and execute his will. The dress of the Grand Vizier is more rich than that of any other person except the monarch;[295] and there are certain portions of his apparel which he and the king have alone the privilege of wearing. These are, principally, the tasselled apron and the fringed band depending from the fillet, the former of which is found in the early period only,[296] while the latter belongs to no particular time, but throughout the whole series of sculptures is the distinctive mark of royal or quasi-royal authority. To these two may be added the long ribbon or scarf, with double streamers at the ends, which depended from, and perhaps fastened, the belt[297] —a royal ornament worn also by the Vizier in at least one representation.[298] [Pl. CXVI., Fig. 3.]

The chief garment of the Vizier is always a long fringed robe, reaching from the neck to the feet. This is generally trimmed with embroidery at the top, round the sleeves, and round the bottom. It is either seen to be confined by a broad belt round the waist, or else is covered from the waist to the knees by two falls of a heavy and deep fringe. In this latter case, a broad cross-belt is worn over the left shoulder, and the upper fall of fringe hangs from the cross-belt. A fillet is worn upon the head, which is often highly ornamented.[299] The feet are sometimes bare, but more often are protected by sandals,

or (as in the accompanying representation) by embroidered shoes. Earrings adorn the ears; bracelets, sometimes accompanied by armlets, the arms. A sword is generally worn at the left side.

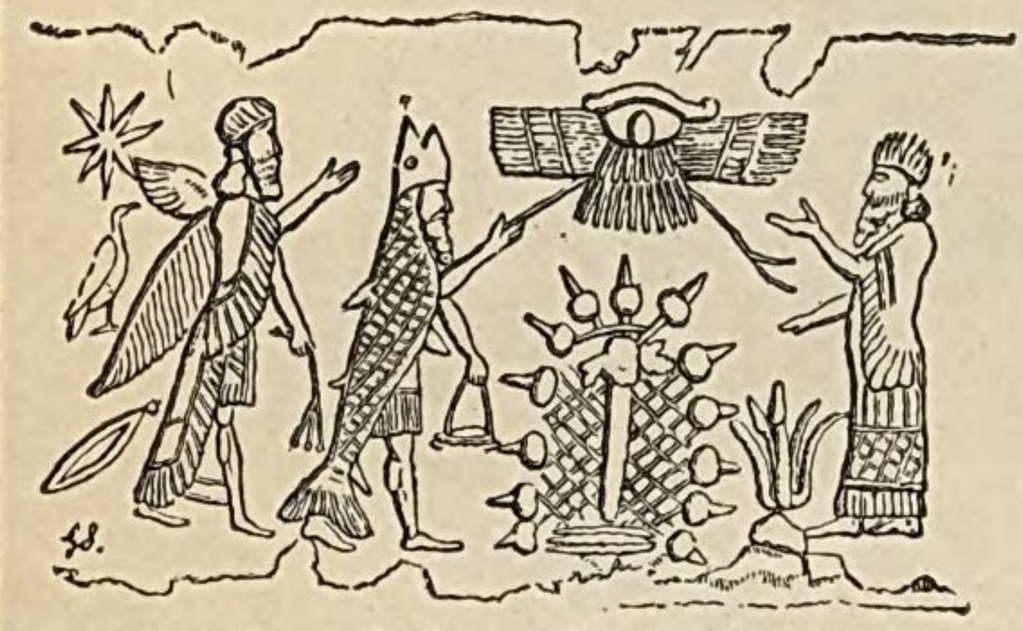
The Vizier is ordinarily represented in one of two attitudes. Either he stands with his two hands joined in front of him, the right hand in the left, and the fingers not clasped, but left loose—the ordinary attitude of passive and respectful attention, in which officers who carry nothing await the orders of the king,—or he has the right arm raised, the elbow bent, and the right hand brought to a level with his mouth, while the left hand rests upon the hilt of the sword worn at his left side. [Pl. CXVII., Fig. 1.] In this latter case it may be presumed that we have the attitude of conversation, as in the former we have that of attentive listening. When the Vizier assumes this energetic posture he is commonly either introducing prisoners or bringing in spoil to the king. When he is quiescent, he stands before the throne to receive the king's orders, or witnesses the ceremony with which it was usual to conclude a successful hunting expedition.

The pre-eminent rank and dignity of this officer is shown, not only by his participation in the insignia of royal authority,[300] but also and very clearly by the fact that, when he is present, no one ever intervenes between him and the king. He has the undisputed right of precedence, so that he is evidently the first subject of the crown. He, and he alone, is seen addressing the monarch. He does not always accompany the king on his military expeditions; but when he attends them, he still maintains his position,[301] having a dignity greater than that of any general, and so taking the entire direction of the prisoners and of the spoil.

The royal fan-bearers were two in number. They were invariably eunuchs. Their ordinary position was behind the monarch, on whom they attended alike in the retirement of private life and in religious and civil ceremonies. On some occasions, however, one of the two was privileged to leave his station behind the king's chair or throne, and, advancing in front, to perform certain functions before the face of his master. He handed his master the sacred cup, and waited to receive it back,[302] at the same time diligently discharging the ordinary duties of his office by keeping up a current of air and chasing away those plagues of the East—the flies. The fan-bearer thus privileged wears always the long tasselled scarf, which seems

Fig. 1.

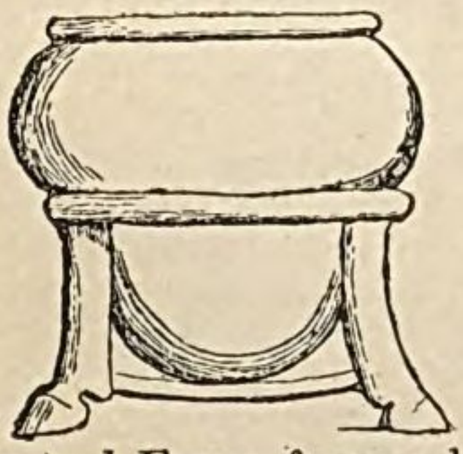
Assyrian seals.



Assyrian cylinder, with the Fish-God.

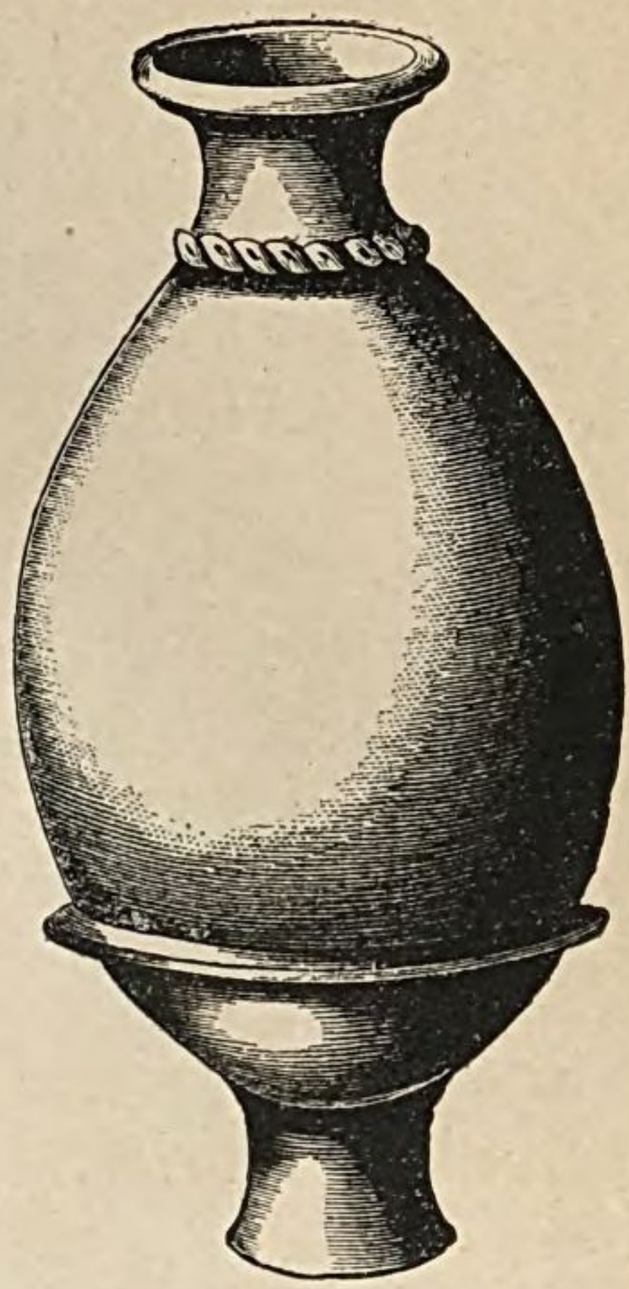
Royal cylinder of Sennacherib.

Fig. 3.



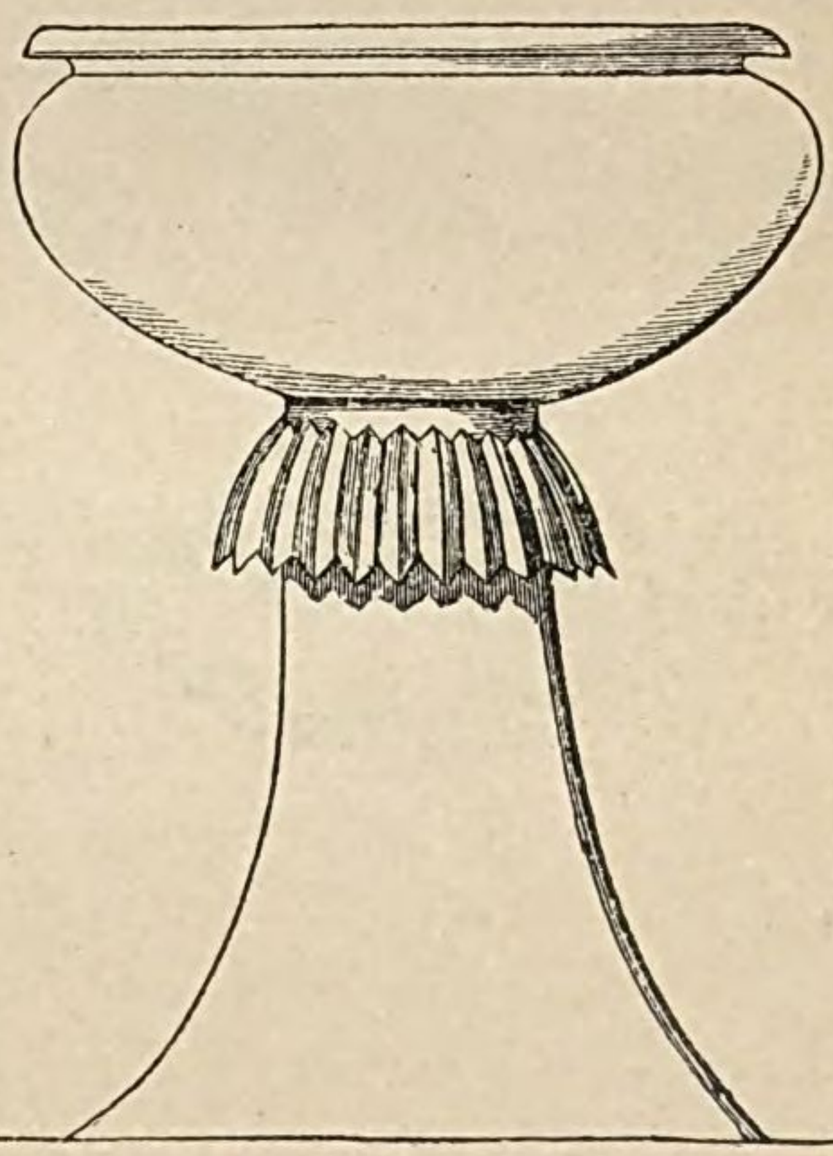
Lustral Ewer, from a bas relief, Khorsabad.

Fig 2.



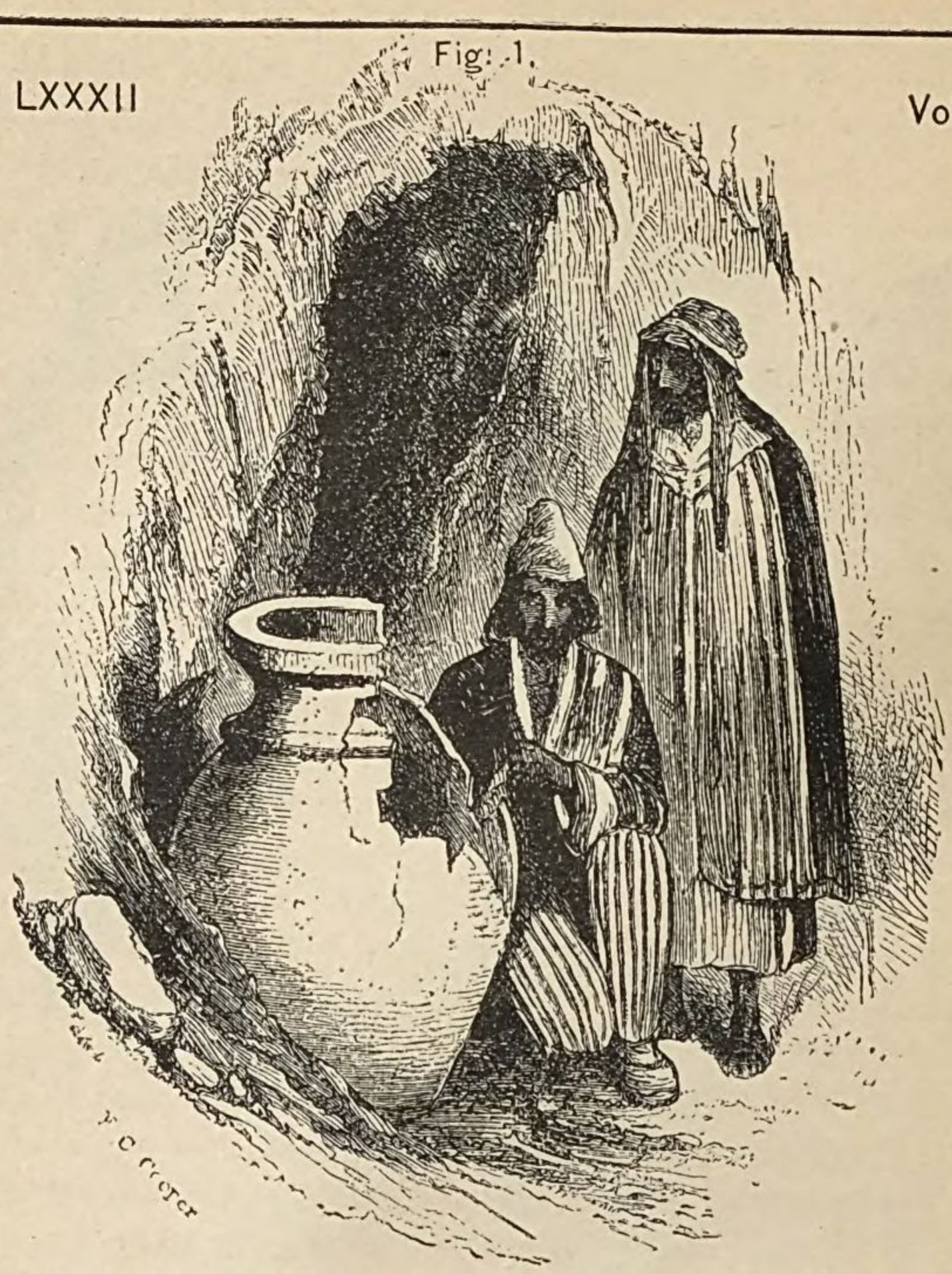
Funereal urn, from Khorsabad.

Fig. 4

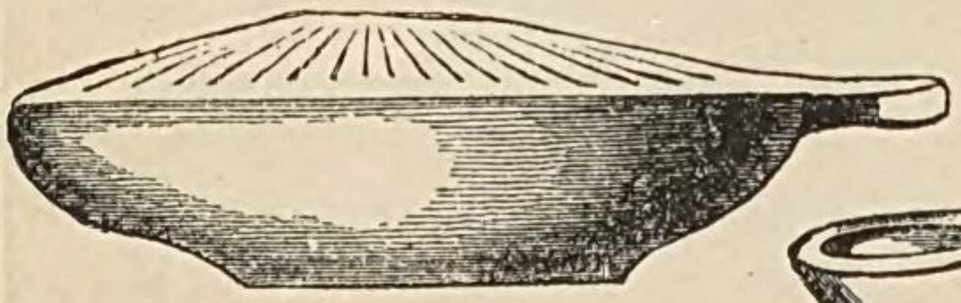


Wine vase, from a bas-relief, Khorsabad.

Fig. 1.

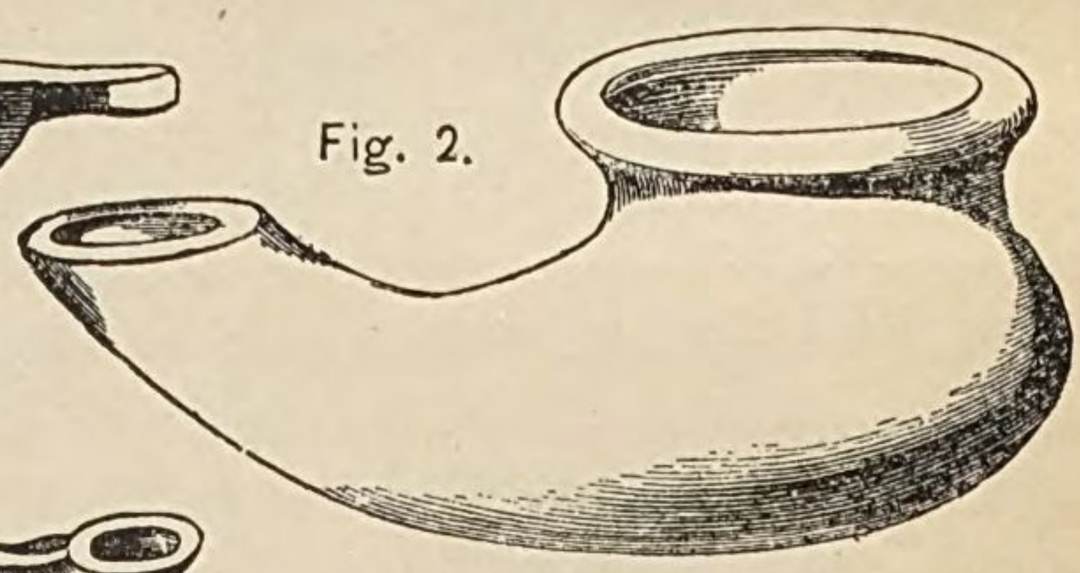


Nestorian and Arab Workmen, with Jar discovered at Nimrud.



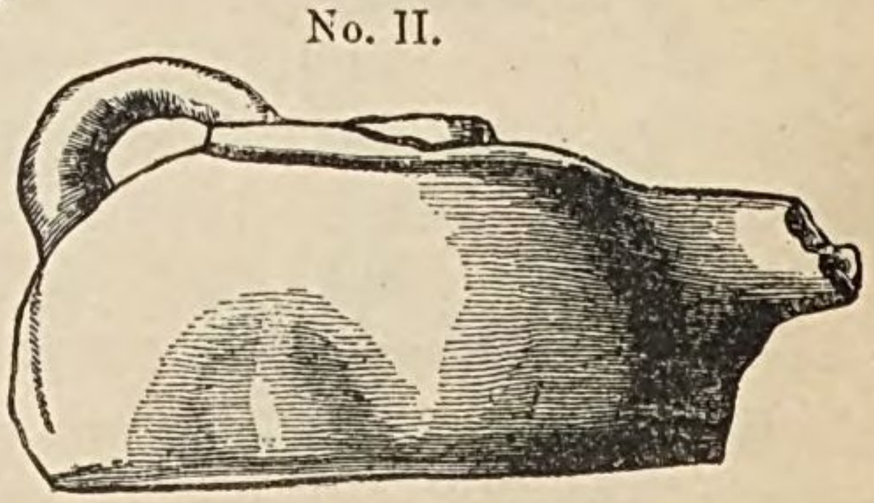
No. I.

Fig. 2.



No. II.

No. III.



No. IV.

Assyrian clay-lamps.

to have been a badge of office, and may not improbably mark him for the chief Eunuch.[303] In the absence of the Vizier, or sometimes in subordination to him,[304] he introduced the tribute-bearers to the king, reading out their names and titles from a scroll or tablet which he held in his left hand. [Pl. CXVII., Fig. 2.]

The fan carried by these attendants seems in most instances to have been made of feathers. It had a shortish handle, which was generally more or less ornamented, and frequently terminated in the head of a ram or other animal. [Pl. CXVIII., Fig. 1.] The feathers were sometimes of great length, and bent gracefully by their own weight, as they were pointed slantingly towards the monarch. Occasionally a comparatively short fan was used, and the feathers were replaced by a sort of brush, which may have been made of horse-hair, or possibly of some vegetable fibre.[305]

The other attendants on the monarch require no special notice. With regard to their number, however, it may be observed that, although the sculptures generally do not represent them as very numerous, there is reason to believe that they amounted to several hundreds. The enormous size of the palaces can scarcely be otherwise accounted for: and in one sculpture of an exceptional character, where the artist seems to have aimed at representing his subject in full, we can count above seventy attendants present with the monarch at one time.[306] Of these less than one-half are eunuchs; and these wear the long robe with the fringed belt and cross-belt. The other attendants wear in many cases the same costume; sometimes, however, they are dressed in a tunic and greaves, like the soldiers.[307]

There can be no doubt that the court ceremonial of the Assyrians was stately and imposing. The monarch seems indeed not to have affected that privacy and seclusion which forms a predominant feature of the ceremonial observed in most Oriental monarchies.[308] He showed himself very freely to his subjects on many occasions. He superintended in person the accomplishment of his great works.[309] In war and in the chase he rode in an open chariot, never using a litter, though litters were not unknown to the Assyrians. In his expeditions he would often descend from his chariot, and march or fight on foot like the meanest of his subjects. But though thus familiarizing the multitude with his features and appearance, he was far from allowing familiarity of address. Both in peace and

war he was attended by various officers of state, and no one had speech of him except through them. It would even seem as if two persons only were entitled to open a conversation with him—the Vizier and the Chief Eunuch. When he received them, he generally placed himself upon his throne, sitting, while they stood to address him. It is strongly indicative of the haughty pride of these sovereigns that they carried with them in their distant expeditions the cumbrous thrones[310] whereon they were wont to sit when they dispensed justice or received homage. On these thrones they sat, in or near their fortified camps, when the battle or the siege was ended, and thus sitting they received in state the spoil and the prisoners. Behind them on such occasions were the two fan-bearers, while near at hand were guards, scribes, grooms, and other attendants. In their palace halls undoubtedly the ceremonial used was stricter, grander, and more imposing. The sculptures, however, furnish no direct evidence on this point, for there is nothing to mark the scene of the great processional pieces.

In the pseudo-history of Ctesias, the Assyrian kings were represented as voluptuaries of the extremest kind, who passed their whole lives within the palace, in the company of their concubines and their eunuchs, indulging themselves in perpetual ease, pleasure, and luxury.[311] We have already seen how the warlike character of so many monarchs gives the lie to these statements, so far as they tax the Assyrian kings with sloth and idleness.[312] It remains to examine the charge of over-addiction to sensual delights, especially to those of the lowest and grossest description. Now it is at least remarkable that, so far as we have any real evidence, the Assyrian kings appear as monogamists. In the inscription on the god Nebo, the artist dedicates his statue "to his lord Vol-lush (?) and *his lady*, Sammuramit."[313] In the solitary sculptured representation of the private life of the king,[314] he is seen in the company of one female only. Even in the very narrative of Ctesias, Ninus has but one wife, Semiramis;[315] and Sardanapalus, notwithstanding his many concubines, has but five children, three sons and two daughters.[316] It is not intended to press these arguments to an extreme, or to assume, on the strength of them, that the Assyrian monarchs were really faithful to one woman. They may have had—nay, it is probable that they had—a certain number of concubines; but there is really not the least ground for believing that they carried concubinage to an excess, or overstepped in this respect the practice of the best Eastern sover-

eigns. At any rate they were not the voluptuaries which Ctesias represented them. A considerable portion of their lives was passed in the toils and dangers of war; and their peaceful hours, instead of being devoted to sloth and luxury in the retirement of the palace, were chiefly employed, as we shall presently see, in active and manly exercises in the field, which involved much exertion and no small personal peril.

The favorite occupation of the king in peace was the chase of the lion. In the early times he usually started on a hunting expedition in his chariot, dressed as when he went out to war, and attended by his charioteer, some swordsmen, and a groom holding a led horse. He carried a bow and arrows, a sword, one or two daggers, and a spear, which last stood in a rest made for it at the back of the chariot.[317] Two quivers, each containing an axe and an abundant supply of arrows, hung from the chariot transversely across its right side, while a shield armed with teeth was suspended behind. When a lion was found, the king pursued it in his chariot, letting fly his arrows as he went, and especially seeking to pierce the animal about the heart and head. Sometimes he transfixed the beast with three or four shafts before it succumbed. Occasionally the lion attacked him in his chariot, and was met with spear and shield,[318] or with a fresh arrow, according to the exigencies of the moment, or the monarch's preference for one or the other weapon. On rare occasions the monarch descended to the ground, and fought on foot. He would then engage the lion in close combat with no other weapon but a short sword, which he strove to plunge, and often plunged, into his heart. [Pl. CXVIII., Fig. 2.]

In the later time, though the chariot was still employed to some extent in the lion-hunts, it appears to have been far more usual for the king to enjoy the sport on foot. He carried a straight sword, which seems to have been a formidable weapon; it was strong, very broad, and two feet or a little more in length. Two attendants waited closely upon the monarch, one of whom carried a bow and arrows, while the other was commonly provided with one or two spears. From these attendants the king took the bow or spear at pleasure, usually commencing the attack with his arrows, and finally despatching the spent animal with sword or spear, as he deemed best. Sometimes, but not very often, the spearman in attendance carried also a shield, and held both spear and shield in advance of his master to protect him from the

animal's spring.[319] Generally the monarch faced the danger with no such protection, and received the brute on his sword, or thrust him through with his pike. [Pl. CXVIII., Fig. 3; Pl. CXIX., Fig. 1.] Perhaps the sculptures exaggerate the danger which he affronted at such moments; but we can hardly suppose that there was not a good deal of peril incurred in these hand-to-hand contests.[320]

Two modes of hunting the king of beasts were followed at this time. Either he was sought in his native haunts, which were then, as now, the reedy coverts by the side of the canals and great streams; or he was procured beforehand, conveyed to the hunting-ground, and there turned out before the hunters. In the former case the monarch took the field accompanied by his huntsmen and beaters on horse and foot, these last often holding dogs in leash, which, apparently, were used only to discover and arouse the game, but were not slipped at it when started. No doubt the hunt was sometimes entirely on the land, the monarch accompanying his beaters along one or other of the two banks of a canal or stream. But a different plan is known to have been adopted on some occasions. Disposing his beaters to the right and left upon both banks, the monarch with a small band of attendants would take ship, and, while his huntsmen sought to start the game on either side, he would have himself rowed along so as just to keep pace with them, and would find his sport in attacking such lions as took the water. The monarch's place on these occasions was the middle of the boat. Before him and behind him were guards armed with spears, who were thus ready to protect their master, whether the beast attacked him in front or rear. The monarch used a round bow, like that commonly carried in war, and aimed either at the heart or at the head. The spearmen presented their weapons at the same time, while the sides of the boat were also sufficiently high above the water to afford a considerable protection against the animal's spring. An attendant immediately behind the monarch held additional arrows ready for him; and after piercing the noble brute with three or four of these weapons, the monarch had commonly the satisfaction of seeing him sink down and expire. The carcass was then taken from the water, the fore and hind legs were lashed together with string, and the beast was suspended from the hinder part of the boat, where he hung over the water just out of the sweep of the oars.[321]

At other times, when it was felt that the natural chase of the animal might afford little or no sport, the Assyrians (as above stated) called art to their assistance, and, having obtained a supply of lions from a distance, brought them in traps or cages to the hunting-ground, and there turned them out before the monarch. The walls of the cage was made of thick spars of wood, with interstices between them, through which the lion could both see and be seen: probably the top was entirely covered with boards, and upon these was raised a sort of low hut or sentry-box, just large enough to contain a man, who, when the proper moment arrived, peeped forth from his concealment and cautiously raised the front of the trap, which was a kind of drop-door working in a groove. [Pl. CXIX., Fig. 2.] The trap being thus opened, the lion stole out, looking somewhat ashamed of his confinement, but doubtless anxious to vent his spleen on the first convenient object. The king, prepared for his attack, saluted him, as he left his cage, with an arrow, and, as he advanced, with others, which sometimes stretched him dead upon the plain, sometimes merely disabled him, while now and then they only goaded him to fury. In this case he would spring at the royal chariot, clutch some part of it, and in his agony grind it between his teeth,[322] or endeavor to reach the inmates of the car from behind.[323] If the king had descended from the car to the plain, the infuriated beast might make his spring at the royal person, in which case it must have required a stout heart to stand unmoved, and aim a fresh arrow at a vital part while the creature was in mid-air, especially if (as we sometimes see represented) a second lion was following close upon the first, and would have to be received within a few seconds.[324] It would seem that the lions on some occasions were not to be goaded into making an attack, but simply endeavored to escape by flight. To prevent this, troops were drawn up in a double line of spearmen and archers round the space within which the lions were let loose, the large shields of the front or spearman line forming a sort of wall, and the spears a *chevaux de frise*, through which it was almost impossible for the beasts to break. In front of the soldiers, attendants held hounds in leashes, which either by their baying and struggling frightened the animals back, or perhaps assisted to despatch them.[325] [Pl. CXIX., Fig. 3.] The king meanwhile plied his bow, and covered the plain with carcasses, often striking a single beast with five or six shafts.

The number of lions destroyed at these royal *battues* is very surprising. In one representation[326] no fewer than eighteen are seen upon the field, of which eleven are dead and five seriously wounded. The introduction of trapped beasts would seem to imply that the game, which under the earlier monarchs had been exceedingly abundant,[327] failed comparatively under the later ones, who therefore imported it from a distance. It is evident, however, that this scarcity was not allowed to curtail the royal amusement. To gratify the monarch, hunters sought remote and savage districts, where the beast was still plentiful, and, trapping their prey, conveyed it many hundreds of miles to yield a momentary pleasure to the royal sportsman.

It is instructive to contrast with the boldness shown in the lion-hunts of this remote period the feelings and conduct of the present inhabitants of the region. The Arabs, by whom it is in the main possessed, are a warlike race, accustomed from infancy to arms and inured to combat. "Their hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against them." Yet they tremble if a lion is but known to be near,[328] and can only with the utmost difficulty be persuaded by an European to take any part in the chase of so dangerous an animal.[329]

The lioness, no less than the lion, appears as a beast of chase upon the sculptures. It seems that in modern times she is quite as much feared as her consort. Indeed, when she has laid up cubs, she is even thought to be actually the more dangerous of the two.[330] [Pl. CXX., Fig. 1.]

Next to the chase of the lion and lioness, the early Assyrian monarchs delighted in that of the wild bull. It is not quite certain what exact species of animal is sought to be expressed by the representations upon the sculptures; but on the whole it is perhaps most probable that the Aurochs or European bison (*Bos urus* of naturalists) is the beast intended.[331] At any rate it was an animal of such strength and courage that, according to the Assyrian belief, it ventured to contend with the lion. [Pl. CXX., Fig. 2.] The Assyrian monarchs chased the wild bull in their chariots without dogs, but with the assistance of horsemen, who turned the animals when they fled, and brought them within the monarch's reach.[332] [Pl. CXX., Fig. 3.] The king then aimed his arrows at them, and the attendant horsemen, who were provided with bows, seem to have been permitted to do the same. The bull seldom fell until he

had received a number of wounds; and we sometimes see as many as five arrows still fixed in the body of one that has succumbed.[333] It would seem that the bull, when pushed, would, like the lion, make a rush at the king's chariot, in which case the monarch seized him by one of the horns and gave him the *coup de grâce* with his sword.

The special zest with which this animal was pursued[334] may have arisen in part from its scarcity. The Aurochs is wild and shy; it dislikes the neighborhood of man, and has retired before him till it is now found only in the forests of Lithuania, Carpathia, and the Caucasus. It seems nearly certain that, in the time of the later kings, the species of wild cattle previously hunted, whatever it was, had disappeared from Assyria altogether; at least this is the only probable account that can be given of its non-occurrence in the later sculptures, more especially in those of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon, which seem intended to represent the chase under every aspect known at the time. We might therefore presume it to have been, even in the early period, already a somewhat rare animal. And so we find in the Inscriptions that the animal, or animals, which appear to represent wild cattle,[335] were only met with in outlying districts of the empire—on the borders of Syria and in the country about Harran; and then in such small numbers[336] as to imply that even there they were not very abundant.

When the chase of the nobler animals—the lion and the wild bull—had been conducted to a successful issue, the hunters returned in a grand procession to the capital, carrying with them as trophies of their prowess the bodies of the slain. These were borne aloft on the shoulders of men, three or four being required to carry each beast. Having been brought to an appointed spot, they were arranged side by side upon the ground, the heads of all pointing the same way; and the monarch, attended by several of his principal officers, as the Vizier, the Chief Eunuch, the fan-bearers, the bow and mace bearers, and also by a number of musicians, came to the place, and solemnly poured a libation over the prostrate forms, first however (as it would seem) raising the cup to his own lips.[337] It is probable that this ceremony had to some extent a religious character. The Assyrian monarchs commonly ascribe the success of their hunting expeditions to the gods Nin (or Ninip) and Nergal;[338] and we may well understand that a triumphant return would be accompanied by a thank-offering to the great

protectors under whose auspices success had been achieved. [Pl. CXX., Fig. 4.]

Besides the wild bull and the lion, the Assyrians are known to have hunted the following animals: the onager or wild ass, the stag, the ibex or wild goat, the gazelle, and the hare.

The chase of the wild ass was conducted in various ways. The animal was most commonly pursued with dogs. The large and powerful hounds of the Assyrians, of which a certain use was made even in the chase of the lion,[339] have been already noticed; but it may be desirable in this place to give a fuller account of them. They were of a type approaching to that of our mastiff, being smooth haired, strong limbed, with a somewhat heavy head and neck, small pointed but drooping ears,[340] and a long tail, which was bushy and a little inclined to curl. They seem to have been very broad across the chest, and altogether better developed as to their fore than as to their hind parts, though even their hind legs were tolerably strong and sinewy. They must have been exceedingly bold, if they really faced the hunted lion; and their pace must have been considerable, if they were found of service in chasing the wild ass.

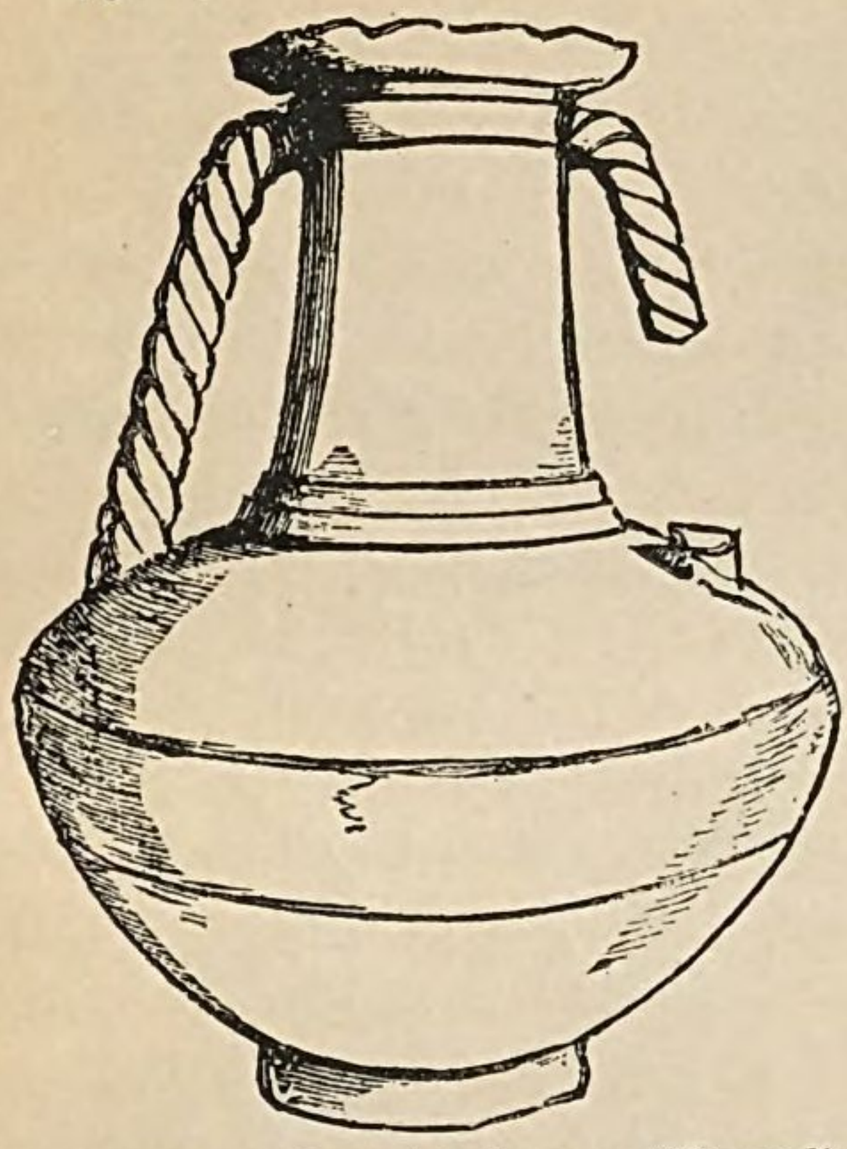
The hunters are represented as finding the wild asses in herds, among which are seen a certain number of foals. The king and his chief attendants pursue the game on horseback, armed with bows and arrows, and discharging their arrows as they go. Hounds also—not now held in leash, but free—join in the hunt, pressing on the game, and generally singling out some one individual from the herd, either a young colt or sometimes a full-grown animal. [Pl. CXXI., Fig. 1.] The horsemen occasionally brought down the asses with their shafts. [Pl. CXXI., Fig. 2.] When their archery failed of success, the chase depended on the hounds, which are represented as running even the full-grown animal to a stand, and then worrying him till the hunters came up to give the last blow. Considering the speed of the full-grown wild ass, which is now regarded as almost impossible to take,[341] we may perhaps conclude that the animals thus run down by the hounds were such as the hunters had previously wounded;[342] for it can scarcely be supposed that such heavily-made dogs as the Assyrian could really have caught an unwounded and full-grown wild ass. [Pl. CXXI., Fig. 3.]

Instead of shooting the wild ass, or hunting him to the death with hounds, an endeavor was sometimes made to take him

Vol I

Plate LXXXIII.

Fig. 1.

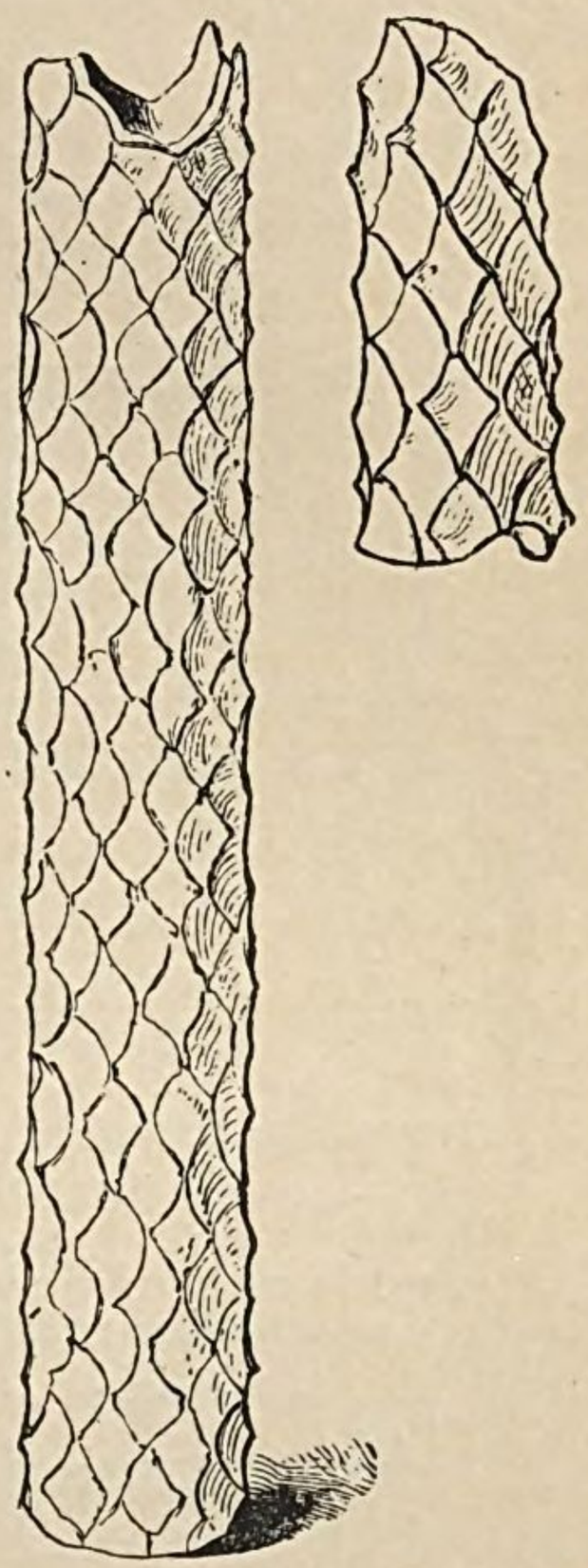


Amphora, with twisted arms (Nimrud).

Fig 2.

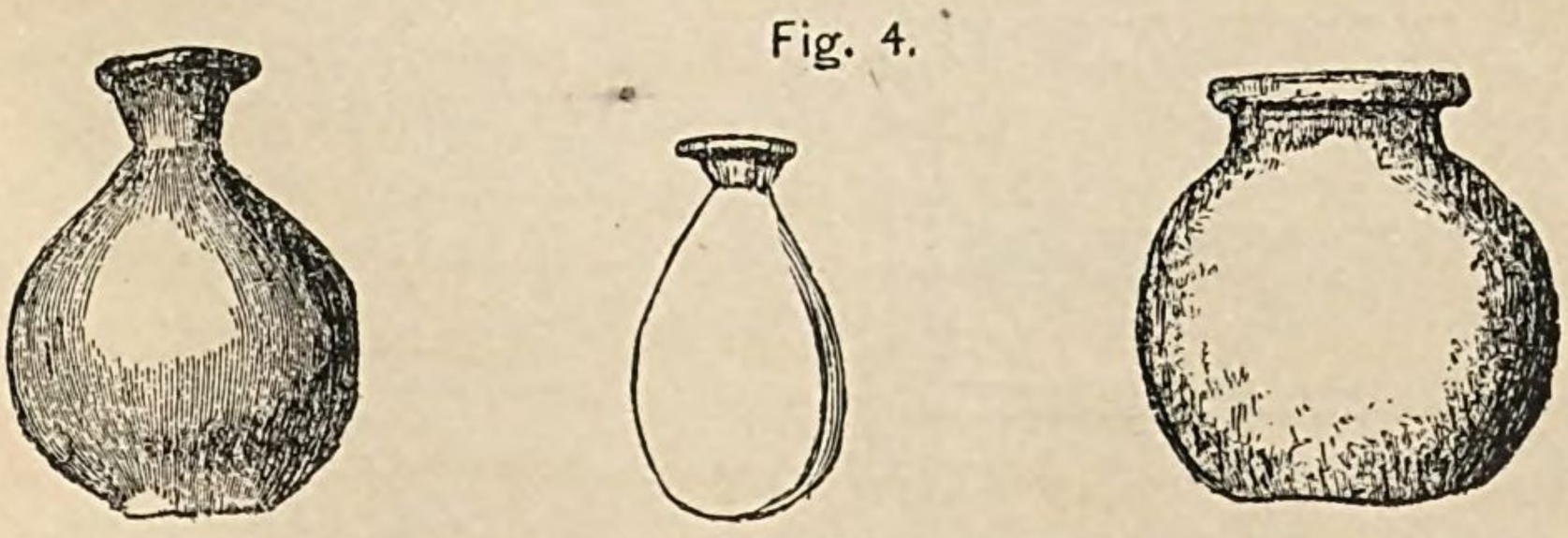
Glass vase, bearing the name of Sargon, from Nimrud.

Fig. 3.



Fragments of hollow Tubes, in Glass, from Koyunjik (after Layard).

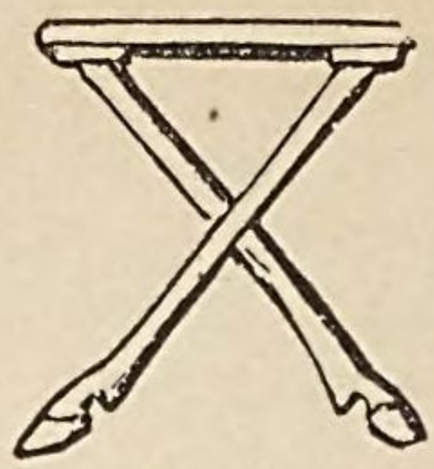
Fig. 4.



Assyrian glass bottles and bowl.

Fig. 1.

No. I.



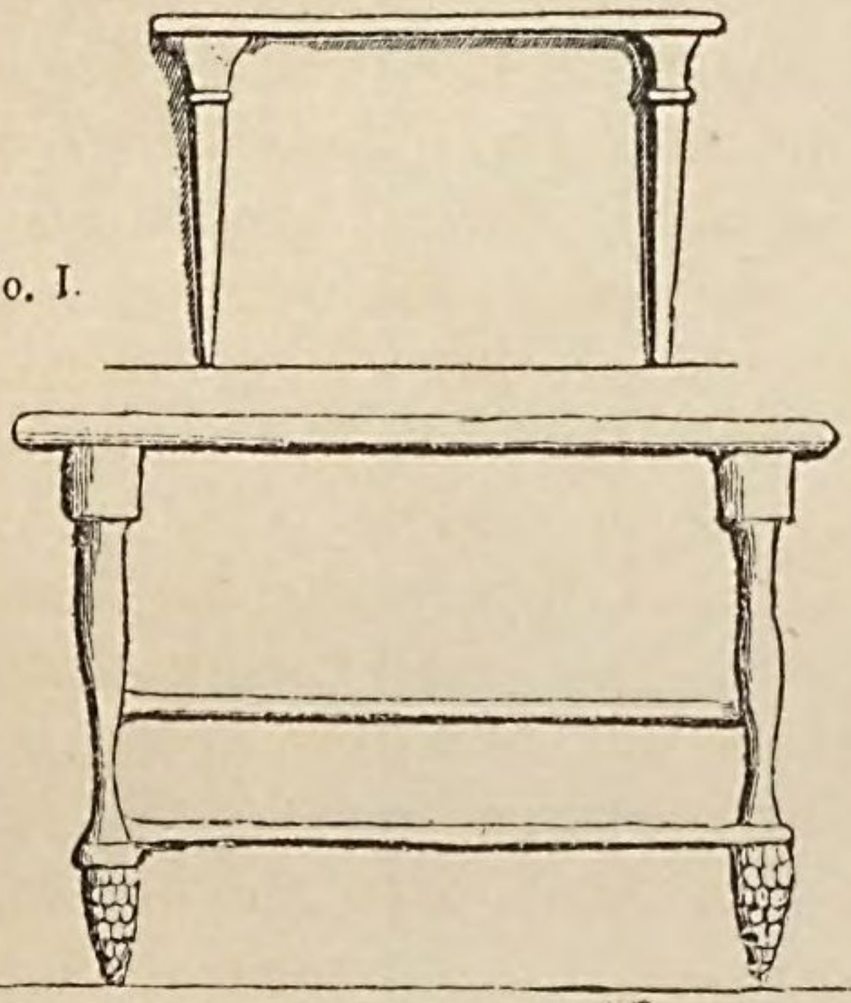
No. II.

No. III.

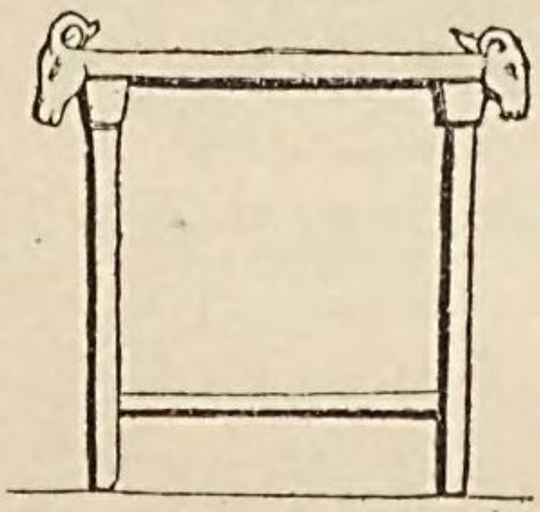
Ordinary Assyrian Tables, from the bas-reliefs.

Fig. 2.

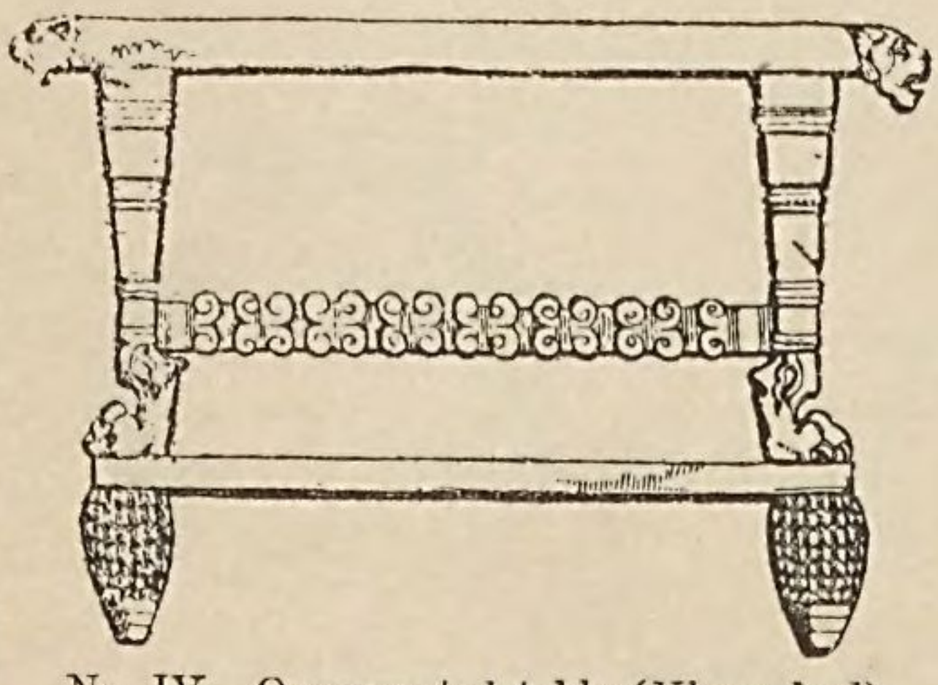
No. I.



No. II Assyrian tables, from bas-reliefs (Kovrnjik).



No. III. Table, ornamented with rams' heads (Koyunjik.)

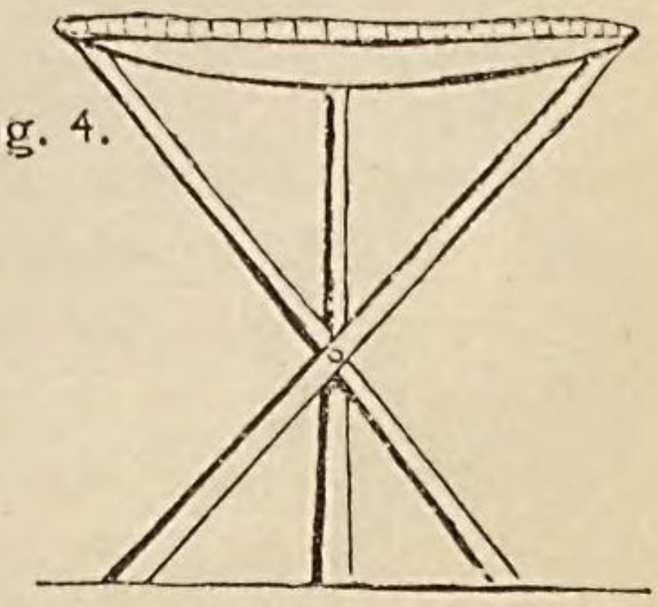


No. IV. Ornamented table (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.

Sennacherib on his throne (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4.



Three-legged table (Koyunjik).

alive. [Pl. CXXI., Fig. 4.] A species of noose seems to have been made by means of two ropes interlaced, which were passed—how, we cannot say—round the neck of the animal, and held him in such a way that all his struggles to release himself were vain. This mode of capture recalls the use of the lasso by the South Americans, and the employment of nooses by various nations, not merely in hunting, but in warfare.[343] It is doubtful, however, if the Assyrian practice approached at all closely to any of these. The noose, if it may be so called, was of a very peculiar kind. It was not formed by means of a slip-knot at the end of a single cord, but resulted from the interlacing of two ropes one with the other. There is great difficulty in understanding how the ropes were got into their position. Certainly no single throw could have placed them round the neck of the animal in the manner represented, nor could the capture have been effected, according to all appearance, by a single hunter. Two persons, at least, must have been required to combine their efforts—one before and one behind the creature which it was designed to capture.

Deer, which have always abounded in Assyria,[344] were either hunted with dogs, or driven by beaters into nets, or sometimes shot with arrows by sportsmen. The illustration (Pl. CXXII., Fig. 1) represents a dog in chase of a hind, and shows that the hounds which the Assyrians used for this purpose were of the same breed as those employed in the hunt of the lion and of the wild ass.[345] In Pl. CXXII., Fig. 2, we have a stricken stag, which may, perhaps, have been also hard pressed by hounds, in the act of leaping from rocky ground into water. It is interesting to find this habit of the stag, with which the modern English sportsman is so familiar, not merely existing in Assyria, but noticed by Assyrian sculptors, at the distance of more than twenty-five centuries from our own time.

When deer were to be taken by nets, the sportsman began by setting in an upright position, with the help of numerous poles and pegs, a long, low net, like the *δίκτυον* of the Greeks.[346] [Pl. CXXII., Fig. 1.] This was carried round in a curved line of considerable length, so as to enclose an ample space on every side excepting one, which was left open for the deer to enter. The meshes of the net were large and not very regular. They were carefully secured by knots at all the angles. The net was bordered both at top and at bottom by a rope of much greater strength and thickness than that which formed the network; and this was fastened to the ground at

the two extremities by pegs of superior size. [Pl. CXXIII., Fig. 2.] The general height of the net was about that of a man, but the two ends were sloped gently to the ground. Beaters, probably accompanied by dogs, roused the game in the coverts, which was then driven by shouts and barkings towards the place where the net was set. If it once entered within the two extremities of the net (*a b*, Pl. CXXIII., Fig. 1), its destruction was certain; for the beaters, following on its traces, occupied the space by which it had entered, and the net itself was not sufficiently visible for the deer to rise at it and clear it by a leap.

In the chase of the ibex or wild goat, horsemen were employed to discover the animals, which were generally found in herds, and to drive them towards the sportsman, who waited in ambush until the game appeared within bowshot.[347] [Pl. CXXIII., Fig. 3.] An arrow was then let fly at the nearest or the choicest animal, which often fell at the first discharge. [Pl. CXXIII., Fig. 4.] The sport was tame compared with many other kinds, and was probably not much affected by the higher orders.

The chase of the gazelle is not shown on the sculptures. In modern times they are taken by the grayhound and the falcon, separately or in conjunction, the two being often trained to hunt together.[348] They are somewhat difficult to run down with dogs only, except immediately after they have drunk water in hot weather.[349] That the Assyrians sometimes captured them, appears by a hunting scene which Mr. Layard discovered at Khorsabad, where an attendant is represented carrying a gazelle on his shoulders, and holding a hare in his right hand.[350] [Pl. CXXIV., Fig. 1.] As gazelles are very abundant both in the Sinjar country and in the district between the Tigris and the Zagros range,[351] we may suppose that the Assyrians sometimes came upon them unawares, and transfixed them with their arrows before they could make their escape. They may also have taken them in nets, as they were accustomed to take deer;[352] but we have no evidence that they did so.

The hare is seen very commonly in the hands of those who attend upon the huntsmen.[353] It is always represented as very small in proportion to the size of the men, whence we may perhaps conclude that the full-grown animal was less esteemed than the leveret. As the huntsmen in these representations have neither nets nor dogs, but seem to obtain their

game solely by the bow, we must presume that they were expert enough to strike the hare as it ran.

There is no difficulty in making such a supposition as this, since the Assyrians have left us an evidence of their skill as marksmen which implies even greater dexterity. The game which they principally sought in the districts where they occasionally killed the hare and the gazelle seems to have been the partridge; and this game they had to bring down when upon the wing. We see the sportsmen in the sculptures aiming their arrows at the birds as they mount into the air (Pl. CXXIV., Fig. 2), and in one instance we observe one of the birds in the act of falling to the ground, transfixed by a well aimed shaft.[354] Such skill is not uncommon among savage hunting tribes, whose existence depends on the dexterity with which they employ their weapons; but it is rarely that a people which has passed out of this stage, and hunts for sport rather than subsistence, retains its old expertness.

Hunting the hare with dogs was probably not very common, as it is only in a single instance that the Assyrian remains exhibit a trace of it. On one of the bronze dishes discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud may be seen [355] a series of alternate dogs and hares, which shows that coursing was not unknown to the Assyrians. [Pl. CXXIV., Fig. 3.] The dog is of a kind not seen elsewhere in the remains of Assyrian art. The head bears a resemblance to that of the wolf; but the form generally is that of a coarse grayhound, the legs and neck long, the body slim, and the tail curved at the end; offering thus a strong contrast to the ordinary Assyrian hound, which has been already represented more than once.[356]

Nets may sometimes have been employed for the capture of small game, such as hares and rabbits, since we occasionally see beaters or other attendants carrying upon poles, which they hold over their shoulders, nets of dimensions far too small for them to have been used in the deer-hunts, with balls of string and pegs wherewith to extend them. [Pl. CXXIV., Fig. 4.] The nets in this case are squared at the ends, and seem to have been about eight or nine feet long, and less than a foot in height. They have large meshes, and, like the deer nets, are bordered both at top and bottom with a strong cord, to which the net-work is attached. Like the classical *ἐνόδια*, they were probably placed across the runs of the animals, which, being baffled by them and turned from their accustomed tracks, would grow bewildered, and fall an easy prey

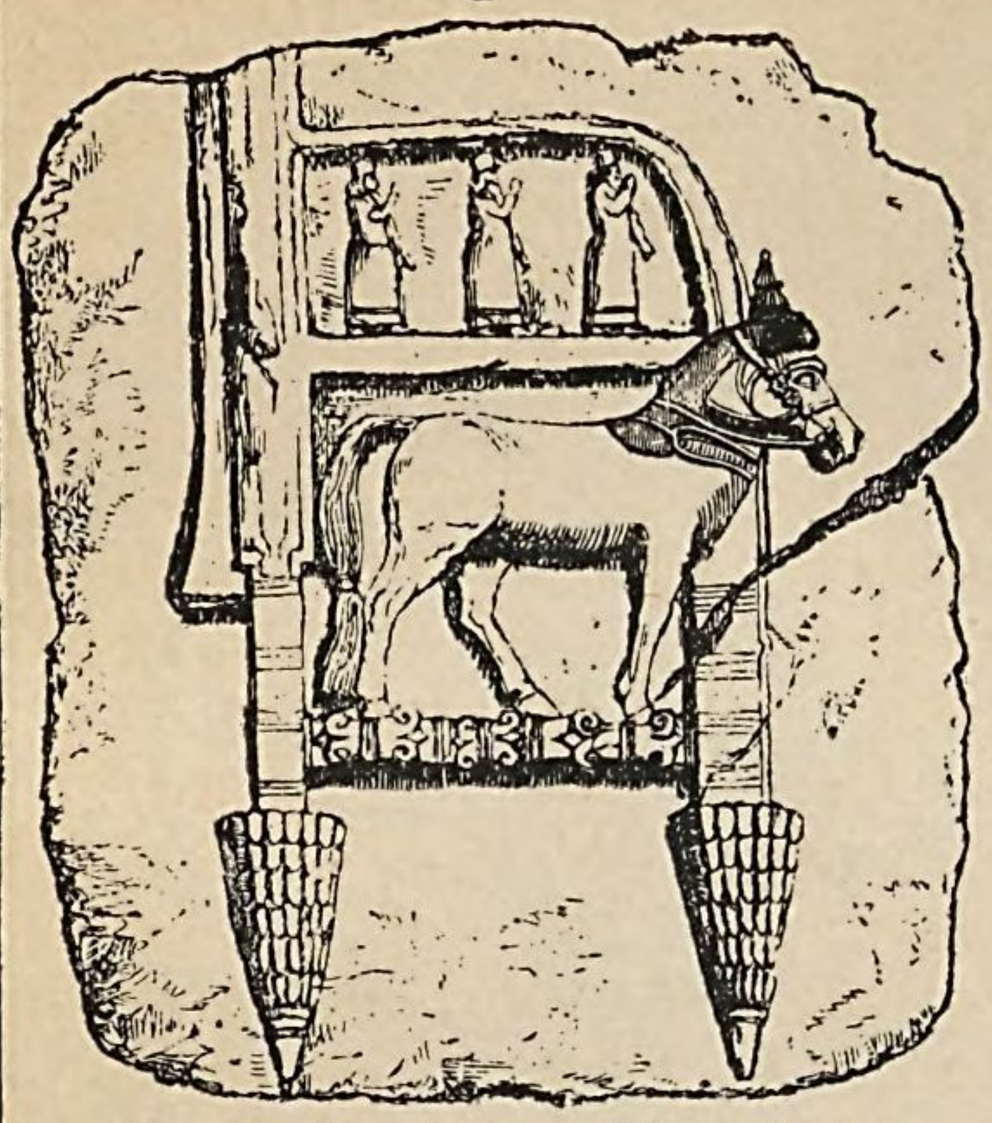
to the hunters. Or, possibly, several of them may have been joined together, and a considerable space may then have been enclosed, within which the game may have been driven by the beaters. The chase of these three weak and timid animals, the gazelle, the hare, and the partridge, was not regarded as worthy fo the monarch. When the king is represented as present, he takes no part in it, but merely drives in his chariot through the woods where the sportsmen are amusing themselves.[357] Persons, however, of a good position, as appears from their dress and the number of their attendants, indulged in the sport, more especially eunuchs, who were probably those of the royal household. It is not unlikely that the special object was to supply the royal table with game.[358]

The Assyrians do not seem to have had much skill as fishermen. They were unacquainted with the rod, and fished by means of a simple line thrown into the water, one end of which was held in the hand. [Pl. CXXV., Figs. 1, 2.] No float was used, and the bait must consequently have sunk to the bottom, unless prevented from so doing by the force of the stream. This method of fishing was likewise known and practised in Egypt,[359] where, however, it was far more common to angle with a rod.[360] Though Assyrian fish-hooks have not been found, there can be no doubt that that invention was one with which they were acquainted, as were both the Egyptians[361] and the early Chaldæans.[362]

Fishing was carried on both in rivers and in stews or ponds. The angler sometimes stood or squatted upon the bank; at other times, not content with commanding the mere edge of the water, he plunged in, and is seen mid-stream, astride upon an inflated skin, quietly pursuing his avocation. [Pl. CXXVI., Fig. 1.] Occasionally he improved his position by mounting upon a raft, and, seated at the stern, with his back to the rower, threw out his line and drew the fish from the water.[363] Now and then the fisherman was provided with a plaited basket, made of rushes or flags, which was fastened round his neck with a string, and hung at his back, ready to receive the produce of his exertions.

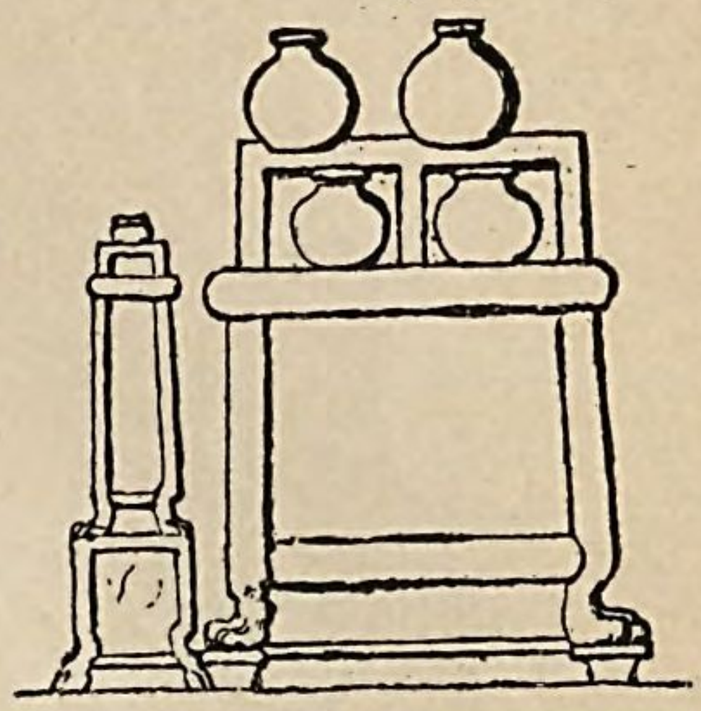
It does not appear that angling was practised by the Assyrians in the way that the monuments show it to have been practised in Egypt, as an amusement of the rich.[364] The fishermen are always poorly clothed, and seem to have belonged to the class which worked for its living. It is remarkable that we do not anywhere in the sculptures see nets used for fish-

Fig 1.



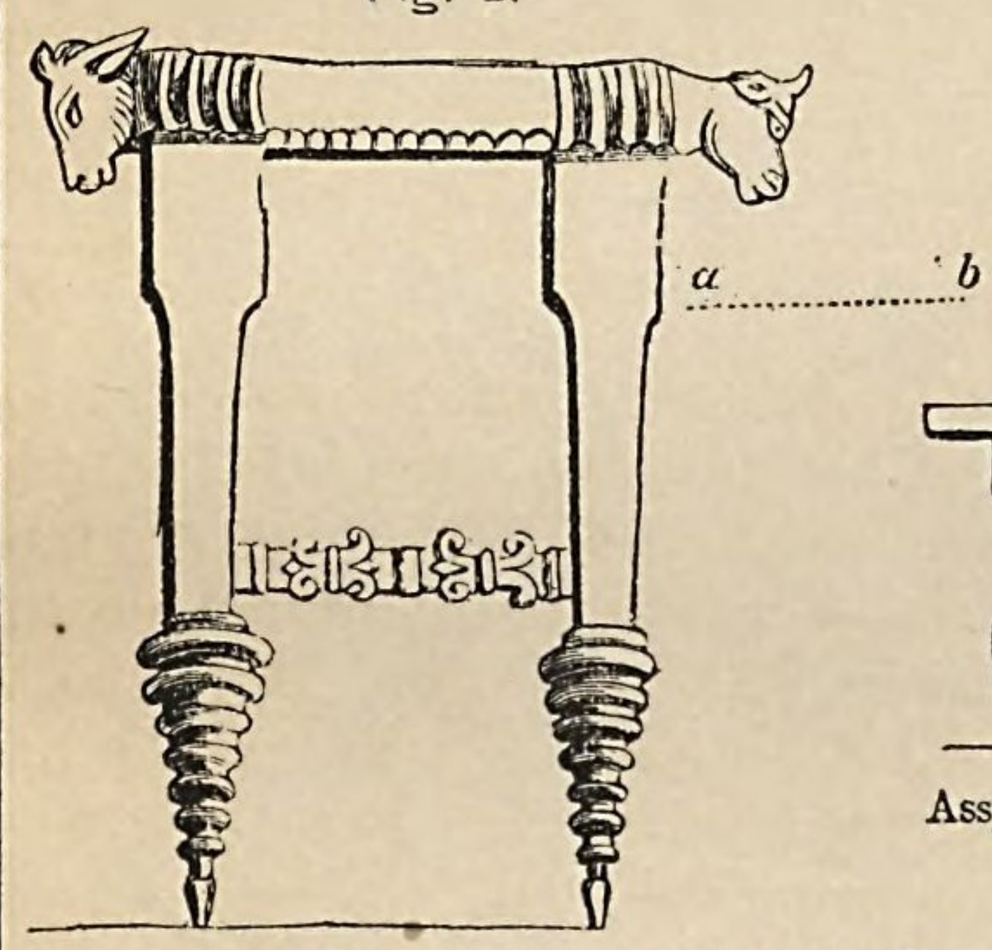
Arm-chair or Throne (Khorsabad).

Fig. 5.



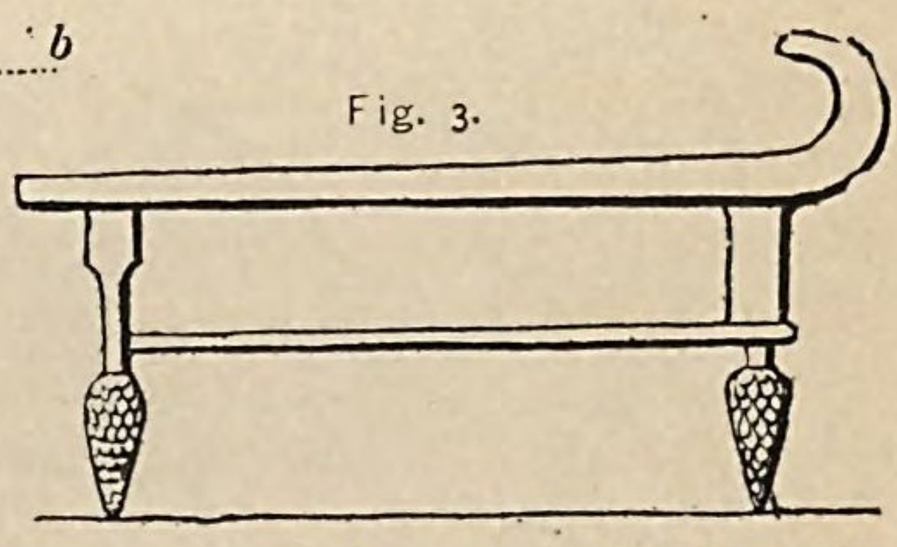
Stands for jars.

Fig. 2.



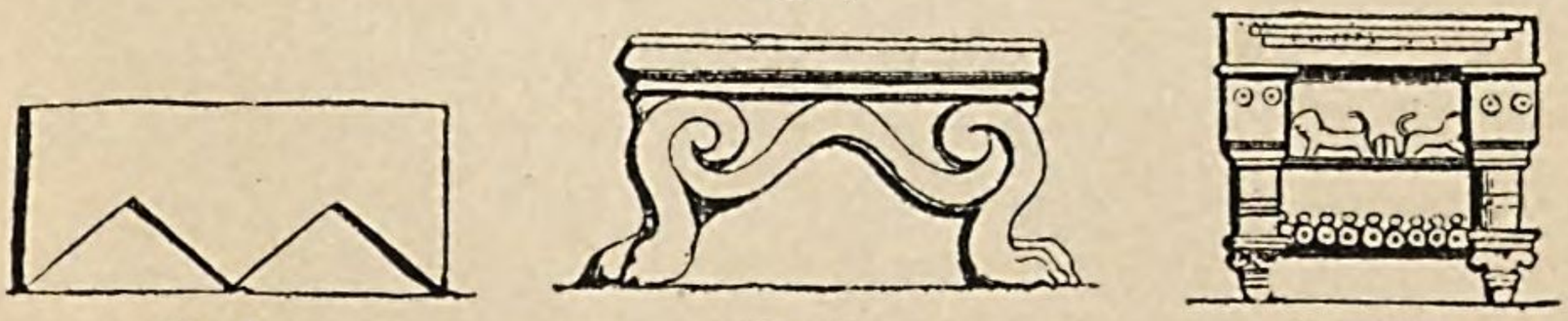
Assyrian ornamented Seat (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.



Assyrian couch, from a bas-relief, Koyunjik.

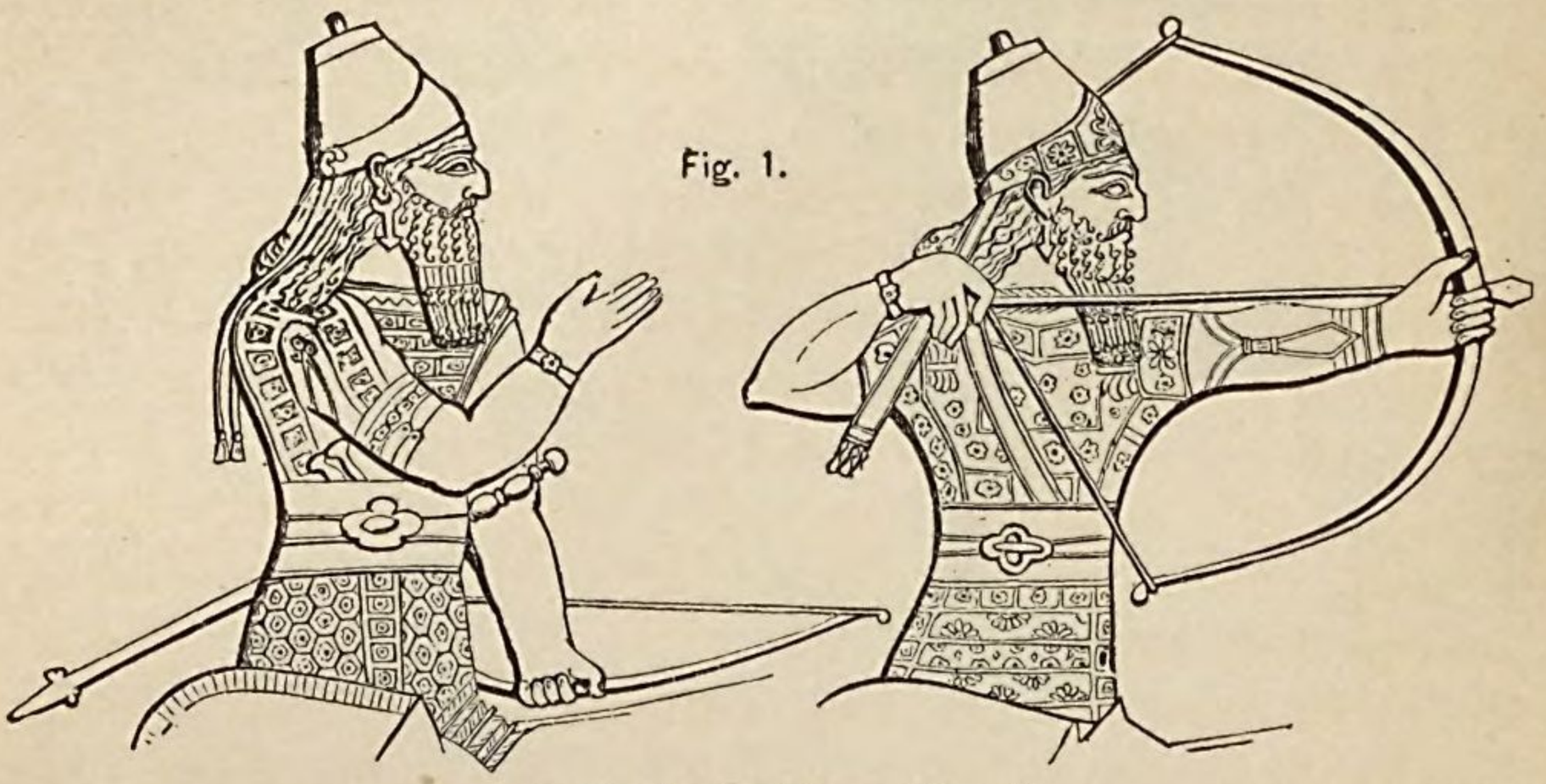
Fig. 4.



No. I. No. II. No. III.

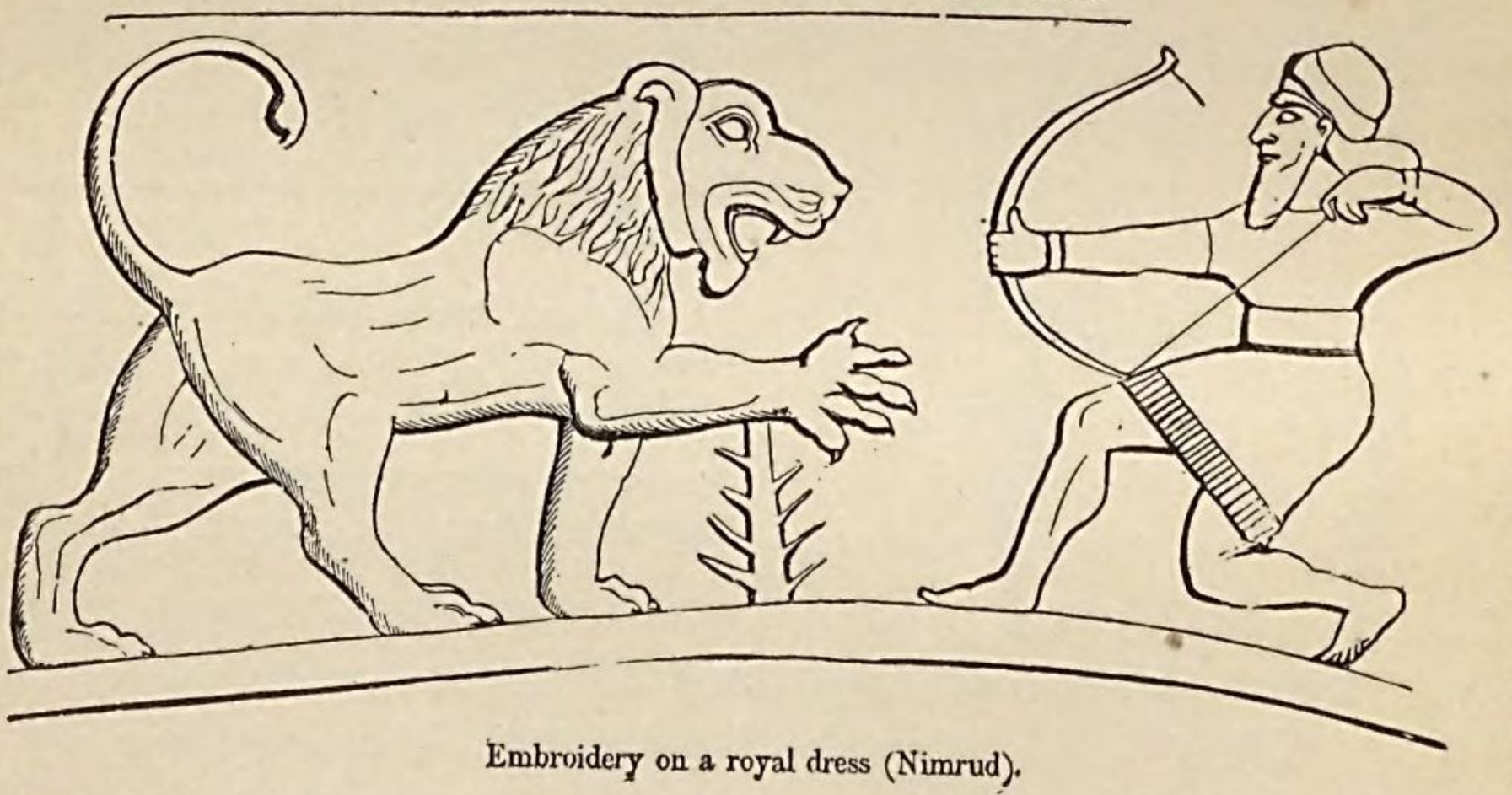
Assyrian Footstools (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



Royal embroidered dresses (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



Embroidery on a royal dress (Nimrud).

ing; but perhaps we ought not to conclude from this that they were never so employed in Assyria.[365] The Assyrian sculptors represented only occasionally the scenes of common everyday life; and we are seldom justified in drawing a negative conclusion as to the peaceful habits of the people on any point from the mere fact that the bas-reliefs contain no positive evidence on the subject.

A few other animals were probably, but not certainly, chased by the Assyrians, as especially the ostrich and the bear. The gigantic bird, which remained in Mesopotamia as late as the time of Xenophon,[366] was well known to the Assyrian artists, who could scarcely have represented it with so much success,[367] unless its habits had been described by hunters.[368] The bear is much less frequent upon the remains than the ostrich; but its occurrence and the truthfulness of its delineation where it occurs, indicate a familiarity which may no doubt be due to other causes, but is probably traceable to the intimate knowledge acquired by those who hunted it. [Pl. CXXVI., Fig. 2.]

Of the other amusements and occupations of the Assyrians our knowledge is comparatively scanty; but some pages may be here devoted to their music, their navigation, their commerce, and their agriculture. On the first and second of these a good deal of light is thrown by the monuments, while some interesting facts with respect to the third and fourth may be gathered both from this source and also from ancient writers.

That the Babylonians, the neighbors of the Assyrians, and, in a certain sense, the inheritors of their empire, had a passion for music, and delighted in a great variety of musical instruments, has long been known and admitted. The repeated mention by Daniel, in his third chapter, of the "cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music"[369]—or, at any rate, of a number of instruments for which those terms were once thought the best English equivalents—has familiarized us with the fact that in Babylonia, as early as the sixth century B.C., musical instruments of many different kinds were in use. It is also apparent from the book of Psalms, that a variety of instruments were employed by the Jews.[370] And we know that in Egypt as many as thirteen or fourteen different kinds were common.[371] In Assyria, if there was not so much variety as this, there were at any rate eight or nine quite different sorts, some stringed, some wind, some merely instruments of percussion. In the early sculptures, indeed, only two or three musical instruments are repre-

sented. One is a kind of harp, held between the left arm and the side, and played with one hand by means of a quill or *plectrum*. [Pl. CXXVI., Fig. 3.] Another is a lyre, played by the hand; while a third is apparently a cymbal. But in the later times we see—besides these instruments—a harp of a different make play edwith both hands, two or three kinds of lyre, the double pipe, the guitar or cithern, the tambourine, a nameless instrument, and more than one kind of drum.

The harp of the early ages was a triangular instrument, consisting of a horizontal board which seems to have been about three feet in length, an upright bar inserted into one end of the board, commonly surmounted by an imitation of the human hand, and a number of strings which crossed diagonally from the board to the bar, and, passing through the latter, hung down some way, terminating in tassels of no great size. The strings were eight, nine, or ten in number, and (apparently) were made fast to the board, but could be tightened or relaxed by means of a row of pegs inserted into the upright bar, round which the strings were probably wound. No difference is apparent in the thickness of the strings; and it would seem therefore that variety of tone was produced solely by difference of length. It is thought that this instrument must have been suspended round the player's neck.[372] It was carried at the left side, and was played (as already observed) with a quill or *plectrum* held in the right hand, while the left hand seems to have been employed in pressing the strings so as to modify the tone, or stop the vibrations, of the notes. The performers on this kind of harp, and indeed all other Assyrian musicians, are universally represented as standing while they play.

The harp of later times was constructed, held, and played differently. It was still triangular,[373] or nearly so; but the frame now consisted of a rounded and evidently hollow[374] sounding-board, to which the strings were attached with the help of pegs, and a plain bar whereto they were made fast below, and from which their ends depended like a fringe. The number of strings was greater than in the earlier harp, being sometimes as many as seventeen. The instrument was carried in such a way that the strings were perpendicular and the bar horizontal, while the sounding-board projected forwards at an angle above the player's head. It was played by the naked hand, without a *plectrum;* and both hands seem to have found their employment in pulling the strings. [Pl. CXXVII., Fig. 1.]

Three varieties of the lyre are seen in the Assyrian sculpt-

ures. One of them is triangular, or nearly so, and has only four strings, which, being carried from one side of the triangle to the other, parallel to the base, are necessarily of very unequal length. Its frame is apparently of wood, very simple, and entirely devoid of ornament. This sort of lyre has been found only in the latest sculptures.[375] [Pl. CXXVI., Fig. 4.]

Another variety nearly resembles in its general shape the lyre of the Egyptians.[376] It has a large square bottom or sounding-board,[377] which is held, like the Egyptian, under the left elbow, two straight arms only slightly diverging, and a plain cross-bar at top. The number of strings visible in the least imperfect representation is eight; but judging by the width of the instrument, we may fairly assume that the full complement was nine or ten. The strings run from the cross-bar to the sounding-board, and must have been of a uniform length. This lyre was played by both hands, and for greater security was attached by a band passing round the player's neck. [Pl. CXXVII., Fig. 2.]

The third sort of lyre was larger than either of the others, and considerably more elaborate. It had probably a sounding-board at bottom, like the lyre just described, though this, being carried under the left elbow, is concealed in the representations. Hence there branched out two curved arms, more or less ornamented, which were of very unequal length; and these were joined together by a cross-bar, also curved, and projecting considerably beyond the end of the longer of the two arms. Owing to the inequality of the arms, the cross-bar sloped at an angle to the base, and the strings, which passed from the one to the other, consequently differed in length. The number of the strings in this lyre seems to have been either five or seven. [Pl. CXXVIII., Figs. 2, 3.]

The Assyrian guitar is remarkable for the small size of the hollow body or sounding-board, and the great proportionate length of the neck or handle. There is nothing to show what was the number of the strings, nor whether they were stretched by pegs and elevated by means of a bridge. Both hands seem to be employed in playing the instrument, which is held across the chest in a sloping direction, and was probably kept in place by a ribbon or strap passed round the neck.[378] [Pl. CXXVIII., Fig. 1.]

It is curious that in the Assyrian remains, while the double pipe is common, we find no instance at all either of the flute or of the single pipe. All three were employed in Egypt, and

occur on the monuments of that country frequently;[379] and though among the Greeks and Romans the double pipe was more common than the single one, yet the single pipe was well known, and its employment was not unusual. The Greeks regarded the pipe as altogether Asiatic, and ascribed its invention to Marsyas the Phrygian,[380] or to Olympus, his disciple.[381] We may conclude from this that they at any rate learnt the invention from Asia; and in their decided preference of the double over the single pipe we may not improbably have a trace of the influence which Assyria exercised over Asiatic, and thus even over Greek, music. [Pl. CXXVIII., Fig. 1.]

The Assyrian double pipe was short, probably not exceeding ten or twelve inches in length.[382] It is uncertain whether it was really a single instrument consisting of two tubes united by a common mouthpiece, or whether it was not composed of two quite separate pipes, as was the case with the double pipes of the Greeks and Romans.

The two pipes constituting a pair seem in Assyria to have been always of the same length, not, like the Roman "right" and "left pipes," of unequal length, and so of different pitches.[383] They were held and played, like the classical one, with either hand of the performer. There can be little doubt that they were in reality quite straight, though sometimes they have been awkwardly represented as crooked by the artist.

The tambourine of the Assyrian was round, like that in common use at the present day; not square, like the ordinary Egyptian.[384] It seems to have consisted simply of a skin stretched on a circular frame, and to have been destitute altogether of the metal rings or balls which produce the jingling sound of the modern instrument. It was held at bottom by the left hand in a perpendicular position, and was struck at the side with the fingers of the right. [Pl. CXXIX., Fig. 1.]

Assyrian cymbals closely resembled those in common use throughout the East at the present day.[385] They consisted of two hemispheres of metal, probably of bronze, running off to a point, which was elongated into a bar or handle. The player grasped a cymbal in each hand, and either clashed them together horizontally, or else, holding one cupwise in his left, brought the other down upon it perpendicularly with his right. [Pl. CXXX., Fig. 1.]

Two drums are represented on the Assyrian sculptures.

One is a small instrument resembling the *tubbul*, now frequently used by Eastern dancing-girls.[386] The other is of larger size, like the *tubbul* at top, but descending gradually in the shape of an inverted cone, and terminating almost in a point at bottom. Both were carried in front, against the stomach of the player—attached, apparently, to his girdle; and both were played in the same way, namely, with the fingers of the open hands on the top.[387] [Pl. CXXX., Fig. 2.]

A few instruments carried by musicians are of an anomalous appearance, and do not admit of identification with any known species. One, which is borne by a musician in a processional scene belonging to the time of Sennacherib, resembles in shape a bag turned upside-down. By the manner in which it is held, we may conjecture that it was a sort of rattle—a hollow square box of wood or metal, containing stones or other hard substances which produced a jingling noise when shaken. But the purpose of the semicircular bow which hangs from the box is difficult to explain, unless we suppose that it was merely a handle by which to carry the instrument when not in use. Rattles of different kinds are found among the musical instruments of Egypt;[388] and one of them consists of a box with a long handle attached to it. The jingling noise produced by such instruments may have corresponded to the sound now emitted by the side-rings of the tambourine.

Another curious-looking instrument occurs in a processional scene of the time of Aśshur-bani-pal, which has been compared to the modern *santour*, a sort of dulcimer.[389] It consisted (apparently) of a number of strings, certainly not fewer than ten, stretched over a hollow case or sounding-board. The musician seems to have struck the strings with a small bar or hammer held in his right hand, while at the same time he made some use of his left hand in pressing them so as to produce the right note. It is clear that this instrument must have been suspended round the neck, though the Assyrian artist has omitted to represent the belt which kept it in place. [Pl. CXXIX., Fig. 2.]

In addition to all these various instruments, it is possible that the Assyrians may have made use of a sort of horn. An object is represented on a slab of Sennacherib's which is certainly either a horn or a speaking-trumpet. It is carried by one of the supervisors of the works in a scene representing the conveyance of a colossal bull to its destination. In shape it no doubt resembles the modern speaking-trumpet, but it is

almost equally near to the *tuba* or military trumpet of the Greeks and Romans. This will appear sufficiently on a comparison of the two representations, one of which is taken from Mr. Layard's representation of Sennacherib's slab,[390] while the other is from a sculpture on the column of Trajan. As we have no mention of the speaking-trumpet in any ancient writer, as the shape of the object under consideration is that of a known ancient instrument of music, and as an ordinary horn would have been of great use in giving signals to workmen engaged as the laborers are upon the sculpture, it seems best to regard the object in question as such a horn—an instrument of great power, but of little compass—more suitable therefore for signal-giving than for concerts.[391] [Pl. CXXX., Fig. 3.]

Passing now from the instruments of the Assyrians to the general features and character of their music, we may observe, in the first place, that while it is fair to suppose them acquainted with each form of the triple symphony,[392] there is only evidence that they knew of two forms out of the three—viz., the harmony of instruments, and that of instruments and voices in combination. Of these two they seem greatly to have preferred the concert of instruments without voices; indeed, one instance alone shows that they were not wholly ignorant of the more complex harmony.[393] Even this leaves it doubtful whether they themselves practised it; for the singers and musicians represented as uniting their efforts are not Assyrians, but Susianians, who come out to greet their conquerors, and do honor to the new sovereign who has been imposed on them, with singing, playing, and dancing.

Assyrian bands were variously composed. The simplest consisted of two harpers. A band of this limited number seems to have been an established part of the religious ceremonial on the return of the monarch from the chase, when a libation was poured over the dead game. The instrument in use on these occasions was the antique harp, which was played, not with the hand, but with the *plectrum*. A similar band appears on one occasion in a triumphal return from a military expedition belonging to the time of Sennacherib.[394] [Pl. CXXI.]

In several instances we find bands of three musicians. In one case all three play the lyre. The musicians here are certainly captives, whom the Assyrians have borne off from their own country. It has been thought that their physiognomy is

Jewish,[395] and that the lyre which they bear in their hands may represent that "kind of harp" which the children of the later captivity hung up upon the willows when they wept by the rivers of Babylon.[396] There are no sufficient grounds, however, for this identification. The lyre may be pronounced foreign, since it is unlike any other specimen; but its ornamentation with an animal head is sufficient to show that it is not Jewish.[397] And the Jewish *kinnor* was rather a harp than a lyre, and had certainly more than four strings.[398] Still, the employment of captives as musicians is interesting, though we cannot say that the captives are Jews. It shows us that the Assyrians, like the later Babylonians,[399] were in the habit of "requiring" music from their prisoners, who, when transported into a "strange land," had to entertain their masters with their native melodies.

Another band of three exhibits to us a harper, a player on the lyre, and a player on the double pipe.[400] A third shows a harper, a player on the lyre, and a musician whose instrument is uncertain. In this latter case it is quite possible that there may originally have been more musicians than three, for the sculpture is imperfect, terminating in the middle of a figure.[401]

Bands of four performers are about as common as bands of three. On an obelisk belonging to the time of Asshur-izir-pal we see a band composed of two cymbal-players and two performers on the lyre. A slab of Sennacherib's exhibits four harpers arranged in two pairs, all playing with the *plectrum* on the antique harp.[402] Another of the same date, which is incomplete, shows us a tambourine-player, a cymbal-player, a player on the nondescript instrument which has been called a sort of rattle, and another whose instrument cannot be distinguished. In a sculpture of a later period, which is represented above,[403] we see a band of four, composed of a tambourine-player, two players on two different sorts of lyres, and a cymbal-player.

It is not often that we find representations of bands containing more than four performers. On the sculptures hitherto discovered there seem to be only three instances where this number was exceeded. A bas-relief of Sennacherib's showed five players, of whom two had tambourines; two, harps of the antique pattern; and one, cymbals.[404] Another, belonging to the time of his grandson, exhibited a band of seven, three of whom played upon harps of the later fashion, two on the double pipe, one on the guitar, and one on the long drum with

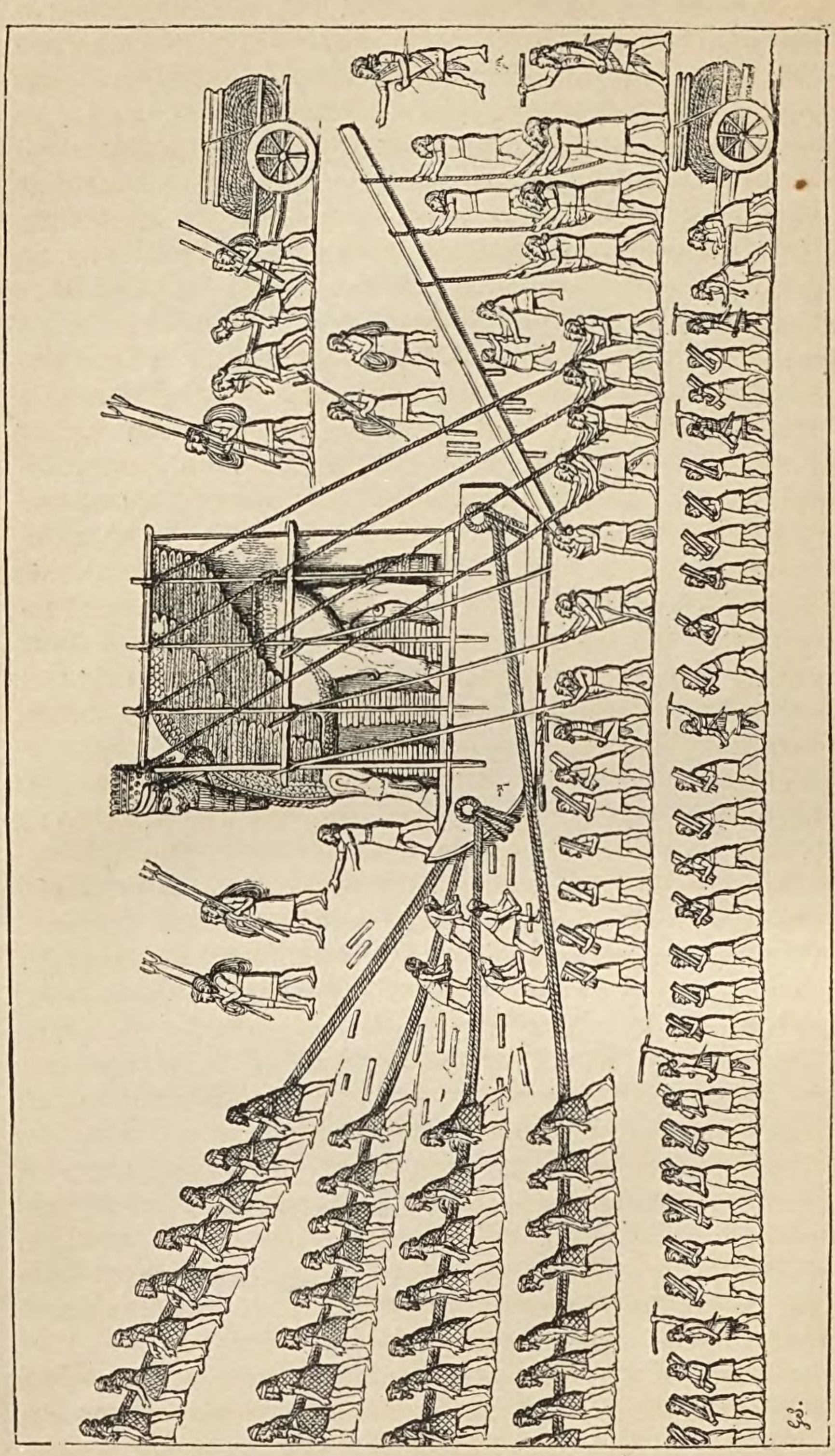
the conical bottom.[405] Finally, we have the remarkable scene represented in the illustration, a work of the same date, where no fewer than twenty-six performers are seen uniting their efforts. Of these, eleven are players on instruments, while the remaining fifteen are vocalists. The instruments consist of seven harps, two double pipes, a small drum or *tubbul*, and the curious instrument which has been compared to the modern *santour*. The players are all men, six out of the eleven being eunuchs. The singers consist of six women and nine children of various ages, the latter of whom seem to accompany their singing, as the Hebrews and Egyptians sometimes did,[406] with clapping of the hands. Three out of the first four musicians are represented with one leg raised, as if dancing to the measure.[407] [Pl. CXXXII., Fig. 1.]

Bands in Assyria had sometimes, though not always, time-keepers or leaders, who took the direction of the performance. These were commonly eunuchs, as indeed were the greater number of the musicians. They held in one hand a double rod or wand, with which most probably they made their signals, and stood side by side facing the performers. [Pl. CXXXII., Fig. 2.]

The Assyrians seem to have employed music chiefly for festive and religious purposes. The favorite instrument in the religious ceremonies was the antique harp, which continued in use as a sacred instrument from the earliest to the latest times.[408] On festive occasions the lyre was preferred, or a mixed band with a variety of instruments. In the quiet of domestic life the monarch and his sultana were entertained with concerted music played by a large number of performers; while in processions and pageants, whether of a civil or of a military character, bands were also very generally employed, consisting of two, three, four, five, or possibly more,[409] musicians. Cymbals, the tambourine, and the instrument which has been above regarded as a sort of rattle, were peculiar to these processional occasions: the harp, the lyre, and the double pipe had likewise a place in them.

In actual war, it would appear that music was employed very sparingly, if at all, by the Assyrians. No musicians are ever represented in the battle-scenes; nor are the troops accompanied by any when upon the march. Musicians are only seen conjoined with troops in one or two marching processions, apparently of a triumphal character. It may consequently be doubted whether the Assyrian armies, when they went out on

Circular breast ornament on a royal robe (Nimrud).



Assyrians moving a Human-headed Bull, partly restored from a bas-relief at Kovunjik (after Layard).

their expeditions, were attended, like the Egyptian and Roman armies,[410] by military bands. Possibly, the musicians in the processional scenes alluded to belong to the court rather than to the camp, and merely take part as civilians in a pageant, wherein a share is also assigned to the soldiery.

In proceeding, as already proposed,[411] to speak of the navigation of the Assyrians, it must be at once premised that it is not as mariners, but only as fresh-water sailors, that they come within the category of navigators at all. Originally an inland people, they had no power, in the earlier ages of their history, to engage in any but the secondary and inferior kind of navigation; and it would seem that, by the time when they succeeded in opening to themselves through their conquests a way to the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, their habits had become so fixed in this respect that they no longer admitted of change. There is satisfactory evidence which shows that they left the navigation of the two seas at the two extremities of their empire to the subject nations—the Phœnicians and the Babylonians,[412] contenting themselves with the profits without sharing the dangers of marine voyages, while their own attention was concentrated upon their two great rivers—the Tigris and the Euphrates, which formed the natural line of communication between the seas in question.

The navigation of these streams was important to the Assyrians in two ways. In the first place it was a military necessity that they should be able, *readily and without delay*, to effect the passage of both of them, and also of their tributaries, which were frequently too deep to be forded.[413] Now from very early times it was probably found tolerably easy to pass an army over a great river by swimming, more especially with the aid of inflated skins, which would be soon employed for the purpose. But the *matériel* of the army—the provisions, the chariots, and the siege machines—was not so readily transported, and indeed could only be conveyed across deep rivers by means of bridges, rafts, or boats. On the great streams of the Tigris and Euphrates, with their enormous spring floods, no bridge, in the ordinary sense of the word, is possible.[414] Bridges of boats are still the only ones that exist on either river below the point at which they issue from the gorges of the mountains.[415] And these would be comparatively late inventions, long subsequent to the employment of single ferry boats. Probably the earliest contrivance for transporting the chariots, the stores, and the engines across a river was a raft,

composed hastily of the trees and bushes growing in the neighborhood of the stream, and rendered capable of sustaining a considerable weight by the attachment to it of a number of inflated skins. A representation of such a raft, taken from a slab of Sennacherib, has been already given.[416] Rafts of this kind are still largely employed in the navigation of the Mesopotamian streams,[417] and, being extremely simple in their construction, may reasonably be supposed to have been employed by the Assyrians from the very foundation of their empire.

To these rafts would naturally have succeeded boats of one kind or another. As early as the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. (ab. B.C. 1120) we find a mention of boats as employed in the passage of the Euphrates.[418] These would probably be of the kind described by Herodotus,[419] and represented on one of the most ancient bas-reliefs—round structures like the Welsh coracles, made of wickerwork and covered with skins, smeared over with a coating of bitumen. Boats of this construction were made of a considerable size. The one represented contains a chariot, and is navigated by two men. [Pl. CXXXIII., Fig. 1.] In the later sculptures the number of navigators is raised to four, and the boats carry a heavy load of stone or other material.[420] The mode of propulsion is curious and very unusual. The rowers sit at the stem and stern, facing each other, and while those at the stem pull, those at the stern must have pushed, as Herodotus tells us that they did.[421] The make of the oars is also singular. In the earliest sculptures they are short poles, terminating in a head, shaped like a small axe or hammer;[422] in the later, below this axe-like appendage, they have a sort of curved blade, which is, however, not solid, but perforated, so as to form a mere framework, which seems to require filling up. [Pl. CXXXIII., Fig. 3.]

Beside these round boats, which correspond closely with the *kufas* in use upon the Tigris and Euphrates at the present day,[423] the Assyrians employed for the passage of rivers, even in very early times, a vessel of a more scientific construction. The early bas-reliefs exhibit to us, together with the *kufa*, a second and much larger vessel, manned with a crew of seven men—a helmsman and six rowers, three upon either side[424]—and capable of conveying across a broad stream two chariots at a time,[425] or a chariot and two or three passengers. This vessel appears to have been made of planks. It was long, and

comparatively narrow. It had a flattish bottom, and was rounded off towards the stem and stern, much as boats are rounded off towards the bows at the present day. It did not possess either mast or sail, but was propelled wholly by oars, which were of the same shape as those used anciently by the rowers in the round boats. In the steersman's hand is seen an oar of a different kind. It is much longer than the rowing oars, and terminates in an oval blade, which would have given it considerable power in the water. [Pl. CXXXIII., Fig. 4.] The helmsman steered with both hands; and it seems that his oar was lashed to an upright post near the stern of the vessel.[426]

It is evident that before armies could look habitually to being transported across the Mesopotamian streams, wherever they might happen to strike them in their expeditions, by boats of these two kinds, either ferries must have been established at convenient intervals upon them, or traffic along their courses by means of boats must have been pretty regular. An Assyrian army did not carry its boats with it, as a modern army does its pontoons. Boats were commonly found in sufficient numbers on the streams themselves when an army needed them, and were impressed, or hired, to convey the troops across. And thus we see that the actual navigation of the streams had another object besides the military one of transport from bank to bank. Rivers are Nature's roads; and we may be sure that the country had not been long settled before a water communication began to be established between towns upon the river-courses, and commodities began to be transported by means of them. The very position of the chief towns upon the banks of the streams was probably connected with this sort of transport, the rivers furnishing the means by which large quantities of building material could be conveniently concentrated at a given spot, and by which supplies could afterwards be regularly received from a distance. We see in the Assyrian sculptures the conveyance of stones, planks, etc., along the rivers,[427] as well as the passage of chariots, horses,[428] and persons across them. Rafts and round boats were most commonly used for this purpose. When a mass of unusual size, as a huge paving-stone, or a colossal bull or lion, had to be moved, a long, flat-bottomed boat was employed, which the mass sometimes more than covered.[429] In this case, as there was no room for rowers, trackers were engaged, who dragged the vessel along by means of ropes, which were fastened

either to the boat itself or to its burden. [Pl. CXXXIII., Fig. 2.]

During the later period of the monarchy various improvements took place in Assyrian boat-building. The Phœnician and Cyprian expeditions of the later kings made the Assyrians well acquainted with the ships of first-rate nautical nations; and they seem to have immediately profited by this acquaintance, in order to improve the appearance and the quality of their own river boats. The clumsy and inelegant long-boat of the earlier times was replaced, even for ordinary traffic, by a light and graceful fabric, which was evidently a copy from Phœnician models. Modifications, which would seem trifling if described, changed the whole character of the vessels, in which light and graceful curves took the place of straight lines and angles only just rounded off. The stem and stern were raised high above the body of the boat, and were shaped like fishes' tails or carved into the heads of animals.[430] [Pl. CXXXIII., Fig. 2.] Oars, shaped nearly like modern ones, came into vogue, and the rowers were placed so as all to look one way, and to pull instead of pushing with their oars. Finally, the principle of the bireme was adopted, and river-galleys were constructed of such a size that they had to be manned by thirty rowers, who sat in two tiers one above the other at the sides of the galley, while the centre part, which seems to have been decked, was occupied by eight or ten other persons.[431]

In galleys of this kind the naval architecture of the Assyrians seems to have culminated. They never, so far as appears, adopted for their boats the inventions with which their intercourse with Phœnicia had rendered them perfectly familiar,[432] of masts, and sails. This is probably to be explained from the extreme rapidity of the Mesopotamian rivers, on which sailing boats are still uncommon. The unfailing strength of rowers was needed in order to meet and stem the force of the currents; and this strength being provided in abundance, it was not thought necessary to husband it or eke it out by the addition of a second motive power. Again, the boats, being intended only for peaceful purposes, were unprovided with beaks, another invention well known to the Assyrians, and frequently introduced into their sculptures in the representations of Phœnician vessels. [Pl. CXXXIII., Fig. 5.]

In the Assyrian biremes the oars of the lower tier were worked through holes in the vessel's sides.[433] This arrange

ment would of course at once supply a fulcrum and keep the oars in their places. But it is not so easy to see how the oar of a common row-boat, or the uppermost tier of a bireme, obtained their purchase on the vessel, and were prevented from slipping along its side. Assyrian vessels had no rowlocks, and in general the oars are represented as simply rested without any support on the upper edge of the bulwark. But this can scarcely have been the real practice; and one or two representations, where a support is provided, may be fairly regarded as showing what the practice actually was. In the figure of a *kufa*, or round boat, already given,[431] it will be seen that one oar is worked by means of a thong, like the τροπὸς or τροπωτῆρ of the Greeks, which is attached to a ring in the bulwark. In another bas-relief,[435] several of the oars of similar boats are represented as kept in place by means of two pegs fixed into the top of the bulwark and inclined at an angle to one another. [Pl. CXXXIII., Fig. 6.] Probably one or other of these two methods of steadying the oar was in reality adopted in every instance.

With regard to Assyrian commerce, it must at the outset be remarked that direct notices in ancient writers of any real authority are scanty in the extreme. The prophet Nahum says indeed, in a broad and general way, of Nineveh, "Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven;"[436] and Ezekiel tells us, more particularly, that Assyrian merchants, along with others, traded with Tyre "in blue clothes, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel."[437] But, except these two, there seem to be no notices of Assyrian trade in any contemporary or *quasi*-contemporary author. Herodotus, writing nearly two hundred years after the empire had come to an end, mentions casually that "Assyrian wares" had in very ancient times been conveyed by the Phœnicians to Greece, and there sold to the inhabitants.[438] He speaks also of a river traffic in his own day between Armenia and Babylon along the course of the Euphrates,[439] a fact which indirectly throws light upon the habits of earlier ages. Diodorus, following Ctesias, declares that a number of cities were established from very ancient times on the banks of both the Tigris and the Euphrates, to serve as marts of trade to the merchants who imported into Assyria the commodities of Media and Parætacêne.[440] Among the most important of these marts, as we learn from Strabo, were Tiphsach or Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and Opis upon the Tigris.[441]

It is from notices thus scanty, partial, and incidental, eked out by probability, and further helped by a certain number of important facts with respect to the commodities actually used in the country, whereof evidence has been furnished to us by the recent discoveries, that we have to form our estimate of the ancient commerce of the Assyrians. The Inscriptions throw little or no light upon the subject. They record the march of armies against foreign enemies, and their triumphant return laden with plunder and tribute, sometimes showing incidentally what products of a country were most in request among the Assyrians; but they contain no accounts of the journeys of merchants, or of the commodities which entered or quitted the country in the common course of trade.

The favorable situation of Assyria for trade has often attracted remark.[442] Lying on the middle courses of two great navigable streams, it was readily approached by water both from the north-west and from the south-east. The communication between the Mediterranean and the Southern or Indian Ocean naturally—almost necessarily—followed this route. If Europe wanted the wares and products of India, or if India required the commodities of Europe, by far the shortest and easiest course was the line from the eastern Mediterranean across Northern Syria, and thence by one or other of the two great streams to the innermost recess of the Persian Gulf. The route by the Nile, the canal of Neco, and the Red Sea, was decidedly inferior, more especially on account of the dangerous navigation of that sea, but also because it was circuitous, and involved a voyage in the open ocean of at least twice the length of the other.[443]

Again, Assyria lay almost necessarily on the line of land communication between the north-east and the south-west. The lofty Armenian mountain-chains—Niphates and the other parallel ranges—towards the north, and the great Arabian Desert towards the south, offered difficulties to companies of land-traders which they were unwilling to face, and naturally led them to select routes intermediate between these two obstacles, which could not fail to pass through some part or other of the Mesopotamian region.

The established lines of land trade between Assyria and her neighbors were probably very numerous, but the most important must have been some five or six. One almost certainly led from the Urumiyeh basin over the *Keli-shin* pass (lat. 37°, long. 45° nearly), descending on Rowandiz, and thence follow-

ing the course of the Greater Zab to Herir, whence it crossed the plain to Nineveh. At the summit of the *Keli-shin* pass is a pillar of dark blue stone, six feet in height, two in breadth, and one in depth, let into a basement block of the same material, and covered with a cuneiform inscription in the Scythic character.[444] At a short distance to the westward on the same route is another similar pillar.[445] The date of the inscriptions falls within the most flourishing time of the Assyrian empire,[446] and their erection is a strong argument in favor of the use of this route (which is one of the very few possible modes of crossing the Zagros range) in the time when that empire was in full vigor.

Another line of land traffic probably passed over the same mountain-range considerably further to the south. It united Assyria with Media, leading from the Northern Ecbatana (Takht-i-Suleïman) by the Banneh pass[447] to Suleïmaniyeh, and thence by Kerkuk and Altun-Kiupri to Arbela and Nineveh.

There may have been also a route up the valley of the Lesser Zab, by Koi-Sinjah and over the great Kandil range into Lajihan. There are said to be Assyrian remains near Koi-Sinjah,[448] at a place called the Bihisht and Jehennen ("the Heaven and Hell") of Nimrud, but no account has been given of them by any European traveller.

Westward there were probably two chief lines of trade with Syria and the adjacent countries. One passed along the foot of the Sinjar range by Sidikan (*Arban*) on the Khabour to Tiphsach (or Thapsacus) on the Euphrates, where it crossed the Great River. Thence it bent southwards, and, passing through Tadmor, was directed upon Phœnicia most likely by way of Damascus.[449] Another took a more northern line by the Mons Masius to Harran and Seruj, crossing the Euphrates at Bir, and thence communicating both with Upper Syria and with Asia Minor. The former of these two routes is marked as a line of traffic by the foreign objects discovered in such abundance at Arban,[450] by the name Tiphsach, which means "passage,"[451] and by the admitted object of Solomon in building Tadmor.[452] The other rests on less direct evidence; but there are indications of it in the trade of Harran with Tyre which is mentioned by Ezekiel,[453] and in the Assyrian remains near Seruj,[454] which is on the route from Harran to the Bir fordway.

Towards the north, probably, the route most used was that which is thought by many to be the line followed by Xenophon,[455] first up the valley of the Tigris to Til or Tilleh, and then

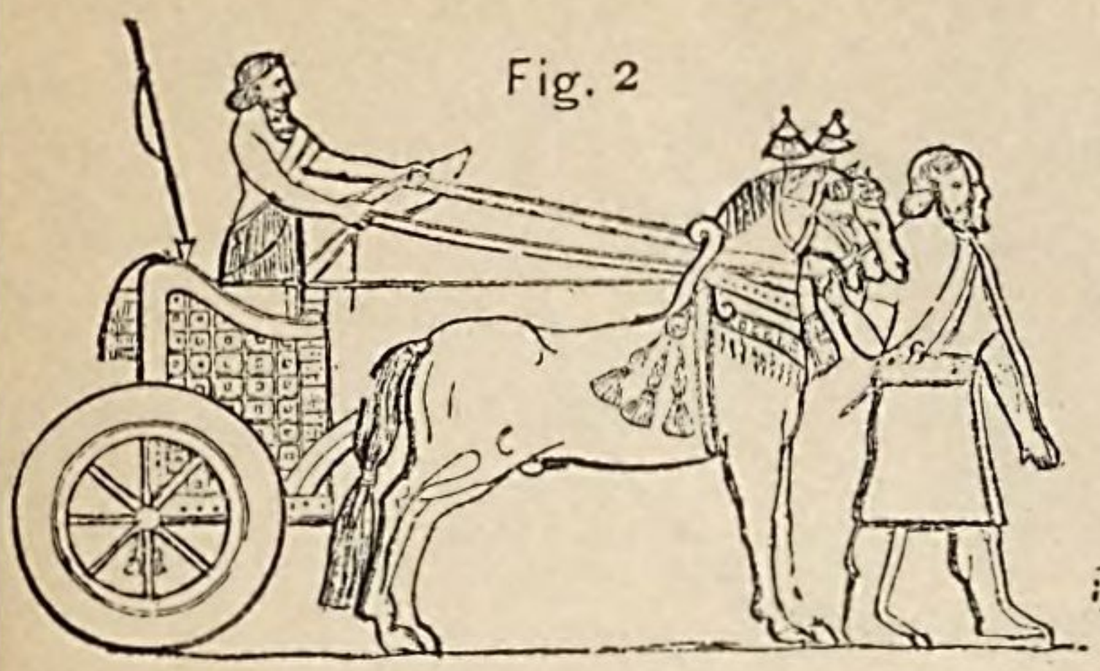
along the Bitlis Chai to the lake of Van and the adjacent country. Another route may have led from Nineveh to Nisibis, thence through the Jebel Tur to Diarbekr, and from Diarbekr up the Western Tigris to Arghana, Kharput, Malatiyeh, and Asia Minor. Assyrian remains have been found at various points along this latter line,[456] while the former is almost certain to have connected the Assyrian with the Armenian capital.[457]

Armenian productions would, however, reach Nineveh and the other great central cities mainly by the Tigris, down which they could easily have been floated from Tilleh, or even from Diarbekr. Similarly, Babylonian and Susianian productions, together with the commodities which either or both of those countries imported by sea, would find their way into Assyria up the courses of the two streams, which were navigated by vessels capable of stemming the force of the current, at least as high as Opis and Thapsacus.[458]

We may now proceed to inquire what were the commodities which Assyria, either certainly or probably, imported by these various lines of land and water communication. Those of which we seem to have some indication in the existing remains are gold, tin, ivory, lead, stones of various kinds, cedar-wood, pearls, and engraved seals.

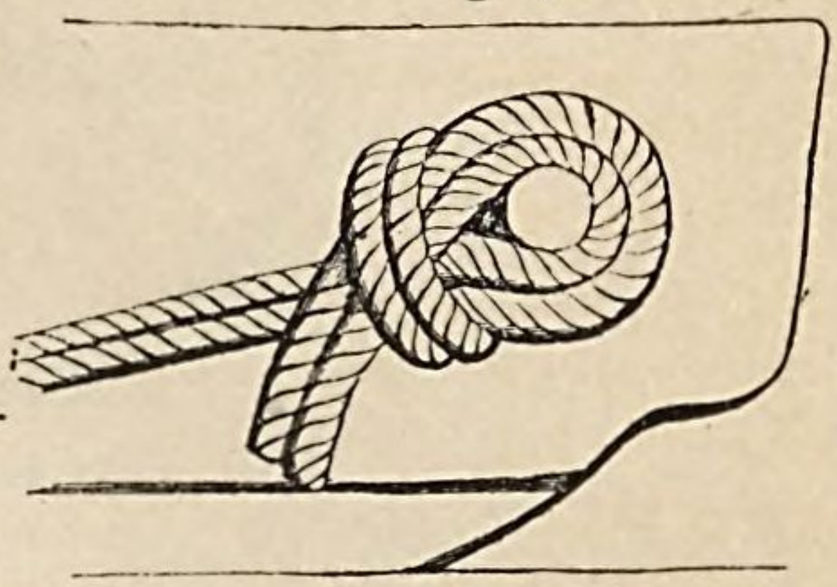
Many articles in gold have been recovered at the various Assyrian sites where excavations have been made; and indications have been found of the employment of this precious metal in the ornamentation of palaces and of furniture.[459] The actual quantity discovered has, indeed, been small; but this may be accounted for without calling in question the reality of that extraordinary wealth in the precious metals which is ascribed by all antiquity to Assyria.[460] This wealth no doubt flowed in, to a considerable extent, from the plunder of conquered nations and the tribute paid by dependent monarchs. But the quantity obtained in this way would hardly have sufficed to maintain the luxury of the court and at the same time to accumulate, so that when Nineveh was taken there was "none end" of the store.[461] It has been suggested[462] that "mines of gold were probably once worked within the Assyrian dominions," although no gold is now known to be produced anywhere within her limits. But perhaps it is more probable that, like Judæa[463] and Phœnicia,[464] she obtained her gold in a great measure from commerce, taking it either from the Phœnicians, who derived it both from Arabia[465] and from the

Fig. 2



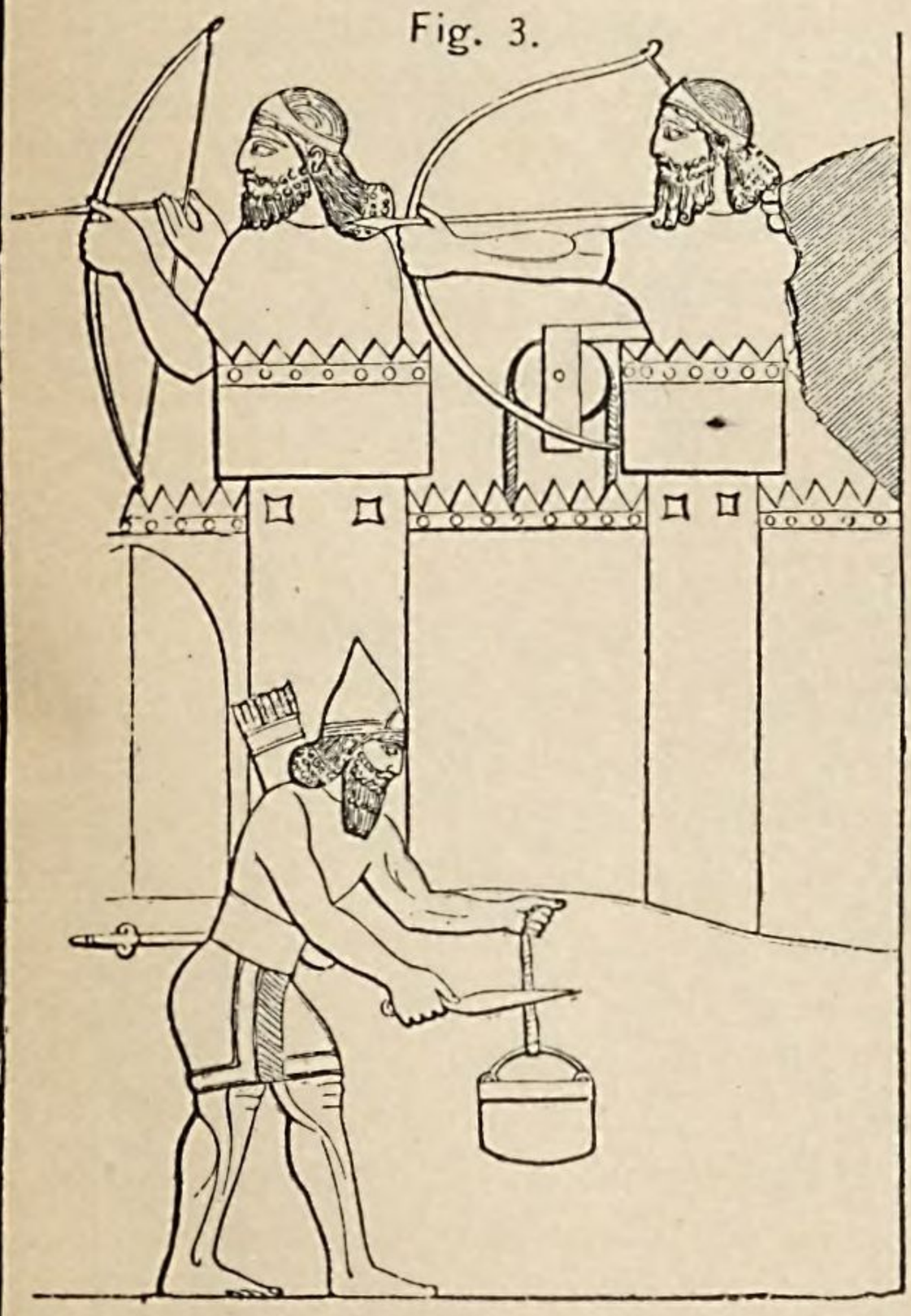
Assyrian war-chariot (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4.



Attachment of rope to sledge, on which the bull was placed for transport (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.

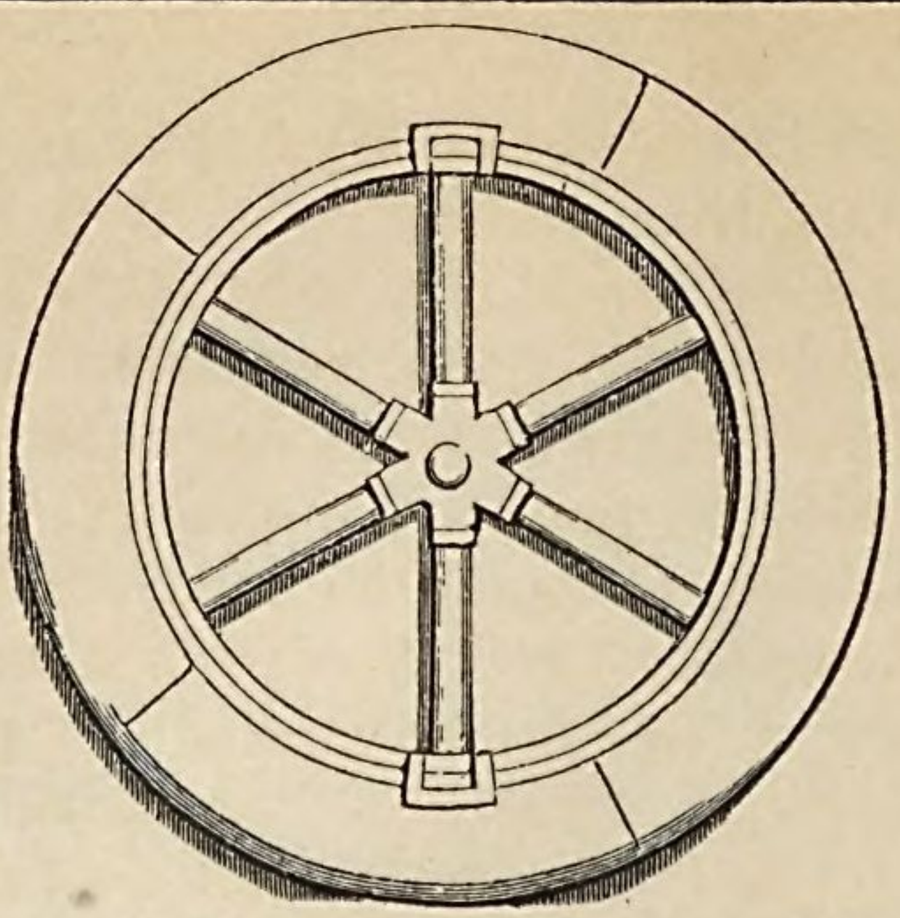


Part of a bas-relief, showing a pulley and a warrior cutting a bucket from the rope.
(after Layard).

Fig. 1.

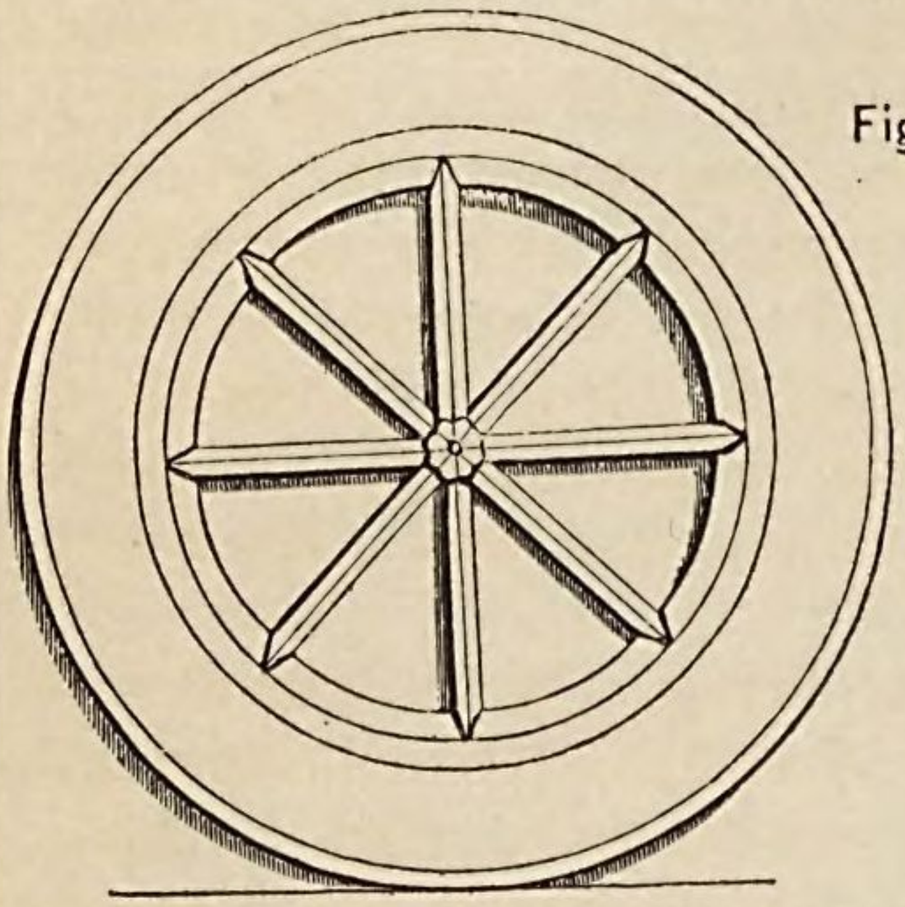
Labourer employed in drawing a colossal bull (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.

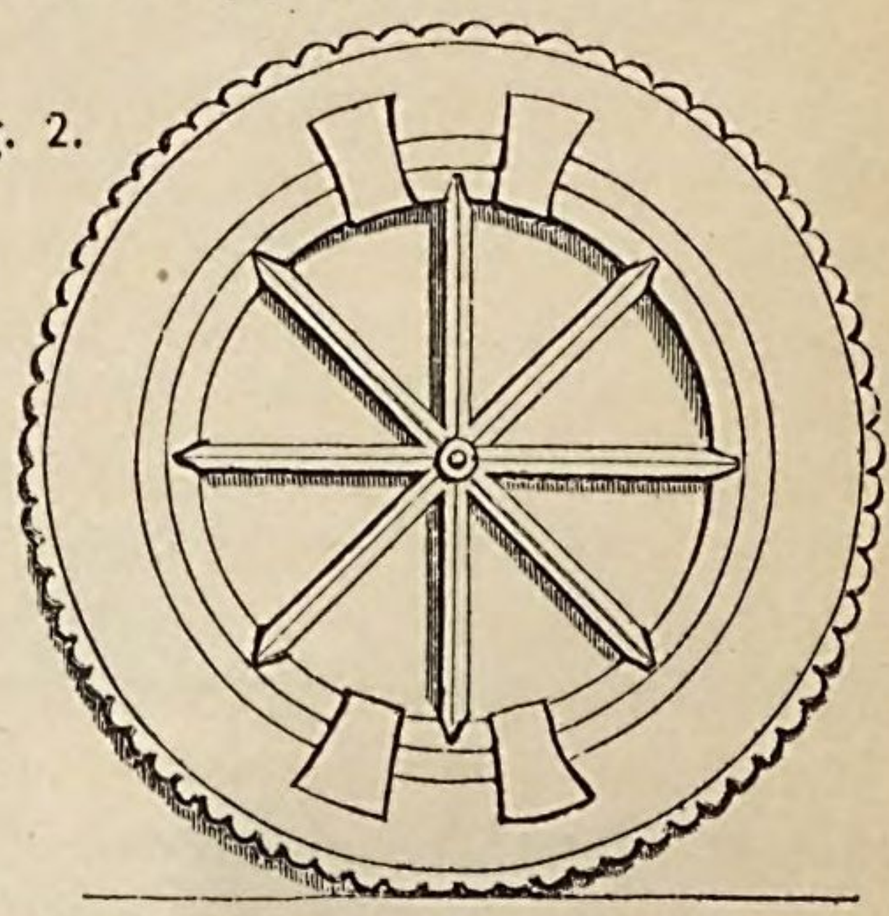


No. I. Chariot-wheel of the early period.

Fig. 2.

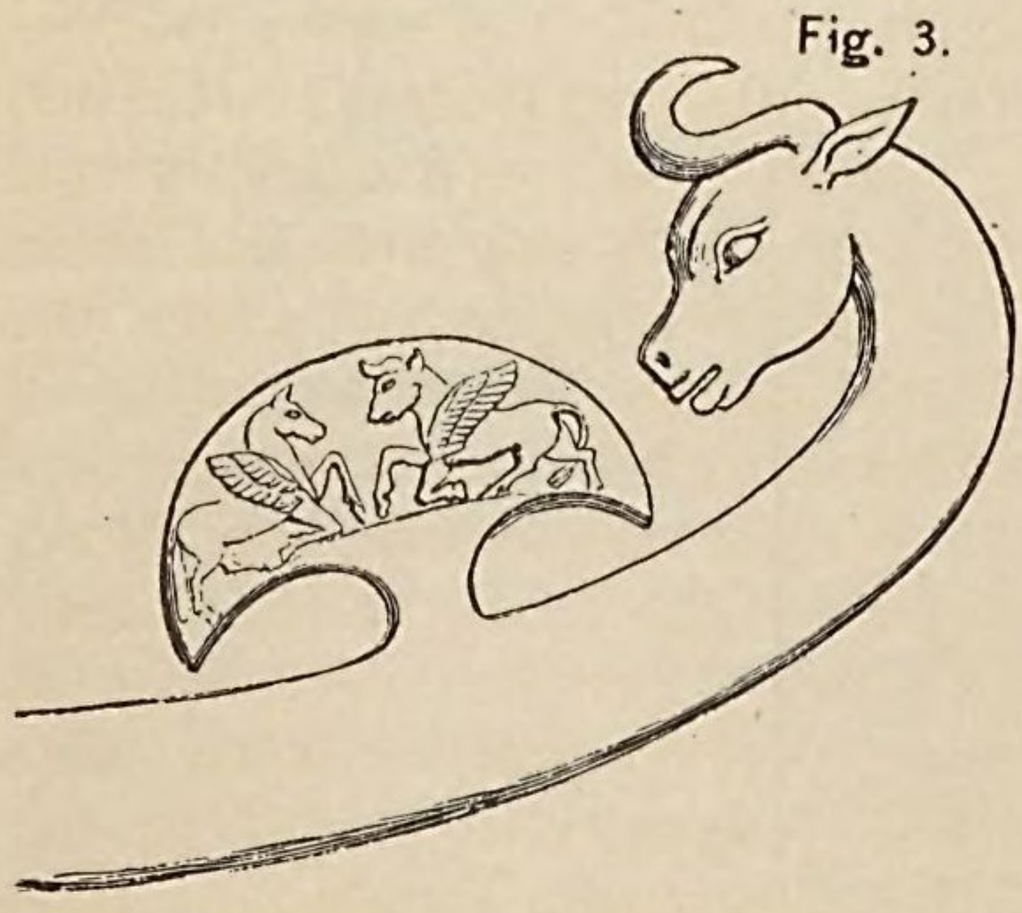


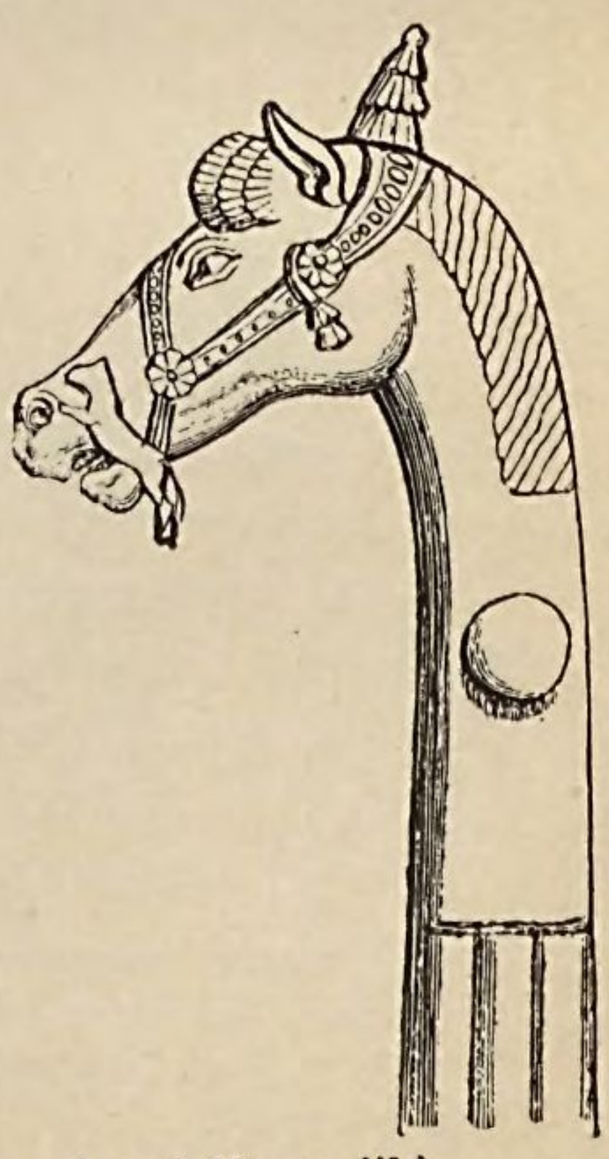
No. II. Chariot-wheel of the middle period.



No. III. Chariot-wheel of the latest period.

Fig. 3.





Ornamented Ends of Chariot-poles (Nimrud and Koyunjik).

West African coast,[466] or else from the Babylonians, who may have imported it by sea from India.[467]

Tin, which has not been found in a pure state in the remains of the Assyrians, but which enters regularly as an element into their bronze, where it forms from one-tenth to one-seventh of the mass,[468] was also, probably, an importation. Tin is a comparatively rare metal. Abundant enough in certain places, it is not diffused at all widely over the earth's surface. Neither Assyria itself nor any of the neighboring countries are known to have ever produced this mineral. Phœnicia certainly imported it, directly or indirectly, from Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, which therefore became first known in ancient geography as the Cassiterides or "Tin Islands."[469] It is a reasonable supposition that the tin wherewith the Assyrians hardened their bronze was obtained by their merchants from the Phœnicians[470] in exchange for textile fabrics and (it may be) other commodities. If so, we may believe that in many instances the produce of our own tin mines which left our shores more than twenty-five centuries ago, has, after twice travelling a distance of many thousand miles, returned to seek a final rest in its native country.

Ivory was used by the Assyrians extensively in their furniture,[471] and was probably supplied by them to the Phœnicians and the Greeks. It was no doubt sometimes brought to them by subject nations as tribute;[472] but this source of supply is not sufficient to account, at once, for the consumption in Assyria itself, and for the exports from Assyria to foreign countries.[473] A regular trade for ivory seems to have been carried on from very early times between India and Dedan (*Bahrein?*) in the Persian Gulf.[474] The "travelling companies of the Dedanim,"[475] who conveyed this precious merchandise from their own country to Phœnicia, passed probably along the course of the Euphrates, and left a portion of their wares in the marts upon that stream, which may have been thence conveyed to the great Assyrian cities. Or the same people may have traded directly with Assyria by the route of the Tigris. Again, it is quite conceivable—indeed, it is probable—that there was a land traffic between Assyria and Western India by the way of Cabul, Herat, the Caspian Gates, and Media. Of this route we have a trace in the land animals engraved upon the well-known Black Obelisk, where the combination of the small-eared or Indian elephant and the rhinoceros with the two-humped Bactrian camel,[476] sufficiently marks the line

by which the productions of India, occasionally at any rate, reached Assyria. The animals themselves were, we may be sure, very rarely transported. Indeed, it is not till the very close of the Persian empire that we find elephants possessed—and even then in scanty numbers—by the western Asiatic monarchs.[477] But the more portable products of the Indus region, elephants' tusks, gold, and perhaps shawls and muslins, are likely to have passed to the west by this route with far greater frequency.

The Assyrians were connoisseurs in hard stones and gems, which they seem to have imported from all quarters. The lapis lazuli, which is found frequently among the remains as the material of seals, combs, rings, jars, and other small objects, probably came from Bactria or the adjacent regions, whence alone it is procurable at the present day.[478] The cornelian used for cylinders may have come from Babylonia, which, according to Pliny,[479] furnished it of the best quality in the more ancient times. The agates or onyxes may have been imported from Susiana, where they were found in the bed of the Choaspes (*Kerkhah*), or they may possibly have been brought from India.[480] Other varieties are likely to have been furnished by Armenia, which is rich in stones; and hence too was probably obtained the *shamir*, or emery-stone,[481] by means of which the Assyrians were enabled to engrave all the other hard substances known to them.

That cedar-wood was imported into Assyria is sufficiently indicated by the fact that, although no cedars grew in the country, the beams in the palaces were frequently of this material.[482] It may not, however, have been exactly an article of commerce, since the kings appear to have cut it after their successful expeditions into Syria, and to have carried it off from Lebanon and Amanus as part of the plunder of the country.[483]

Pearls, which have been found in Assyrian earrings,[484] must have been procured from the Persian Gulf, one of the few places frequented by the shell-fish which produces them. The pearl fisheries in these parts were pointed out to Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander,[485] and had no doubt been made to yield their treasures to the natives of the coasts and islands from a remote antiquity. The familiarity of the author of the book of Job with pearls[486] is to be ascribed to the ancient trade in them throughout the regions adjoining the Gulf, which could not fail to bring them at an early date to the knowledge of the Hebrews.

Engraved stones, generally in the shape of scarabs, seem to have been largely imported from Egypt into Assyria, where they were probably used either as amulets or as seals. They have been found in the greatest plenty at Arban[487] on the lower Khabour, the ancient Sidikan or Shadikanni, which lies nearly at the extreme west of the Assyrian territory; but many specimens have likewise been obtained from Nineveh and other of the central Assyrian cities.[488]

If we were to indulge in conjecture, we might add to this list of Assyrian importations at least an equal number of commodities which, though they have not been found in the ancient remains, may be fairly regarded, on grounds of probability, as objects of trade between Assyria and her neighbors. Frankincense, which was burnt in such lavish profusion in the great temple at Babylon,[489] was probably offered in considerable quantities upon Assyrian altars, and could only have been obtained from Arabia.[490] Cinnamon, which was used by the Jews from the time of the Exodus,[491] and which was early imported into Greece by the Phœnicians,[492] who received it from the Arabians,[493] can scarcely have been unknown in Assyria when the Hebrews were familiar with it. This precious spice must have reached the Arabians from Ceylon or Malabar, the most accessible of the countries producing it.[494] Muslins, shawls, and other tissues are likely to have come by the same route as the cinnamon; and these may possibly have been among the "blue clothes and broidered work and rich apparel" which the merchants of Asshur carried to Tyre in "chests, bound with cords and made of cedar-wood."[495] Dyes, such as the Indian lacca,[496] raw cotton, ebony and other woods, may have come by the same line of trade; while horses and mules are likely to have been imported from Armenia,[497] and slaves from the country between Armenia and the Halys River.[498]

If from the imports of Assyria we pass to her exports, we leave a region of uncertain light to enter upon one of almost total darkness. That the "wares of Assyria" were among the commodities which the Phœnicians imported into Greece at a very early period, we have the testimony of Herodotus;[499] but he leaves us wholly without information as to the nature of the wares themselves. No other classical writer of real authority touches the subject; and any conclusions that we may form upon it must be derived from one of two sources, either general probability, or the single passage in a sacred author

which gives us a certain amount of authentic information.[500] From the passage in question, which has been already quoted at length,[501] we learn that the chief of the Assyrian exports to Phœnicia were textile fabrics, apparently of great value, since they were most carefully packed in chests of cedar-wood secured by cords. These fabrics may have been "blue cloaks,"[502] or "embroidery,"[503] or "rich dresses" of any kind,[504] for all these are mentioned by Ezekiel; but we cannot say definitely which Assyria traded in, since the merchants of various other countries are joined in the passage with hers. Judging by the monuments, we should conclude that at least a portion of the embroidered work was from her looms and workshops; for, as has been already shown, the embroidery of the Assyrians was of the most delicate and elaborate description.[505] She is also likely to have traded in rich apparel of all kinds, both such as she manufactured at home, and such as she imported from the far East by the lines of traffic which have been pointed out. Some of her own fabrics may possibly have been of silk, which in Roman times was a principal Assyrian export.[506] Whether she exported her other peculiar productions, her transparent and colored glass, her exquisite metal bowls, plates, and dishes, her beautifully carved ivories, we cannot say. They have not hitherto been found in any place beyond her dominion,[507] so that it would rather seem that she produced them only for home consumption. Some ancient notices appear to imply a belief on the part of the Greeks and Romans that she produced and exported various spices. Horace speaks of Assyrian nard,[508] Virgil of Assyrian *amomum*,[509] Tibullus of Assyrian odors generally.[510] Æschylus has an allusion of the same kind in his Agamemnon.[511] Euripides[512] and Theocritus,[513] who mention respectively Syrian myrrh and Syrian frankincense, probably use the word "Syrian" for "Assyrian."[514] The belief thus implied is not, however, borne out by inquiry. Neither the spikenard (*Nardostachys Jatamansi*), nor the amomum (*Amomum Cardamomum*), nor the myrrh tree (*Balsamodendron Myrrha*), nor the frankincense tree (*Boswellia thurifera*), nor any other actual spice,[515] is produced within the limits of Assyria, which must always have imported its own spices from abroad, and can only have supplied them to other countries as a carrier. In this capacity she may very probably, even in the time of her early greatness, have conveyed on to the coast of Syria the spicy products of Arabia and India, and thus have created an

impression, which afterwards remained as a tradition, that she was a great spice-producer as well as a spice-seller.

In the same way, as a carrier, Assyria may have exported many other commodities. She may have traded with the Phœnicians, not only in her own products, but in the goods which she received from the south and east, from Bactria, India, and the Persian Gulf,—such as lapis lazuli, pearls, cinnamon, muslins, shawls, ivory, ebony, cotton. On the other hand, she may have conveyed to India, or at least to Babylon, the productions which the Phœnicians brought to Tyre and Sidon from the various countries bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea and even the Atlantic Ocean,—as tin, hides, pottery, oil, wine, linen. On this point, however, we have at present no evidence at all; and as it is not the proper office of a historian to indulge at any length in mere conjecture, the consideration of the commercial dealings of the Assyrians may be here brought to a close.

On the agriculture of the Assyrians a very few remarks will be offered. It has been already explained that the extent of cultivation depended entirely on the conveyance of water.[516] There is good reason to believe that the Assyrians found a way to spread water over almost the whole of their territory. Either by the system of *kanáts* or subterranean aqueducts, which has prevailed in the East from very early times,[517] or by an elaborate network of canals, the fertilizing fluid was conveyed to nearly every part of Mesopotamia, which shows by its innumerable mounds, in regions which are now deserts, how large a population it was made to sustain under the wise management of the great Assyrians monarchs.[518] Huge dams seem to have been thrown across the Tigris in various places, one of which (the *Awai*) still remains,[519] seriously impeding the navigation. It is formed of large masses of squared stones, united together by cramps of iron. Such artificial barriers were intended, not (as Strabo believed [520]) for the protection of the towns upon the river from a hostile fleet, but to raise the level of the stream, in order that its water might flow off into canals on one bank or the other, whence they could be spread by means of minor channels over large tracts of territory. The canals themselves have in most cases been gradually filled up. In one instance, however, owing either to the peculiar nature of the soil or to some unexplained cause, we are still able to trace the course of an Assyrian work of this class and to observe the manner and principles of its construction.

In the tract of land lying between the lower course of the Great Zab River and the Tigris, in which was situated the important town of Calah (now Nimrud), a tract which is partly alluvial, but more generally of secondary formation, hard gravel, sandstone, or conglomerate, are the remains of a canal undoubtedly Assyrian,[521] which was carried for a distance of more than five-and-twenty miles from a point on the Khazr or Ghazr Su, a tributary of the Zab, to the south-eastern corner of the Nimrud ruins. [Pl. CXXXIV., Fig. 1.] Originally the canal seems to have been derived from the Zab itself, the water of which was drawn off, on its northern bank, through a short tunnel—the modern Negoub—and then conducted along a cutting, first by the side of the Zab, and afterwards in a tortuous course across the undulating plain, into the ravine formed by the Shor-Derreh torrent. The Zab, when this part of the work was constructed, ran deep along its northern bank, and, sending a portion of its waters into the tunnel, maintained a constant stream in the canal. But after awhile the river abandoned its north bank for the opposite shore; and, water ceasing to flow through the Negoub tunnel, it became necessary to obtain it in some other way. Accordingly the canal was extended northwards, partly by cutting and partly by tunnelling, to the Ghazr Su at about two miles above its mouth, and a permanent supply was thenceforth obtained from that stream.[522] The work may have been intended in part to supply Calah with mountain-water;[523] but the remains of dams and sluices along its course[524] sufficiently show that it was a canal for irrigation also. From it water was probably derived to fertilize the whole triangle lying south of Nimrud between the two streams, a tract containing nearly thirty square miles of territory, mostly very fertile, and with careful cultivation well capable of supporting the almost metropolitan city on which it abutted.

In Assyria it must have been seldom that the Babylonian system of irrigation could have been found applicable, and the water simply derived from the rivers by side-cuts, leading it off from the natural channel.[525] There is but little of Assyria which is flat and alluvial; the land generally undulates, and most of it stands at a considerable height above the various streams. The water therefore requires to be raised from the level of the rivers to that of the lands before it can be spread over them, and for this purpose hydraulic machinery of one kind or another is requisite. In cases where the *kanát* or

subterranean conduit was employed, the Assyrians probably (like the ancient and the modern Persians[526]) sank wells at intervals, and raised the water from them by means of a bucket and rope, the latter working over a pulley.[527] Where they could obtain a bank of a convenient height overhanging a river, they made use of the hand-swipe,[528] and with its aid lifted the water into a tank or reservoir, whence they could distribute it over their fields. In some instances, it would seem, they brought water to the tops of hills by means of aqueducts, and then, constructing a number of small channels, let the fluid trickle down them among their trees and crops.[529] They may have occasionally, like the modern Arabs,[530] employed the labor of an animal to raise the fluid; but the monuments do not furnish us with any evidence of their use of this method. Neither do we find any trace of water-wheels, such as are employed upon the Orontes and other swift rivers, whereby a stream can itself be made to raise water from the land along its banks.[531]

According to Herodotus, the kinds of grain cultivated in Assyria in his time were wheat, barley, sesame, and millet.[532] As these still constitute at the present day the principal agricultural products of the country,[533] we may conclude that they were in all probability the chief species cultivated under the Empire. The plough used, if we may judge by the single representation of it which has come down to us,[534] was of a rude and primitive construction—a construction, however, which will bear comparison with that of the implements to this day in use through modern Turkey and Persia.[535] Of other agricultural implements we have no specimens at all, unless the square instrument with a small circle or wheel at each corner, which appears on the same monument as the plough, may be regarded as intended for some farming purpose. [Pl. CXXXIV., Fig. 2.]

Besides grain, it seems certain that the Assyrians cultivated the vine. The vine will grow well in many parts of Assyria;[536] and the monuments represent vines, with a great deal of truth, not merely as growing in the countries to which the Assyrians made their expeditions, but as cultivated along the sides of the rivers near Nineveh,[537] and in the gardens belonging to the palaces of the kings.[538] In the former case they appear to grow without any support, and are seen in orchards intermixed with other fruit-trees, as pomegranates and figs. In the latter they are trained upon tall trees resembling firs, round

whose stems they twine themselves, and from which their rich clusters droop. Sometimes the long lithe boughs pass across from tree to tree, forming a canopy under which the monarch and his consort sip their wine.[539]

Before concluding this chapter, a few remarks will be added upon the ordinary private life of the Assyrians, so far as the monuments reveal it to us. Under this head will be included their dress, their food, their houses, furniture, utensils, carriages, etc., their various kinds of labor, and the implements of labor which were known to them.

The ordinary dress of the common people in Assyria was a mere plain tunic, or skirt, reaching from the neck to a little above the knee, with very short sleeves, and confined round the waist by a broad belt or girdle.[540] Nothing was worn either upon the head or upon the feet. The thick hair, carried in large waves from the forehead to the back of the head, and then carefully arranged in three, four, or five rows of stiff curls, was regarded as a sufficient protection both from sun and rain. No head-covering was ever worn, except by soldiers, and by certain officials, as the king, priests, and musicians. Sometimes, if the hair was very luxuriant, it was confined by a band or fillet, which was generally tied behind the back of the head. The beard was worn long, and arranged with great care, the elaboration being pretty nearly the same in the case of the king and of the common laborer. Laborers of a rank a little above the lowest wore sandals, indulged in a fringed tunic, and occasionally in a phillibeg, while a still higher class had a fringed tunic and phillibeg, together with the close-fitting trouser and boot worn by soldiers.[541] These last are frequently eunuchs, who probably belonged to a corps of eunuch laborers in the employ of the king.

Persons of the humbler laboring class wear no ornament, neither armlet, bracelet, nor earrings. Armlets and bracelets mark high rank, and indeed are rarely found unless the wearer is either an officer of the court, or at any rate a personage of some consideration. Earrings seem to have descended lower. They are worn by the attendants on sportsmen, by musicians, by cavalry soldiers, and even occasionally by foot soldiers. In this last case they are seldom more than a simple ring, which may have been of bronze or of bone. In other cases the ring mostly supports a long pendant.[542]

Men of rank appear to have worn commonly a long fringed robe reaching nearly to the feet.[543] The sleeves were short,

only just covering the shoulder. Down to the waist, the dress closely fitted the form, resembling, so far, a modern jersey; below this there was a slight expansion, but still the scantiness of the robe is very remarkable. It had no folds, and must have greatly interfered with the free play of the limbs, rendering rapid movements almost impossible. A belt or girdle confined it at the waist, which was always patterned, sometimes elaborately. [Pl. CXXXV., Fig. 1.] If a sword was carried, as was frequently the case, it was suspended, nearly in a horizontal position, by a belt over the left shoulder, to which it was attached by a ring, or rings, in the sheath.[544] There is often great elegance in these cross-belts, which look as if they were embroidered with pearls or beads. [Pl. CXXXV., Fig. 2.] Fillets, earrings, armlets, and (in most instances) bracelets were also worn by Assyrians of the upper classes. The armlets are commonly simple bands, twisted round the arm once or twice, and often overlapping at the ends, which are plain, not ornamented. [Pl. CXXXV., Fig.3.] The bracelets are of slighter construction; their ends do not meet; they would seem to have been of thin metal, and sufficiently elastic to be slipped over the hand on to the wrist, which they then fitted closely. Generally they were quite plain; but sometimes, like the royal bracelets, they bore in their centre a rosette.[545] Sandals, or in the later times shoes, completed the ordinary costume of the Assyrian "gentleman."

Sometimes both the girdle round the waist, and the cross-belt, which was often worn without a sword, were deeply fringed, the two fringes falling one over the other, and covering the whole body from the chest to the knee.[546] Sometimes, but more rarely, the long robe was discarded, and the Assyrian of some rank wore the short tunic, which was then, however, always fringed, and commonly ornamented with a phillibeg.[547]

Certain peculiar head-dresses and peculiar modes of arranging the hair deserve special attention from their singularity. [Pl. CXXXV., Fig. 4.] They belong in general to musicians, priests, and other official personages, and may perhaps have been badges of office. For instance, musicians sometimes wear on their heads a tall stiff cap shaped like a fish's tail;[548] at other times their head-dress is a sort of tiara of feathers.[549] Their hair is generally arranged in the ordinary Assyrian fashion; but sometimes it is worn comparatively short, and terminates in a double row of crisp curls.[550] Priests have head-

dresses shaped like truncated cones.[551] A cook in one instance,[552] wears a cap not unlike the tiara of the monarch, except that it is plain, and is not surmounted by an apex or peak. A harper has the head covered with a close-fitting cap, encircled with a row of large beads or pearls, from which a lappet depends behind, similarly ornamented.[553] A colossal figure in a doorway, apparently a man, though possibly representing a god, has the hair arranged in six monstrous curls, the lowest three resting upon the shoulder.[554] [Pl. CXXXV., Fig. 6.]

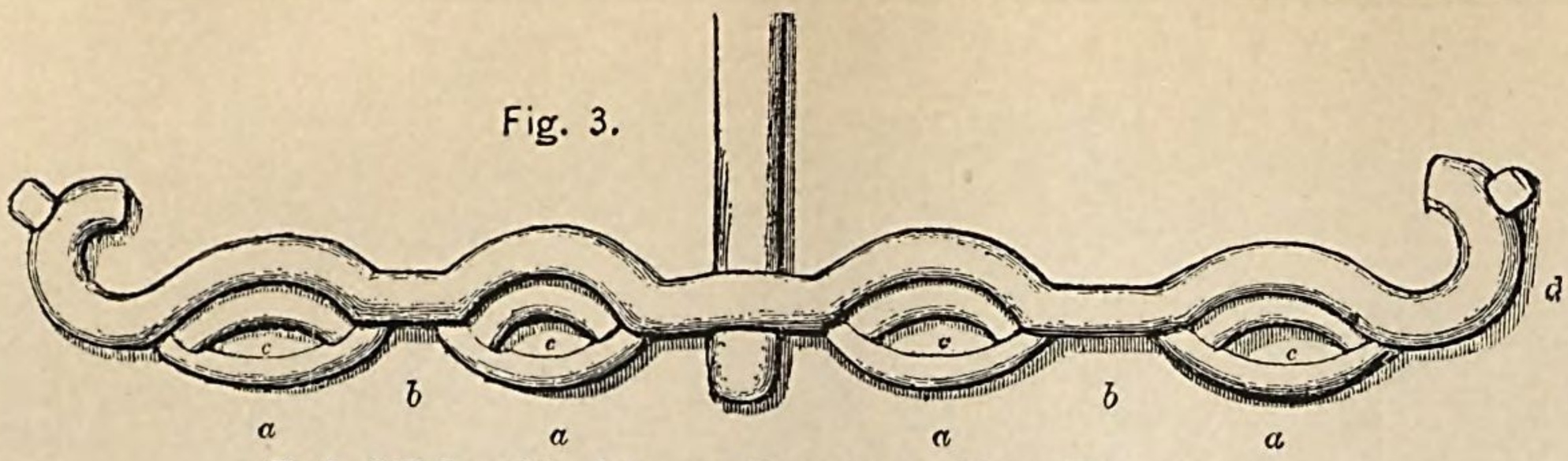
Women of the better sort seem to have been dressed in sleeved gowns, less scanty than those of the men, and either striped or else patterned and fringed. Outside this they sometimes wore a short cloak of the same pattern as the gown, open in front and falling over the arms, which it covered nearly to the elbows. Their hair was either arranged over the whole of the head in short crisp curls, or carried back in waves to the ears, and then in part twisted into long pendent ringlets, in part curled, like that of the men, in three or four rows at the back of the neck. [Pl. CXXXV., Fig. 5.] A girdle was probably worn round the waist, such as we see in the representations of goddesses,[555] while a fringed cross-belt passed diagonally across the breast, being carried under the right arm and over the left shoulder. The feet seem to have been naked, or at best protected by a sandal. The head was sometimes encircled with a fillet.

Women thus apparelled are either represented as sitting in chairs and drinking from a shallow cup, or else as gathering grapes, which, instead of growing naturally, hang upon branches that issue from a winged circle. The circle would seem to be emblematic of the divine power which bestows the fruits of the earth upon man. [Pl. CXXXVI., Fig. 1.]

The lower class of Assyrian women are not represented upon the sculptures. We may perhaps presume that they did not dress very differently from the female captives so frequent on the bas-reliefs, whose ordinary costume is a short gown not covering the ankles, and an outer garment somewhat resembling the chasuble of the king.[556] The head of these women is often covered with a hood: where the hair appears, it usually descends in a single long curl. The feet are in every case naked.

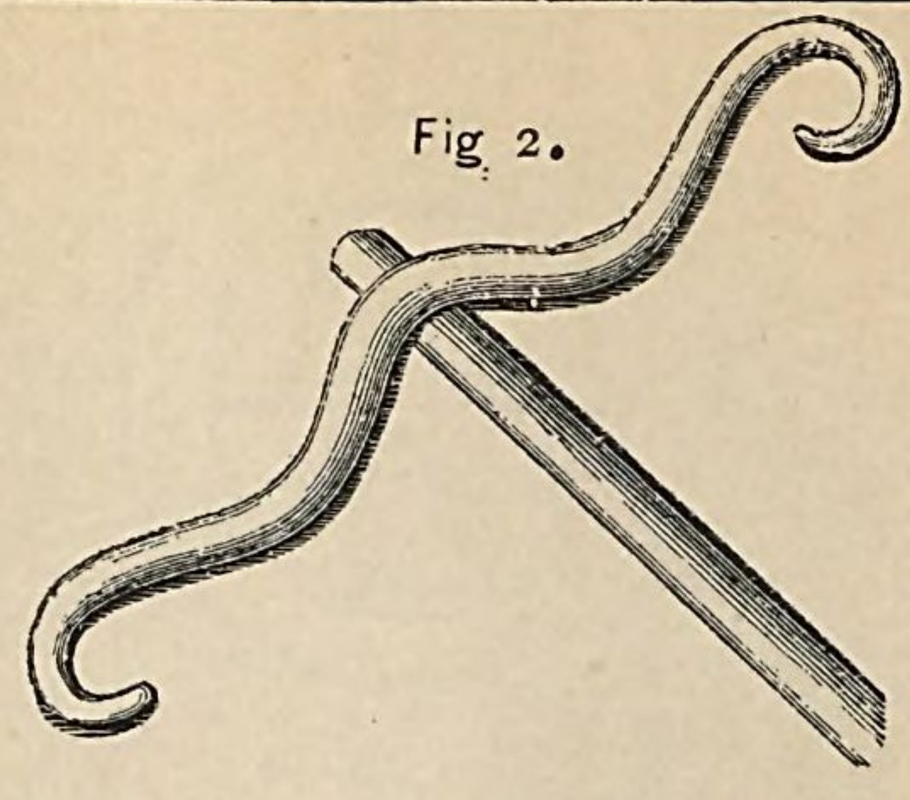
The ornaments worn by women appear to have been nearly the same as those assumed by men. They consisted principally of earrings, necklaces, and bracelets. Earrings have

Fig. 3.



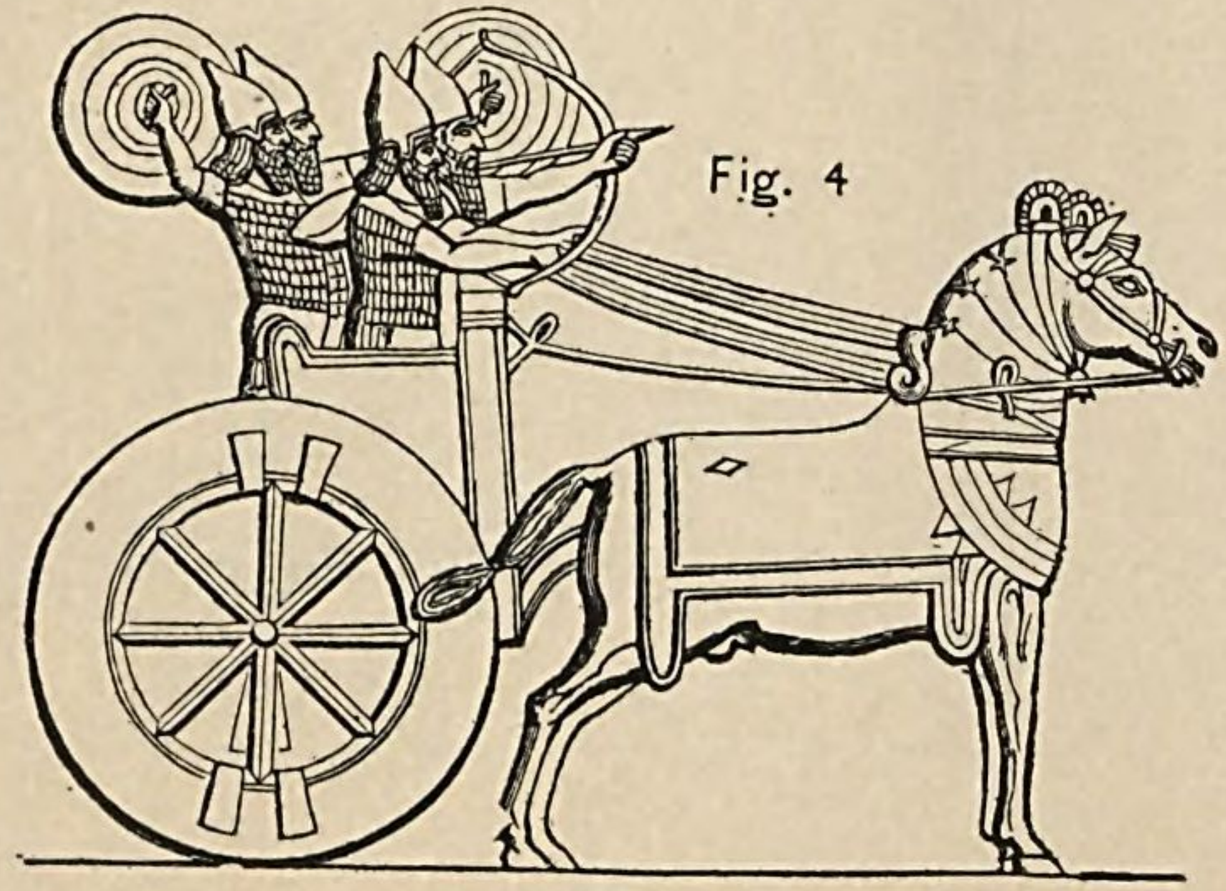
End of Pole, with elaborate Cross-bar or Yoke (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2.



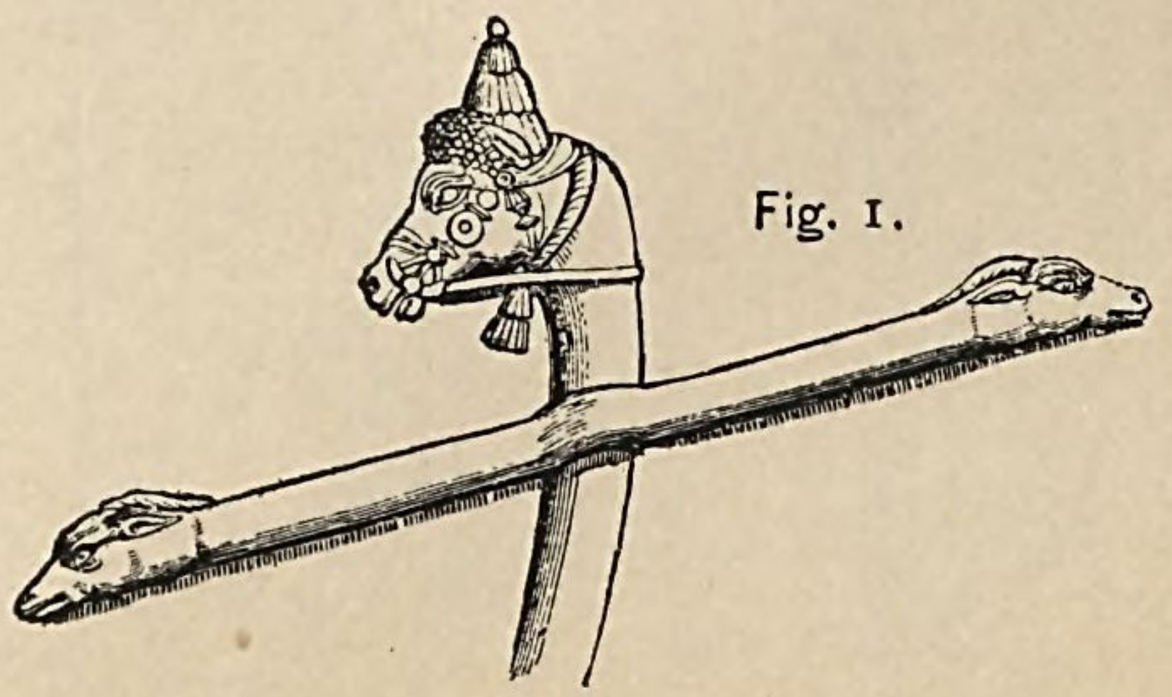
End of pole, with curved yoke (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4



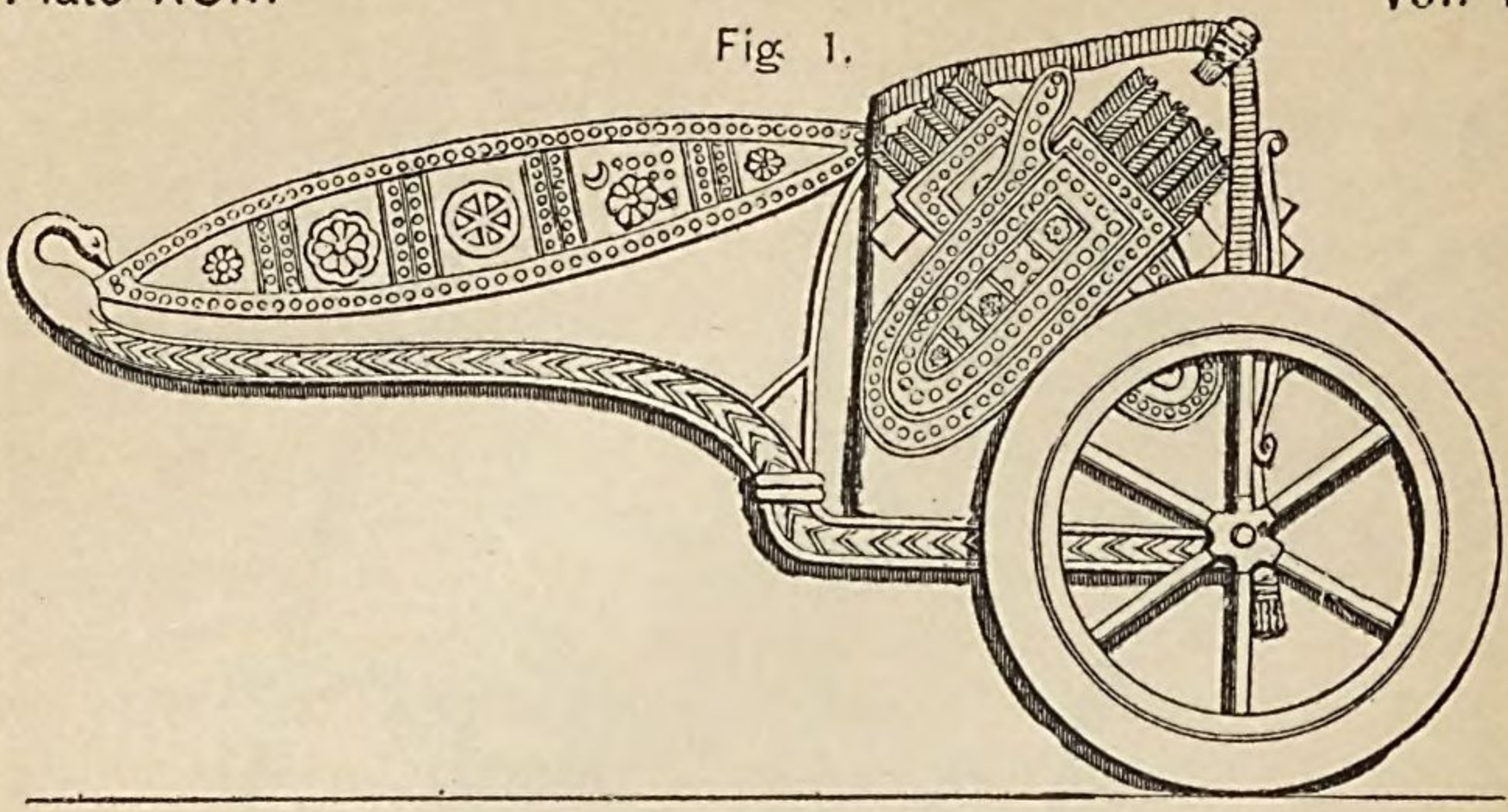
Assyrian chariot containing four warriors (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



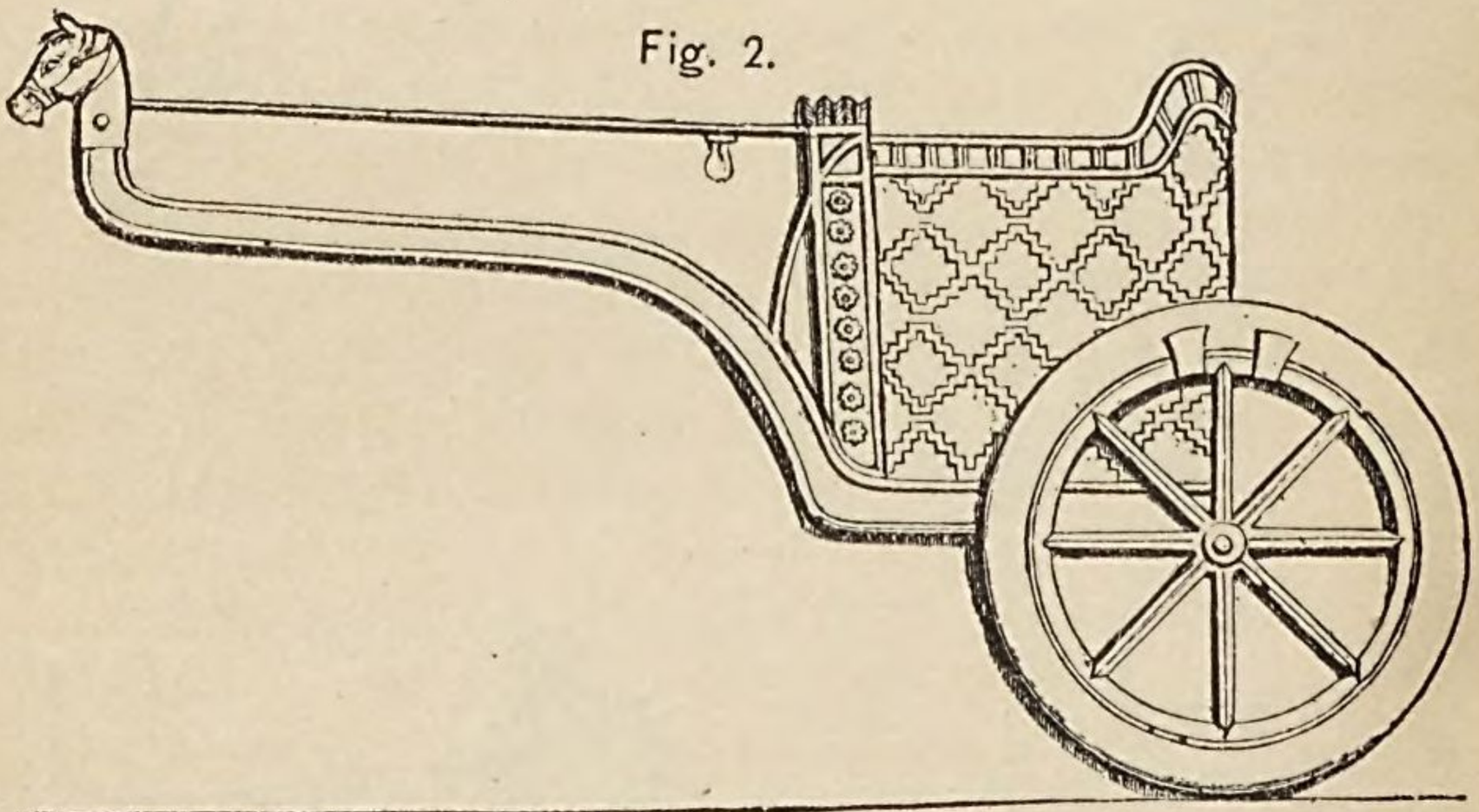
End of pole, with cross-bar, after Botta (Khorsabad).

Fig. 1.



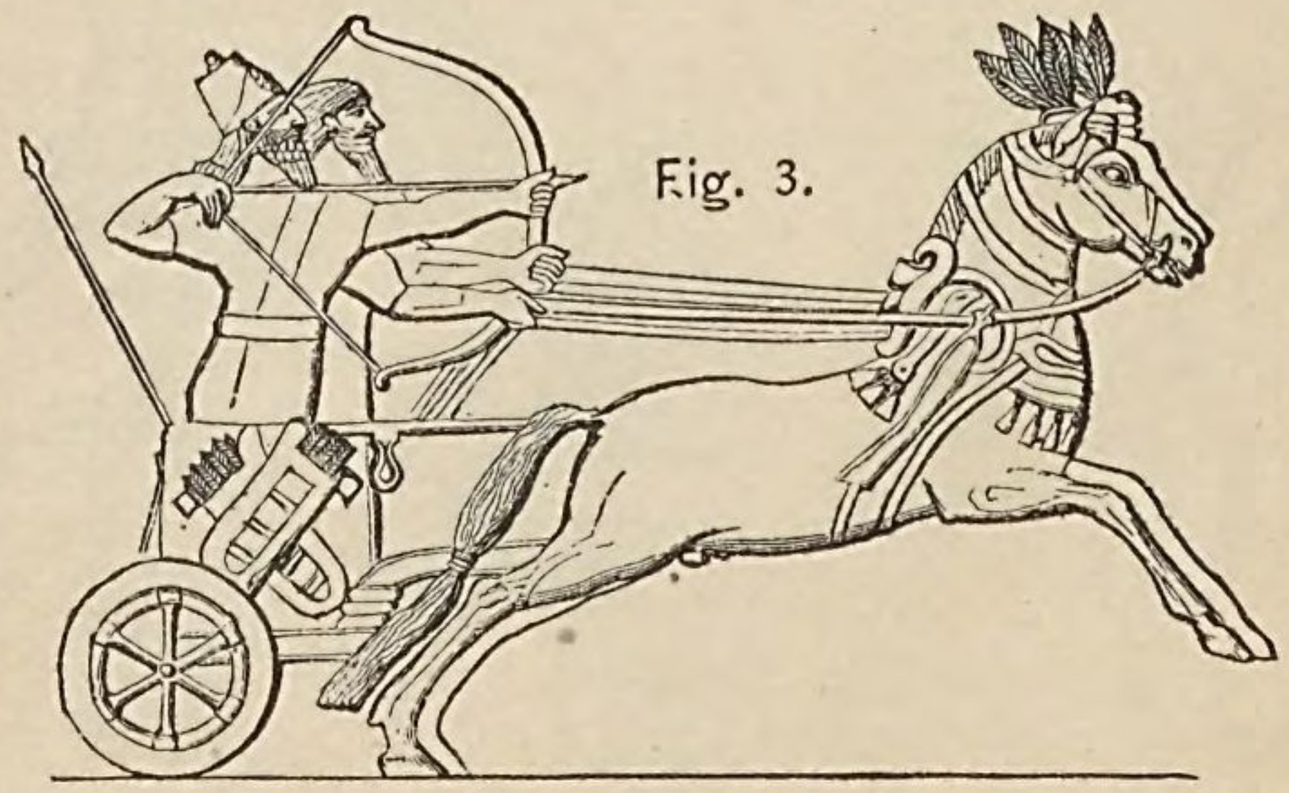
No. I. Assyrian war-chariot of the early period (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



No. II. Assyrian War-chariot of the later period (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Assyrian Chariot of the transition period (Koyunjik).

been found in gold and in bronze, some with and some without places for jewels. One gold earring still held its adornment of pearls.[557] Bracelets were sometimes of glass, and were slipped over the hand. Necklaces seem commonly to have been of beads, strung together. A necklace in the British Museum is composed of glass beads of a light blue color, square in shape and flat, with horizontal flutings.[558] [Pl. CXXXVI., Fig. 2.] Glass finger-rings have also been found, which were probably worn by women.

We have a few remains of Assyrian toilet articles. A bronze disk, about five inches in diameter, with a long handle attached, is thought to have been a mirror. In its general shape it resembles both the Egyptian and the classical mirrors;[559] but, unlike them, it is perfectly plain, even the handle being a mere flat bar.[560] [Pl. CXXXVI., Fig. 3.] We have also a few combs. One of these is of iron, about three and a half inches long, by two inches broad in the middle. It is double, like a modern small-tooth comb, but does not present the feature, common in Egypt,[561] of a difference in the size of the teeth on the two sides. The very ancient use of this toilet article in Mesopotamia is evidenced by the fact, already noticed,[562] that it was one of the original hieroglyphs whence the later letters were derived. Another comb is of lapis lazuli. and has only a single row of teeth. [Pl. CXXXVII., Fig. 1.] The small vases of alabaster or fine clay, and the small glass bottles which have been discovered in tolerable abundance,[563] were also in all probability intended chiefly for the toilet. They would hold the perfumed unguents which the Assyrians, like other Orientals,[564] were doubtless in the habit of using, and the dyes wherewith they sought to increase the beauty of the countenance.[565]

No doubt the luxury of the Assyrian women in these and other respects was great and excessive. They are not likely to have fallen short of their Jewish sisters either in the refinements or in the corruptions of civilization. When then we hear of "the tinkling ornaments" of the Jewish women in Isaiah's time, "their combs, and round tires like the moon," their "chains and bracelets and mufflers," their "bonnets, and ornaments of the legs, and head-bands, and tablets and ear-rings," their "rings and nose-jewels," their "changeable suits of apparel, and mantles, and wimples, and crisping-pins," their "glasses, and fine linen, and hoods, and veils," their "sweet smells, and girdles, and well-set hair, and stoma-

chers,"[566] we may be sure that in Assyria too these various refinements, or others similar to them, were in use, and consequently that the art of the toilet was tolerably well advanced under the second great Asiatic Empire. That the monuments contain little evidence on the point need not cause any surprise; since it is the natural consequence of the spirit of jealous reserve common to the Oriental nations, which makes them rarely either represent women in their mimetic art or speak of them in their public documents.[567]

If various kinds of grain were cultivated in Assyria, such as wheat, barley, sesame, and millet,[568] we may assume that the food of the inhabitants, like that of other agricultural nations, consisted in part of bread. Sesame was no doubt used, as it is at the present day, principally for making oil;[569] while wheat, barley, and millet were employed for food, and were made into cakes or loaves. The grain used, whatever it was, would be ground between two stones,[570] according to the universal Oriental practice even at the present day.[571] It would then be moistened with water, kneaded in a dish or bowl, and either rolled into thin cakes, or pressed by the hand into smalls balls or loaves.[572] Bread and cakes made in this way still form the chief food of the Arabs of these parts, who retain the habits of antiquity. Wheaten bread is generally eaten by preference;[573] but the poorer sort are compelled to be content with the coarse millet,[574] or *durra*, flour, which is made into cakes, and then eaten with milk, butter, oil, or the fat of animals.

Dates, the principal support of the inhabitants of Chaldæa, or Babylonia, both in ancient and in modern times,[575] were no doubt also an article of food in Assyria, though scarcely to any great extent. The date-palm does not bear well above the alluvium, and such fruit as it produces in the upper country is very little esteemed.[576] Olives were certainly cultivated under the Empire,[577] and the oil extracted from them was in great request. Honey was abundant, and wine plentiful. Sennacherib called his land "a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil olive and of honey;"[578] and the products here enumerated were probably those which formed the chief sustenance of the bulk of the people.

Meat, which is never eaten to any great extent in the East,[579] was probably beyond the means of most persons. Soldiers, however, upon an expedition were able to obtain this dainty at the expense of others; and accordingly we find that on such occasions they freely indulged in it. We

see them, after their victories, killing and cutting up sheep and oxen,[580] and then roasting the joints, which are not unlike our own, on the embers of a wood-fire.[581] [Pl. CXXXVII., Fig. 2.] In the representations of entrenched camps we are shown the mode in which animals were prepared for the royal dinner. They were placed upon their backs on a high table, with their heads hanging over its edge; one man held them steady in this position, while another, taking hold of the neck, cut the throat a little below the chin.[582] The blood dripped into a bowl or basin placed beneath the head on the ground. [Pl. CXXXVII., Fig. 3.] The animal was then no doubt, paunched, after which it was placed—either whole, or in joints—in a huge pot or caldron, and, a fire being lighted underneath, it was boiled to such a point as suited the taste of the king. [Pl. CXXXVII., Fig. 5.] While the boiling progressed, some portions were perhaps fried on the fire below. [Pl. CXXXVII., Fig. 5.] Mutton appears to have been the favorite meat in the camp. At the court there would be a supply of venison, antelope's flesh, hares, partridges, and other game, varied perhaps occasionally with such delicacies as the flesh of the wild ox and the onager.

Fish must have been an article of food in Assyria, or the monuments would not have presented us with so many instances of fishermen.[583] Locusts were also eaten, and were accounted a delicacy, as is proved by their occurrence among the choice dainties of a banquet, which the royal attendants are represented in one bas-relief as bringing into the palace of the king.[584] Fruits, as was natural in so hot a climate, were highly prized; among those of most repute were pomegranates, grapes, citrons,[585] and, apparently, pineapples.[586] [Pl. CXXXVII., Fig. 4.]

There is reason to believe that the Assyrians drank wine very freely. The vine was cultivated extensively, in the neighborhood of Nineveh and elsewhere;[587] and though there is no doubt that grapes were eaten, both raw and dried, still the main purpose of the vineyards was unquestionably the production of wine. Assyria was "a land of corn and wine," emphatically and before all else.[588] Great banquets seem to have been frequent at the court,[589] as at the courts of Babylon and Persia,[590] in which drinking was practised on a large scale. The Ninevites generally are reproached as drunkards by Nahum.[591] In the banquet-scenes of the sculptures, it is drinking and not eating that is represented. Attendants dip

the wine-cups into a huge bowl or vase, which stands on the ground and reaches as high as a man's chest[592] and carry them full of liquor to the guests, who straightway fall to a carouse. [Pl. CXXXVIII., Fig. 1.]

The arrangement of the banquets is curious. The guests, who are in one instance some forty or fifty in number,[593] instead of being received at a common table, are divided into messes of four, who sit together, two and two, facing each other, each mess having its own table and its own attendant. The guests are all clothed in the long tasselled gown, over which they wear the deeply fringed belt and cross-belt. They have sandals on their feet, and on their arms armlets and bracelets. They sit on high stools, from which their legs dangle; but in no case have they footstools, which would apparently have been a great convenience. Most of the guests are bearded men, but intermixed with them we see a few eunuchs.[594] Every guest holds in his right hand a wine-cup of a most elegant shape, the lower part modelled into the form of a lion's head, from which the cup itself rises in a graceful curve. [Pl. CXXXVIII., Fig. 2.] They all raise their cups to a level with their heads, and look as if they were either pledging each other, or else one and all drinking the same toast. Both the stools and the tables are handsome, and tastefully, though not very richly, ornamented. Each table is overspread with a table-cloth, which hangs down on either side opposite the guests, but does not cover the ends of the table, which are thus fully exposed to view. In their general make the tables exactly resemble that used in a banquet-scene by a king of a later date,[595] but their ornamentation is much less elaborate. On each of them appears to have been placed the enigmatical article of which mention has been already made as a strange object generally accompanying the king.[596] Alongside of it we see in most instances a sort of rude crescent.[597] These objects have probably, both of them, a sacred import, the crescent being the emblem of Sin, the Moon-God,[598] while the nameless article had some unknown religious use or meaning.

In the great banqueting scene at Khorsabad, from which the above description is chiefly taken, it is shown that the Assyrians, like the Egyptians and the Greeks in the heroic times,[599] had the entertainment of music at their grand feasts and drinking bouts. At one end of the long series of figures representing guests and attendants was a band of performers, at least

three in number, two of whom certainly played upon the lyre.[600] The lyres were ten-stringed, of a square shape, and hung round the player's neck by a string or ribbon.

The Assyrians also resembled the Greeks and Romans[601] in introducing flowers into their feasts. We have no evidence that they wore garlands, or crowned themselves with chaplets of flowers, or scattered roses over their rooms; but still they appreciated the delightful adornment which flowers furnish. In the long train of attendance represented at Koyunjik as bringing the materials of a banquet into the palace of the king, a considerable number bear vases of flowers. [Pl. CXXXVIII., Fig. 3.] These were probably placed on stands, like those which are often seen supporting jars,[602] and dispersed about the apartment in which the feast was held, but not put upon the tables.

We have no knowledge of the ordinary houses of the Assyrians other than that which we derive from the single representation which the sculptures furnish of a village certainly Assyrian.[603] It appears from this specimen that the houses were small, isolated from one another, and either flat-roofed, or else covered in with a dome or a high cone. They had no windows, but must have been lighted from the top, where, in some of the roofs, an aperture is discernible. The doorway was generally placed towards one end of the house; it was sometimes arched, but more often square-headed.

The doors in Assyrian houses were either single, as commonly with ourselves, or folding (*fores* or *valvæ*), as with the Greeks and Romans, and with the modern French and Italians. Folding-doors were the most common in palaces.[604] They were not hung upon hinges, like modern doors, but, like those of the classical nations,[605] turned upon pivots. At Khorsabad the pavement slabs in the doorways showed everywhere the holes in which these pivots had worked, while in no instance did the wall at the side present any trace of the insertion of a hinge.[606] Hinges, however, in the proper sense of the term, were not unknown to the Assyrians; for two massive bronze sockets found at Nimrud, which weighed more than six pounds each, and had a diameter of about five inches,[607] must have been designed to receive the hinges of a door or gate, hung exactly as gates are now hung among ourselves. [Pl. CXXXVIII., Fig. 4.] The folding-doors were fastened by bolts, which were shot into the pavement at the point where the two doors met; but in the case of single doors a lock seems to have been

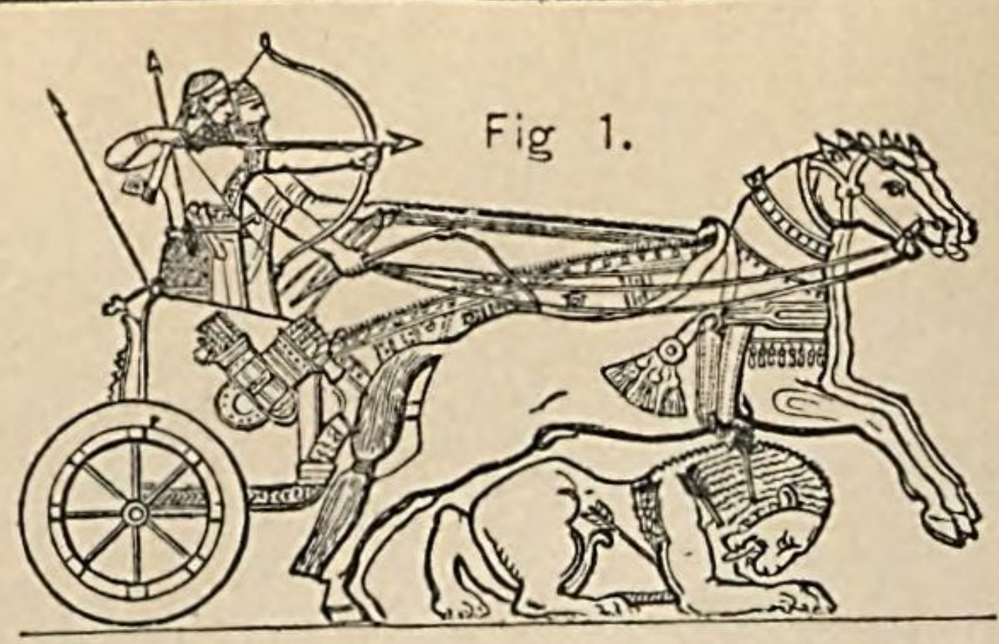
used, which was placed about four feet from the ground, and projected from the door itself, so that a recess had to be made in the wall behind the door to receive the lock when the door stood open.[608] The bolt of the lock was of an oblong square shape and was shot into the wall against which the door closed.[609]

The ordinary character of Assyrian furniture did not greatly differ from the furniture of modern times. That of the poorer classes was for the most part extremely plain, consisting probably of such tables, couches, and low stools as we see in the representations which are so frequent, of the interiors of soldiers' tents.[610] In these the tables are generally of the cross-legged kind; the couches follow the pattern given in a previous page of this volume,[611] except that the legs do not end in pine-shaped ornaments; and the stools are either square blocks, or merely cut *en chevron*.[612] There are no chairs. The low stools evidently form the ordinary seats of the people, on which they sit to converse or to rest themselves. [Pl. CXXXIX., Fig. 1.] The couches seem to have been the beds whereon the soldiers slept, and it may be doubted if the Assyrians knew of any other. [Pl. CXXXIX., Fig. 2.] In the case of the monarch we have seen that the bedding consisted of a mattress, a large round pillow or cushion, and a coverlet;[613] but in these simple couches of the poor we observe only a mattress, the upper part of which is slightly raised and fitted into the curvature of the arm, so as to make a substitute for a pillow. [Pl. CXXXIX., Fig. 2.] Perhaps, however, the day-laborer may have enjoyed on a couch of this simple character slumbers sounder and more refreshing than Sardanapalus amid his comparative luxury.

The household utensils seen in combination with these simple articles of furniture are few and somewhat rudely shaped. A jug with a long neck, an angular handle, and a pointed bottom, is common: it usually hangs from a nail or hook inserted into the tent-pole. Vases and bowls of a simple form occur, but are less frequent. The men are seen with knives in their hands, and appear sometimes to be preparing food for their meals;[614] but the form of the knife is marked very indistinctly. Some of the household articles represented have a strange and unusual appearance. One is a sort of short ladder, but with semicircular projections at the bottom, the use of which is not apparent; another may be a board at which some game was played;[615] while a third is quite inexplicable. [Pl. CXXXIX., Fig. 3.]

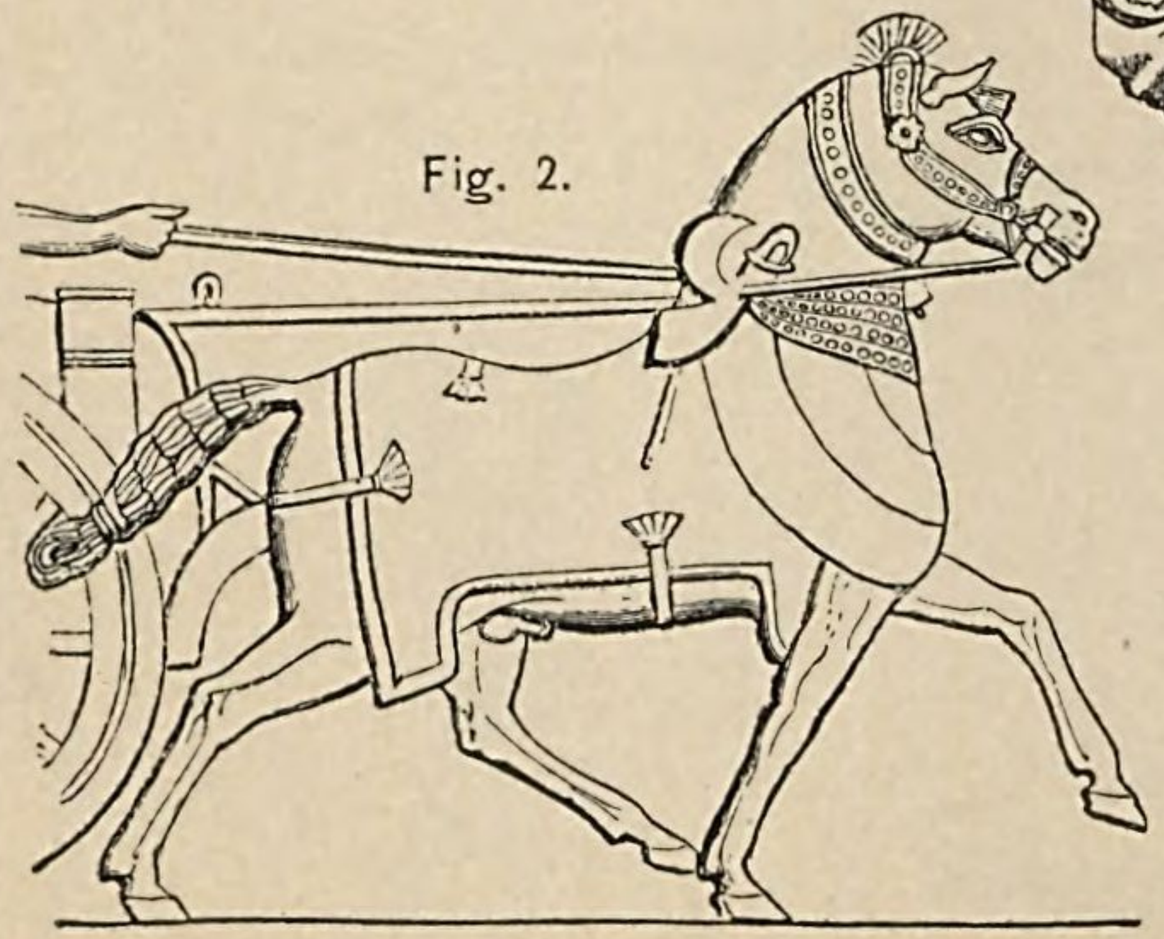
From actual discoveries of the utensils themselves, we know

Fig 1.



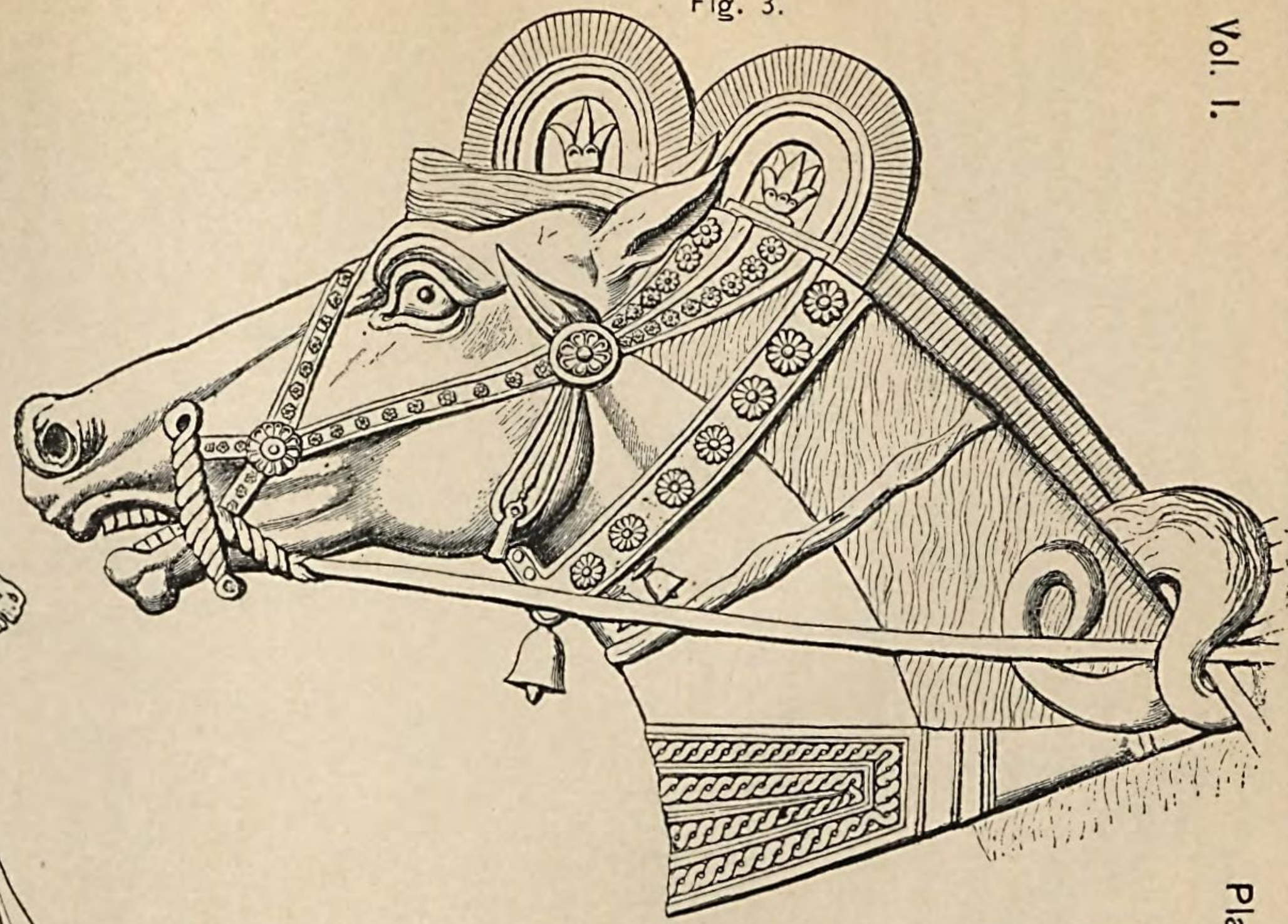
Assyrian chariot of the early period (Nimrud)

Fig. 2.



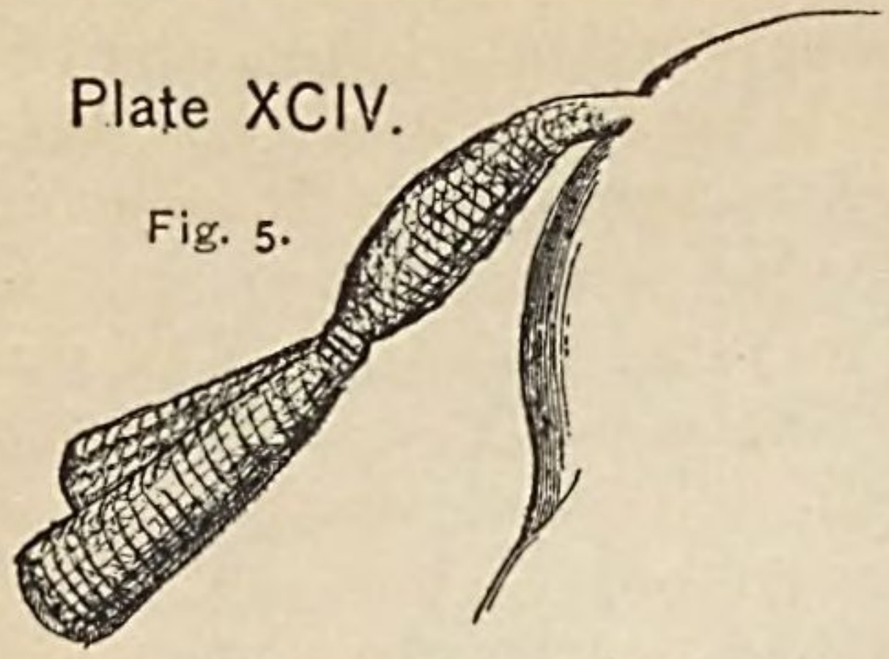
Chariot-horse protected by clothing (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Head of a Chariot-horse, showing Collar with Bells attached (Koyunjik).

Fig. 5.



Mode of tying horses' tails (Koyunjik).

Fig 2.

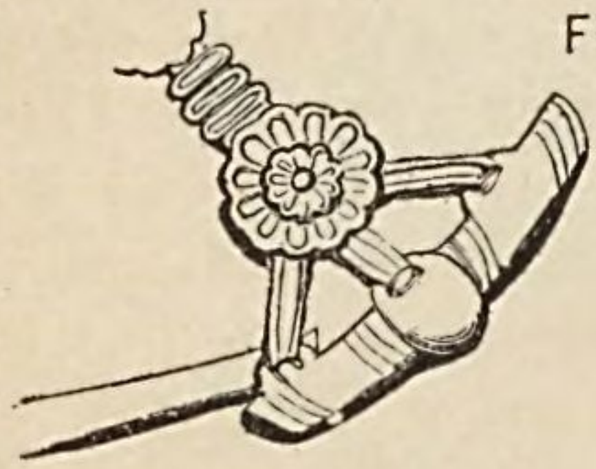


Fig. 1.

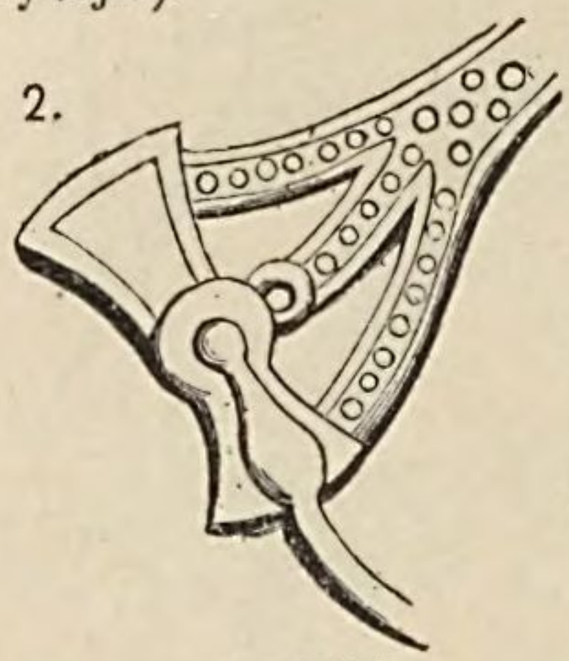
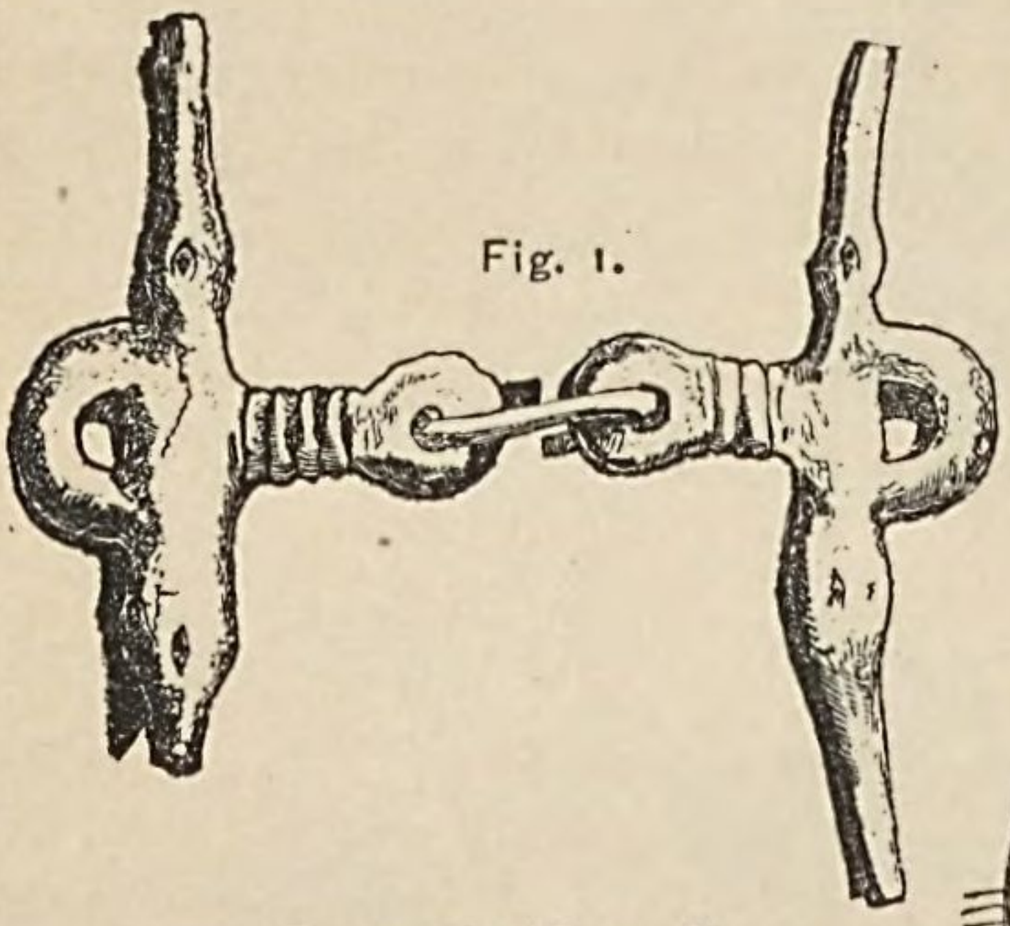


Fig. 2.

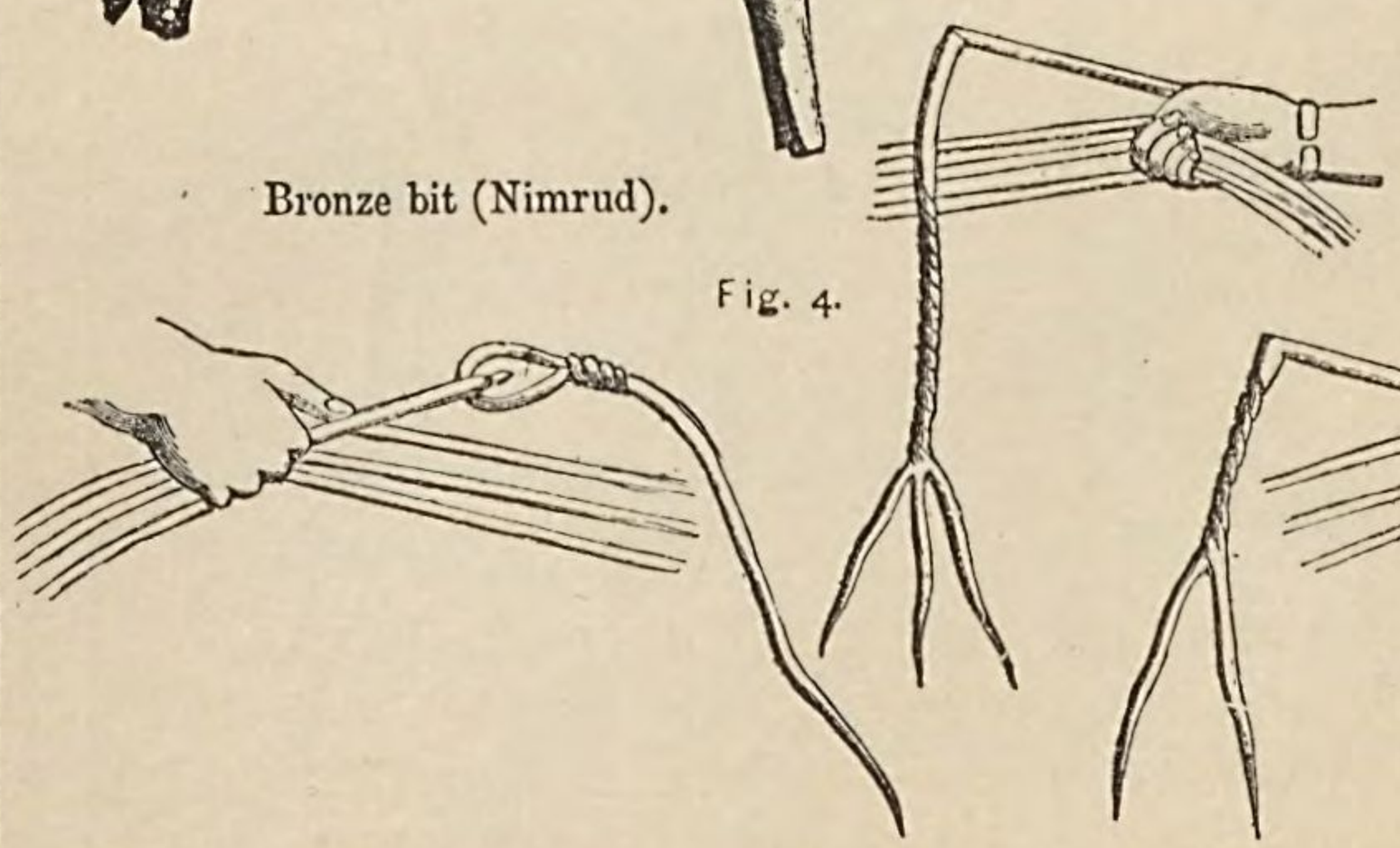
Bits of Chariot-horses (Nimrud).

Fig. 1.



Bronze bit (Nimrud).

Fig. 4.



Driving-whips of Assyrian charioteers, from the Sculptures.

Fig. 3.

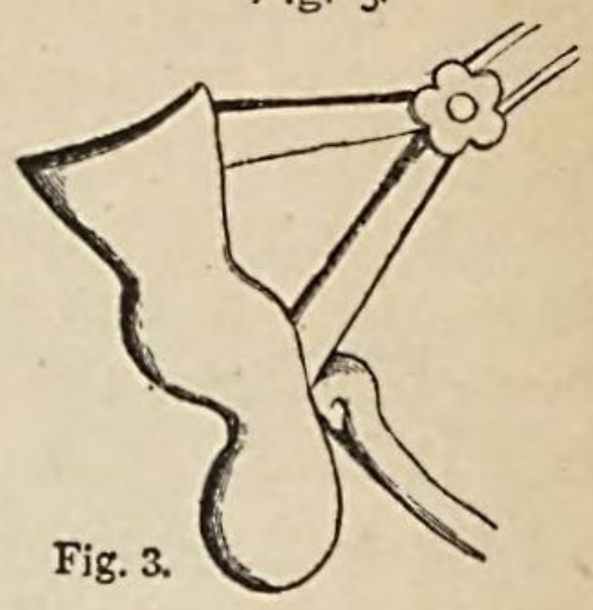


Fig. 3.

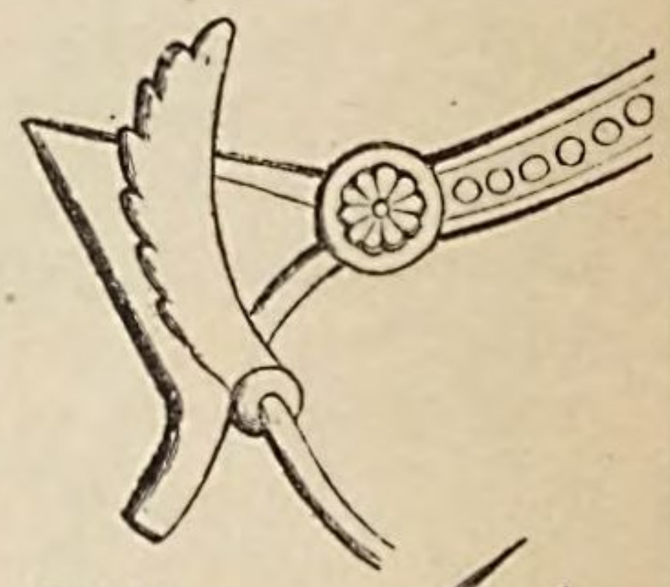


Fig. 4.

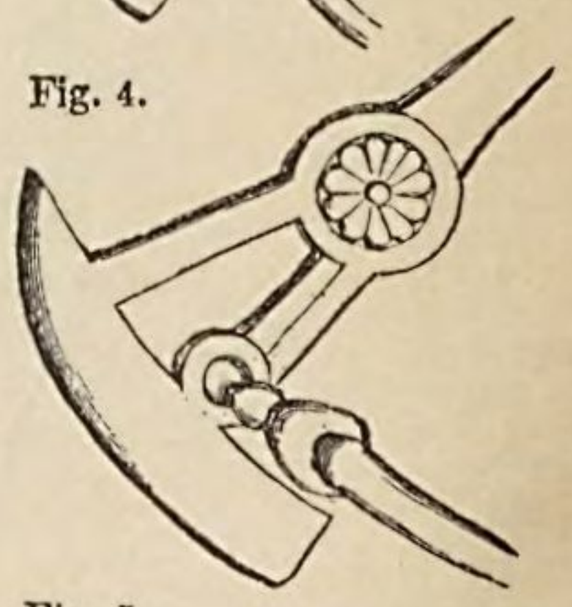


Fig. 5.

Bits of Chariot-horses, from the Sculptures.

that the Assyrians used dishes of stone, alabaster, and bronze. They had also bronze cups, bowls, and plates, often elaborately patterned.[616] The dishes had commonly a handle at the side, either fixed or movable, by which, when not in use, they could be carried or hung on pegs. [Pl. CXXXIX., Fig. 6.] Chaldrons of bronze were also common: they varied from five feet to eighteen inches in height, and from two feet and a half to six feet in diameter.[617] Jugs, funnels, ladles, and jars have been found in the same metal; one of the funnels is shaped nearly like a modern wine-strainer.[618] [Pl. CXXXIX., Fig. 4.]

The Assyrians made use of bronze bells with iron tongues,[619] and, to render the sound of these more pleasing, they increased the proportion of the tin to the copper, raising it from ten to fourteen per cent. The bells were always of small size, never (so far as appears) exceeding three inches and a quarter in height and two inches and a quarter in diameter. It is uncertain whether they were used, as modern bells, to summon attendants, or only attached, as we see them on the sculptures,[620] to the collars and headstalls of horses.

Some houses, but probably not very many, had gardens attached to them. The Assyrian taste in gardening was like that of the French. Trees of a similar character, or tall trees alternating with short ones, were planted in straight rows at an equal distance from one another, while straight paths and walks, meeting each other at right angles, traversed the grounds.[621] Water was abundantly supplied by means of canals drawn off from a neighboring river, or was brought by an aqueduct from a distance.[622] A national taste of a peculiar kind, artificial and extravagant to a degree, caused the Assyrians to add to the cultivation of the natural ground the monstrous invention of "Hanging Gardens:" an invention introduced into Babylonia at a comparatively late date, but known in Assyria as early as the time of Sennacherib.[623] A "hanging garden" was sometimes combined with an aqueduct, the banks of the stream which the aqueduct bore being planted with trees of different kinds.[624] At other times it occupied the roof of a building, probably raised for the purpose, and was supported upon a number of pillars. [Pl. CXXXIX., Fig. 5.]

The employments of the Assyrians, which receive some illustration from the monuments, are, besides war and hunting —subjects already discussed at length—chiefly building, boating, and agriculture. Of agricultural laborers, there occur

two or three only, introduced by the artists into a slab of Sennacherib's which represents the transport of a winged bull.[625] They are dressed in the ordinary short tunic and belt, and are employed in drawing water from a river by the help of hand-swipes for the purpose of irrigating their lands.[626] Boatmen are far more common. They are seen employed in the conveyance of masses of stone,[627] and of other materials for building,[628] ferrying men and horses across a river,[629] guiding their boat while a fisherman plies his craft from it,[630] assisting soldiers to pursue the enemy,[631] and the like. They wear the short tunic and belt, and sometimes have their hair encircled with a fillet. Of laborers, employed in work connected with building, the examples are numerous. In the long series of slabs representing the construction of some of Sennacherib's great works,[632] although the bulk of those employed as laborers appear to be foreign captives, there are a certain number of the duties—duties less purely mechanical than the others—which are devolved on Assyrians. Assyrians load the hand-carts, and sometimes even draw them (Pl. CXXXIX., Fig. 7), convey the implements—pickaxes, saws, shovels, hatchets, beams, forks, coils of rope—place the rollers, arrange the lever and work it, keep the carved masses of stone steady as they are moved along to their proper places, urge on the gangs of forced laborers with sticks, and finally direct the whole of the proceedings by signals, which they give with their voice or with a long horn. Thus, however ample the command of naked human strength enjoyed by the Assyrian king, who had always at his absolute disposal the labor of many thousand captives, still there was in every great work much which could only be intrusted to Assyrians, who appear to have been employed largely in the grand constructions of their monarchs.

The implements of labor have a considerable resemblance to those in present use among ourselves. The saws were two-handed; but as the handle was in the same line with the blade, instead of being set at right angles to it, they must have been somewhat awkward to use. The shovels were heart-shaped, like those which Sir C. Fellows noticed in Asia Minor.[633] The pickaxes had a single instead of a double head, while the hatchets were double-headed, though here probably the second head was a mere knob intended to increase the force of the blow. [Pl. CXL., Fig. 1.] The hand-carts were small and of very simple construction: they were made open

in front and behind, but had a slight framework at the sides. They had a pole rising a little in front, and were generally drawn by two men. The wheels were commonly four-spoked. When the load had been placed on the cart, it seems to have been in general secured by two bands or ropes, which were passed over it diagonally, so as to cross each other at the top.

Carts drawn by animals were no doubt used in the country; but they are not found except in the scenes representing the triumphant returns of armies, where it is more probable that the vehicles are foreign than Assyrian. They have poles—not shafts—and are drawn by two animals, either oxen, mules, or asses. The wheels have generally a large number of spokes—sometimes as many as eleven. Representations of these carts will be found in early pages.[634]

The Assyrians appear to have made occasional use of covered carriages. Several vehicles of this kind are represented on an obelisk in the British Museum. They have a high and clumsy body, which shows no window, and is placed on four disproportionately low wheels, which raise it only about a foot from the ground. In front of this body is a small driving-place, enclosed in trelliswork, inside which the coachman stands to drive. Each of these vehicles is drawn by two horses. It is probable that they were used to convey the ladies of the court; and they were therefore carefully closed, in order that no curious glance of passers-by might rest upon the charming inmates. [Pl. CXL., Fig. 3.] The *carpentum*, in which the Roman matrons rode at the great public festivals, was similarly closed, both in front and behind, as is evident from the representations which we have of it on medals and tombs.

Except in the case of these covered vehicles, and of the chariots used in war and hunting, horses (as already observed[635]) were not employed for draught. The Assyrians appear to have regarded them as too noble for this purpose, unless where the monarch and those near to him were concerned, for whose needs nothing was too precious. On the military expeditions the horses were carefully fed and tended. Portable mangers were taken with the army for their convenience; and their food, which was probably barley, was brought to them by grooms in sieves or shallow boxes, whence no doubt it was transferred to the mangers. [Pl. CXL., Fig. 2.] They appear to have been allowed to go loose in the camp, without being either hobbled or picketed. Care was taken[636]

to keep their coats clean and glossy by the use of the curry-comb, which was probably of iron.[637] [Pl. CXL., Fig. 4.]

Halters of two kinds were employed. Sometimes they consisted of a mere simple noose, which was placed in the horse's mouth, and then drawn tight round the chin.[638] More often (as in the illustration) the rope was attached to a headstall, not unlike that of an ordinary bridle, but simpler, and probably of a cheaper material. Leading reins, fastened to the bit of an ordinary bridle, were also common.[639]

Such are the principal points connected with the peaceful customs of the Assyrians, on which the monuments recently discovered throw a tolerable amount of light. Much still remains in obscurity. It is not possible as yet, without drawing largely on the imagination, to portray in any completeness the private life even of the Assyrian nobles, much less that of the common people. All that can be done is to gather up the fragments which time has spared; to arrange them in something like order, and present them faithfully to the general reader, who, it is hoped, will feel a certain degree of interest in them severally, as matters of archæology, and who will probably further find that he obtains from them in combination a fair notion of the general character and condition of the race, of its mingled barbarism and civilization, knowledge and ignorance, art and rudeness, luxury and simplicity of habits. The novelist and even the essayist may commendably eke out the scantiness of facts by a free indulgence in the wide field of supposition and conjecture; but the historian is not entitled to stray into this enchanted ground. He must be content to remain within the tame and narrow circle of established fact. Where his materials are abundant, he is entitled to draw graphic sketches of the general condition of the people; but where they are scanty, as in the present instance, he must be content to forego such pleasant pictures, in which the coloring and the filling-up would necessarily be derived, not from authentic data, but from his own fancy.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION.

"The graven image, and the molten image."—NAHUM i. 14.

THE religion of the Assyrians so nearly resembled—at least in its external aspect, in which alone we can contemplate it—the religion of the primitive Chaldæans, that it will be unnecessary, after the full treatment which that subject received in an earlier portion of this work,[1] to do much more than notice in the present place certain peculiarities by which it would appear that the cult of Assyria was distinguished from that of the neighboring and closely connected country. With the exception that the first god in the Babylonian Pantheon was replaced by a distinct and thoroughly national deity in the Pantheon of Assyria, and that certain deities whose position was prominent in the one occupied a subordinate position in the other, the two religious systems may be pronounced, not similar merely but identical. Each of them, without any real monotheism,[2] commences with the same pre-eminence of a single deity, which is followed by the same groupings of identically the same divinities;[3] and after that, by a multitudinous polytheism, which is chiefly of a local character. Each country, so far as we can see, has nearly the same worship—temples, altars, and ceremonies of the same type—the same religious emblems—the same ideas. The only difference here is, that in Assyria ampler evidence exists of what was material in the religious system, more abundant representations of the objects and modes of worship; so that it will be possible to give, by means of illustrations, a more graphic portraiture of the externals of the religion of the Assyrians than the scantiness of the remains permitted in the case of the primitive Chaldæans.

At the head of the Assyrian Pantheon stood the "great god," Asshur. His usual titles are "the great Lord," "the King of all the Gods," "he who rules supreme over the Gods."[4] Sometimes he is called "the Father of the Gods," though that is a title which is more properly assigned to Belus.[5] His place is always first in invocations. He is regarded throughout all the Assyrian inscriptions as the especial tutelary deity both of the kings and of the country. He places the monarchs upon their

throne, firmly establishes them in the government, lengthens the years of their reigns, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, makes their name celebrated, and the like. To him they look to give them victory over their enemies, to grant them all the wishes of their heart, and to allow them to be succeeded on their thrones by their sons and their sons' sons, to a remote posterity. Their usual phrase when speaking of him is "Asshur, my lord." They represent themselves as passing their lives in his service. It is to spread his worship that they carry on their wars. They fight, ravage, destroy in his name. Finally, when they subdue a country, they are careful to "set up the emblems of Asshur," and teach the people his laws and his worship.

The tutelage of Asshur over Assyria is strongly marked by the identity of his name with that of the country, which in the original is complete.[6] It is also indicated by the curious fact that, unlike the other gods, Asshur had no notorious temple or shrine in any particular city of Assyria, a sign that his worship was spread equally throughout the whole land, and not to any extent localized. As the national deity, he had given name to the original capital;[7] but even at Asshur (*Kileh-Sherghat*) it may be doubted whether there was any building which was specially his.[8] Therefore it is a reasonable conjecture[9] that all the shrines throughout Assyria were open to his worship, to whatever minor god they might happen to be dedicated.

In the inscriptions the Assyrians are constantly described as "the servants of Asshur," and their enemies as "the enemies of Asshur." The Assyrian religion is "the worship of Asshur." No similar phrases are used with respect to any of the other gods of the Pantheon.

We can scarcely doubt that originally the god Asshur was the great progenitor of the race, Asshur, the son of Shem,[10] deified. It was not long, however, before this notion was lost, and Asshur came to be viewed simply as a celestial being—the first and highest of all the divine agents who ruled over heaven and earth. It is indicative of the (comparatively speaking) elevated character of Assyrian polytheism that this exalted and awful deity continued from first to last the main object of worship, and was not superseded in the thoughts of men by the lower and more intelligible divinities, such as Shamas and Sin, the Sun and Moon, Nergal the God of War, Nin the God of Hunting, or Vul the wielder of the thunderbolt.[11]

The favorite emblem under which the Assyrians appear to

have represented Asshur in their works of art was the winged circle or globe, from which a figure in a horned cap is frequently seen to issue, sometimes simply holding a bow (Fig. I.), sometimes shooting his arrows against the Assyrians' enemies (Fig II.). This emblem has been variously explained;[12] but the most probable conjecture would seem to be that the circle typifies eternity, while the wings express omnipresence, and the human figure symbolizes wisdom or intelligence. The emblem appears under many varieties. Sometimes the figure which issues from it has no bow, and is represented as simply extending the right hand (Fig. III.); occasionally both hands are extended, and the left holds a ring or chaplet (Fig. IV.). [Pl. CXLI., Fig. 1.] In one instance we see a very remarkable variation: for the complete human figure is substituted a mere pair of hands, which seem to come from behind the winged disk, the right open and exhibiting the palm, the left closed and holding a bow.[13] [Pl. CXLI., Fig. 2.] In a large number of cases all sign of a person is dispensed with,[14] the winged circle appearing alone, with the disk either plain or ornamented. On the other hand, there are one or two instances where the emblem exhibits three human heads instead of one—the central figure having on either side of it, a head, which seems to rest upon the feathers of the wing.[15] [Pl. CXLI., Fig. 3.]

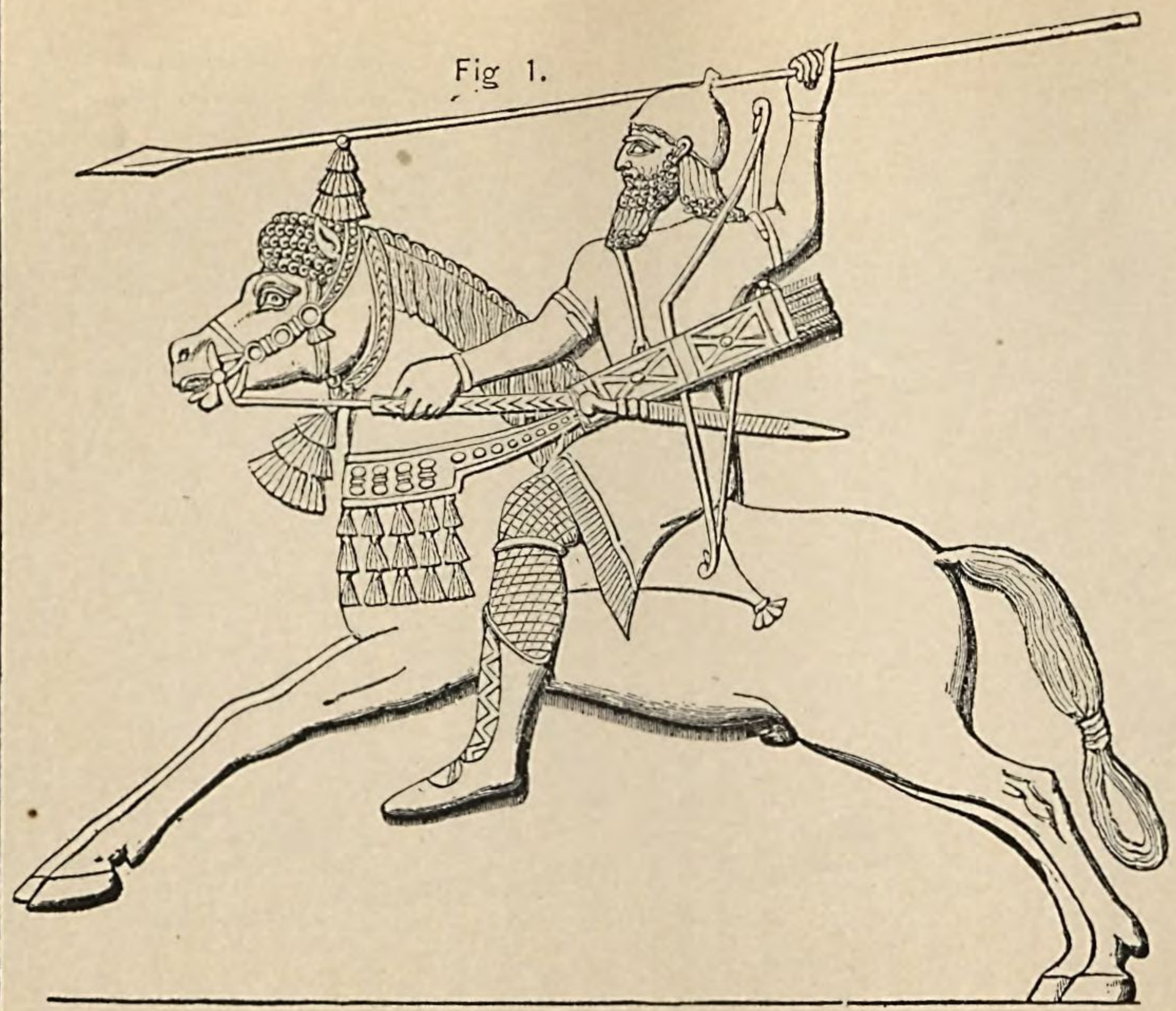
It is the opinion of some critics, based upon this form of the emblem, that the supreme deity of the Assyrians, whom the winged circle seems always to represent, was in reality a triune god.[16] Now certainly the triple human form is very remarkable, and lends a color to this conjecture; but, as there is absolutely nothing, either in the statements of ancient writers, or in the Assyrian inscriptions, so far as they have been deciphered, to confirm the supposition, it can hardly be accepted as the true explanation of the phenomenon. The doctrine of the Trinity, scarcely apprehended with any distinctness even by the ancient Jews, does not appear to have been one of those which primeval revelation made known throughout the heathen world. It is a fanciful mysticism which finds a Trinity in the Eicton, Cneph, and Phtha of the Egyptians, the Oromasdes, Mithras, and Arimanius of the Persians, and the Monas, Logos, and Psyche of Pythagoras and Plato.[17] There are abundant Triads in ancient mythology, but no real Trinity. The case of Asshur is, however, one of simple unity. He is not even regularly included in any Triad. It is possible, however, that the triple figure shows him to us in temporary combination with

two other gods, who may be exceptionally represented in this way rather than by their usual emblems. Or the three heads may be merely an exaggeration of that principle of repetition which gives rise so often to a double representation of a king or a god,[18] and which is seen at Bavian in the threefold repetition of another sacred emblem, the horned cap.

It is observable that in the sculptures the winged circle is seldom found except in immediate connection with the monarch.[19] The great King wears it embroidered upon his robes,[20] carries it engraved upon his cylinder,[21] represents it above his head in the rock-tablets on which he carves his image,[22] stands or kneels in adoration before it,[23] fights under its shadow,[24] under its protection returns victorious,[25] places it conspicuously in the scenes where he himself is represented on his obelisks.[26] And in these various representations he makes the emblem in a great measure conform to the circumstances in which he himself is engaged at the time. Where he is fighting, Asshur too has his arrow on the string, and points it against the king's adversaries. Where he is returning from victory, with the disused bow in the left hand and the right hand outstretched and elevated, Asshur takes the same attitude. In peaceful scenes the bow disappears altogether. If the king worships, the god holds out his hand to aid; if he is engaged in secular arts, the divine presence is thought to be sufficiently marked by the circle and wings without the human figure.

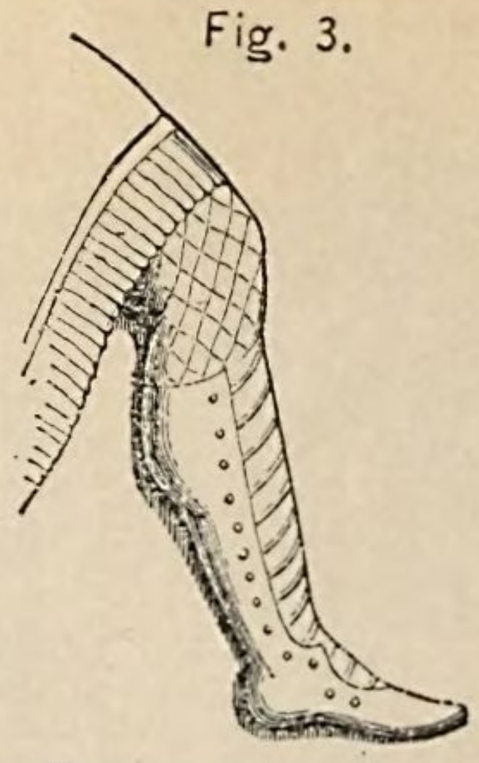
An emblem found in such frequent connection with the symbol of Asshur as to warrant the belief that it was attached in a special way to his worship, is the sacred or symbolical tree. Like the winged circle, this emblem has various forms. The simplest consists of a short pillar springing from a single pair of rams' horns, and surmounted by a capital composed of two pairs of rams' horns separated by one, two, or three horizontal bands; above which there is, first, a scroll resembling that which commonly surmounts the winged circle, and then a flower, very much like the "honeysuckle ornament" of the Greeks.[27] More advanced specimens show the pillar elongated with a capital in the middle in addition to the capital at the top, while the blossom above the upper capital, and generally the stem likewise, throw out a number of similar smaller blossoms, which are sometimes replaced by fir-cones or pomegranates. [Pl. CXLI., Fig. 4.] Where the tree is most elaborately portrayed, we see, besides the stem and the blossoms, a complicated network of branches, which after interlacing with

Fig 1.



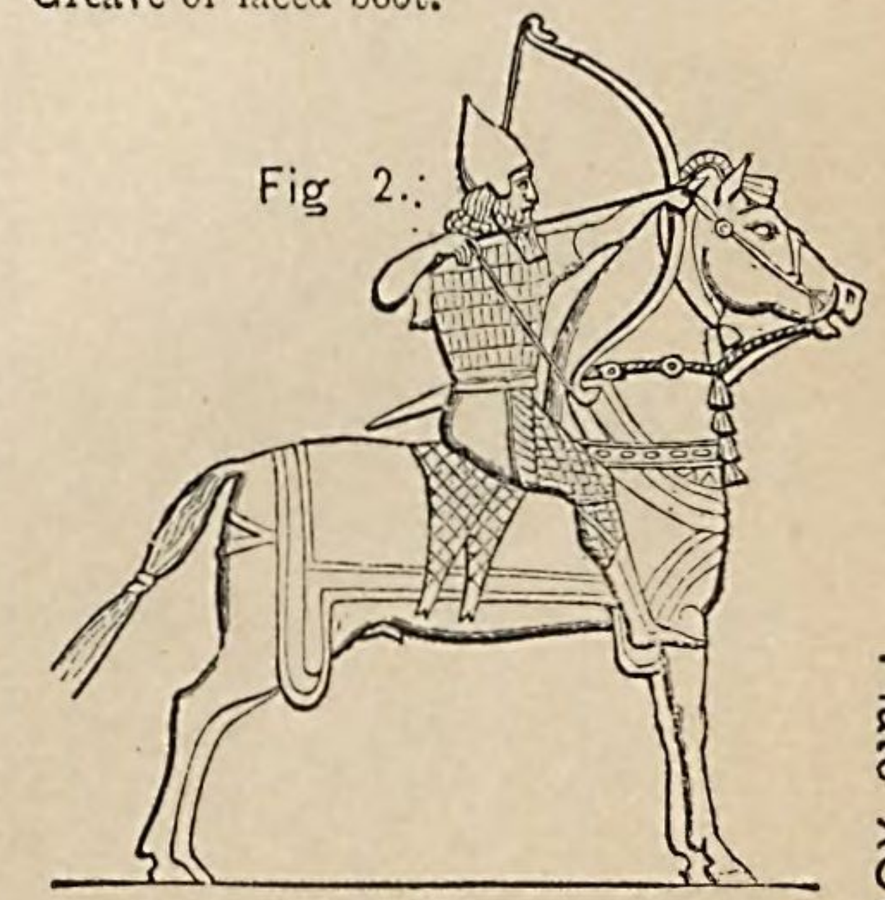
Mounted Spearman of the time of Sargon.

Fig. 3.



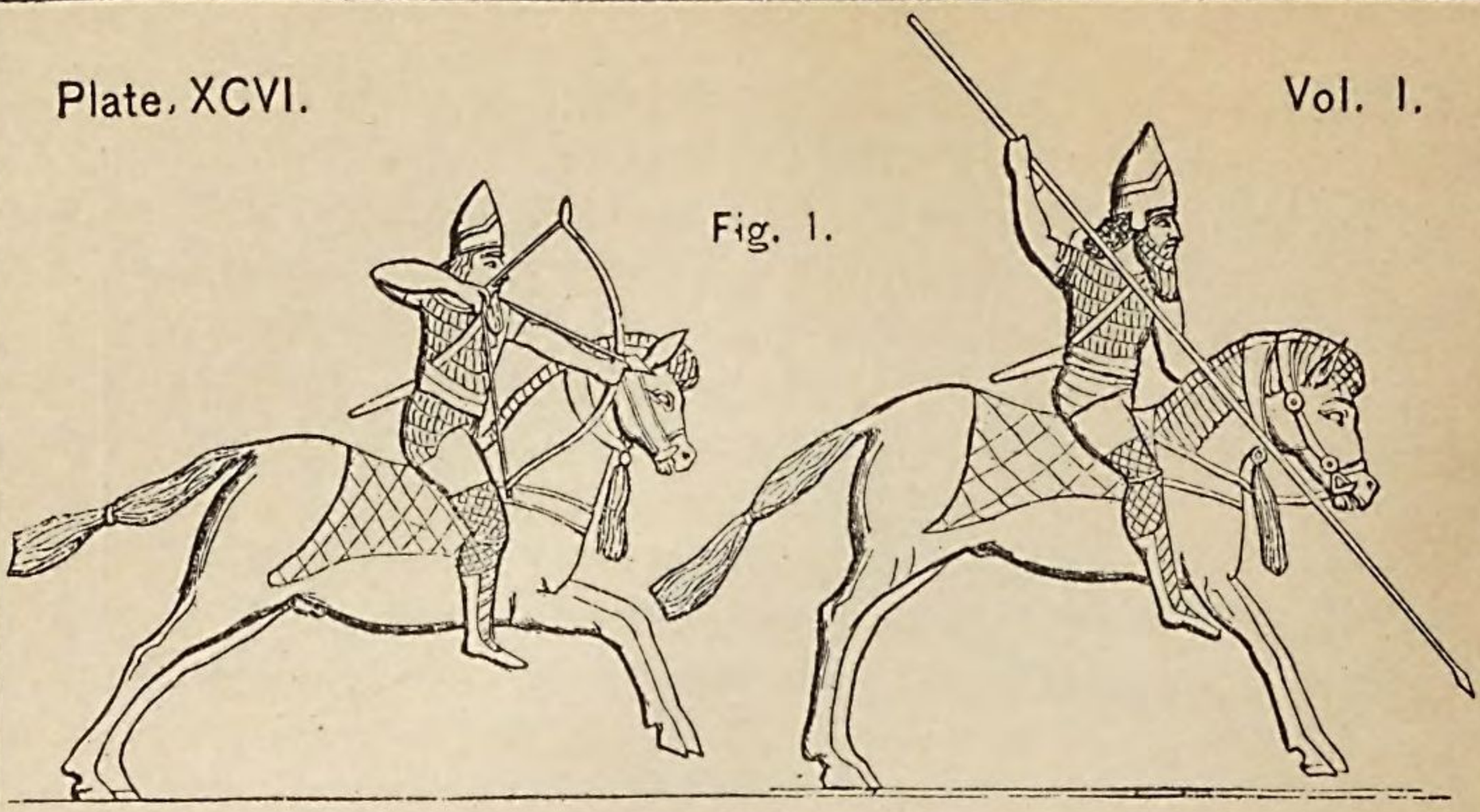
Greave or laced boot.

Fig 2.



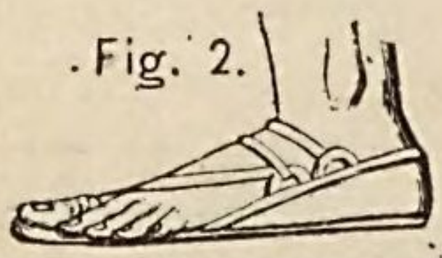
Horse archer of the latest period.

Fig. 1.



Cavalry soldiers of the time of Sennacherib.

Fig. 2.



Ordinary Sandal of the first period

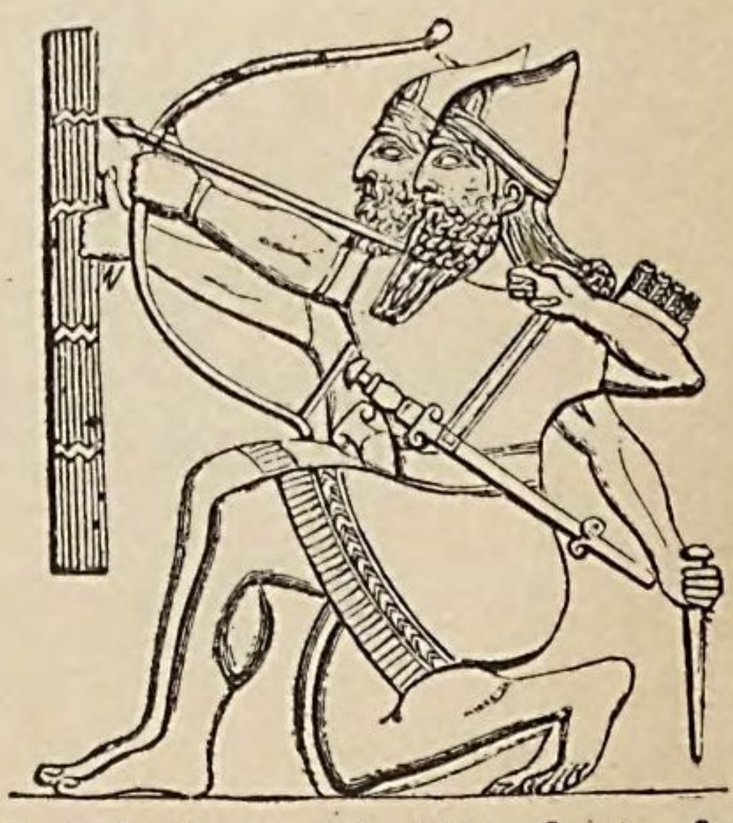
Convex Shield of the first period (Nimrud)

Fig. 3.

Foot archers of the lightest equip ment. (Time of Sargon.)

Fig. 4.

Foot Spearman of the first period, with wicker shield (Nimrud).



Foot Archer, with Attendant—first period (Nimrud).

one another form a sort of arch surrounding the tree itself as with a frame. [Pl. CXLII., Fig.1.]

It is a subject of curious speculation, whether this sacred tree does not stand connected with the *Ashêrah* of the Phœnicians, which was certainly not a "grove," in the sense in which we commonly understand that word. The *Ashêrah* which the Jews adopted from the idolatrous nations with whom they came in contact, was an artificial structure, originally of wood,[28] but in the later times probably of metal,[29] capable of being "set" in the temple at Jerusalem by one king,[30] and "brought out" by another.[31] It was a structure for which "hangings" could be made,[32] to cover and protect it, while at the same time it was so far like a tree that it could be properly said to be "cut down," rather than "broken" or otherwise demolished.[33] The name itself seems to imply something which stood straight up;[34] and the conjecture is reasonable that its essential element was "the straight stem of a tree,"[35] though whether the idea connected with the emblem was of the same nature with that which underlay the phallic rites of the Greeks[36] is (to say the least) extremely uncertain. We have no distinct evidence that the Assyrian sacred tree was a real tangible object: it may have been, as Mr. Layard supposes,[37] a mere type. But it is perhaps on the whole more likely to have been an actual object;[38] in which case we cannot but suspect that it stood in the Assyrian system in much the same position as the *Ashêrah* in the Phœnician, being closely connected with the worship of the supreme god,[39] and having certainly a symbolic character, though of what exact kind it may not be easy to determine.

An analogy has been suggested between this Assyrian emblem and the Scriptural "tree of life," which is thought to be variously reflected in the multiform mythology of the East.[40] Are not such speculations somewhat over-fanciful? There is perhaps, in the emblem itself, which combines the horns of the ram—an animal noted for procreative power—with the image of a fruit or flower-producing tree, ground for supposing that some allusion is intended to the prolific or generative energy in nature; but more than this can scarcely be said without venturing upon mere speculation. The time will perhaps ere long arrive when, by the interpretation of the mythological tablets of the Assyrians, their real notions on this and other kindred subjects may become known to us. Till then, it is best to remain content with such facts as are

ascertainable, without seeking to penetrate mysteries at which we can but guess, and where, even if we guess aright, we cannot know that we do so.

The gods worshipped in Assyria in the next degree to Asshur appear to have been, in the early times, Anu and Vul; in the later, Bel, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Nin or Ninip, and Nergal. Gula, Ishtar, and Beltis were favorite goddesses. Hoa, Nebo, and Merodach, though occasional objects of worship, more especially under the later empire, were in far less repute in Assyria than in Babylonia; and the two last-named may almost be said to have been introduced into the former country from the latter during the historical period.[41]

For the special characteristics of these various gods—common objects of worship to the Assyrians and the Babylonians from a very remote epoch—the reader is referred to the first part of this volume, where their several attributes and their position in the Chaldæan Pantheon have been noted.[42] The general resemblance of the two religious systems is such, that almost everything which has been stated with respect to the gods of the First Empire may be taken us applying equally to those of the Second; and the reader is requested to make this application in all cases, except where some shade of difference, more or less strongly marked, shall be pointed out. In the following pages, without repeating what has been said in the first part of this volume, some account will be given of the worship of the principal gods *in Assyria* and of the chief temples dedicated to their service.

ANU.

The worship of Anu seems to have been introduced into Assyria from Babylonia during the times of Chaldæan supremacy which preceded the establishment of the independent Assyrian kingdom. Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, king of Chaldæa, built a temple to Anu and Vul at Asshur, which was then the Assyrian capital, about B.C. 1820. An inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. states that this temple lasted for 621 years, when, having fallen into decay, it was taken down by Asshur-dayan, his own great-grandfather.[43] Its site remained vacant for sixty years. Then Tiglath-Pileser I., in the beginning of his reign, rebuilt the temple more magnificently than before;[44] and from that time it seems to have remained among the principal shrines in Assyria. It was from a tradition connected with this ancient temple of Shamas-Vul, that

Asshur in later times acquired the name of Telané, or "the Mound of Anu," which it bears in Stephen.[45]

Anu's place among the "Great Gods" of Assyria is not so well marked as that of many other divinities. His name does not occur as an element in the names of kings or of other important personages. He is omitted altogether from many solemn invocations.[46] It is doubtful whether he is one of the gods whose emblems were worn by the king and inscribed upon the rock-tablets.[47] But, on the other hand, where he occurs in lists, he is invariably placed directly after Asshur;[48] and he is often coupled with that deity in a way which is strongly indicative of his exalted character. Tiglath-Pileser I., though omitting him from his opening invocation, speaks of him in the latter part of his great Inscription, as his lord and protector in the next place to Asshur. Asshur-izir-pal uses expressions as if he were Anu's special votary, calling himself "him who honors Anu," or "him who honors Anu and Dagan."[49] His son, the Black-Obelisk king, assigns him the second place in the invocation of thirteen gods with which he begins his record.[50] The kings of the Lower Dynasty do not generally hold him in much repute; Sargon, however, is an exception, perhaps because his own name closely resembled that of a god mentioned as one of Anu's sons.[51] Sargon not unfrequently glorifies Anu, coupling him with Bel or Bil, the second god of the first Triad. He even made Anu the tutelary god of one of the gates of his new city, Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad), joining him in this capacity with the goddess Ishtar.

Anu had but few temples in Assyria. He seems to have had none at either Nineveh or Calah, and none of any importance in all Assyria, except that at Asshur. There is, however, reason, to believe that he was occasionally honored with a shrine in a temple dedicated to another deity.[52]

BIL, OR BEL.

The classical writers represent Bel as especially a Babylonian god, and scarcely mention his worship by the Assyrians;[53] but the monuments show that the true Bel (called in the first part of this volume Bel-Nimrod) was worshipped at least as much in the northern as in the southern country. Indeed, as early as the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., the Assyrians, as a nation, were especially entitled by their monarchs "the people of Belus;"[54]

and the same periphrasis was in use during the period of the Lower Empire.[55] According to some authorities, a particular quarter of the city of Nineveh was denominated "the city of Belus;"[56] which would imply that it was in a peculiar way under his protection. The word Bel does not occur very frequently as an element in royal names; it was borne, however, by at least three early Assyrian kings;[57] and there is evidence that in later times it entered as an element into the names of leading personages, with almost as much frequency as Asshur.[58]

The high rank of Bel in Assyria is very strongly marked. In the invocations his place is either the third or the second. The former is his proper position, but occasionally Anu is omitted, and the name of Bel follows immediately on that of Asshur.[59] In one or two places he is made third, notwithstanding that Anu is omitted, Shamas, the Sun-god, being advanced over his head;[60] but this is very unusual.

The worship of Bel in the earliest Assyrian times is marked by the royal names of Bel-sumili-kapi and Bel-lush, borne by two of the most ancient kings.[61] He had a temple at Asshur in conjunction with Il or Ra, which must have been of great antiquity, for by the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. (B.C. 1130) it had fallen to decay and required a complete restoration, which it received from that monarch.[62] He had another temple at Calah; besides which he had four "arks" or "tabernacles," the emplacement of which is uncertain.[63] Among the latter kings, Sargon especially paid him honor. Besides coupling him with Anu in his royal titles, he dedicated to him—in conjunction with Beltis, his wife—one of the gates of his city, and in many passages he ascribes his royal authority to the favor of Bel and Merodach.[64] He also calls Bel, in the dedication of the eastern gate at Khorsabad, "the establisher of the foundations of his city."[65]

It may be suspected that the horned cap, which was no doubt a general emblem of divinity, was also in an especial way the symbol of this god. Esarhaddon states that he set up over "the image of his majesty the emblems of Asshur, the Sun, Bel, Nin, and Ishtar."[66] The other kings always include Bel among the chief objects of their worship. We should thus expect to find his emblem among those which the kings specially affected; and as all the other common emblems are assigned to distinct gods with tolerable certainty, the horned cap alone remaining doubtful, the most reasonable conjecture seems to be that it was Bel's symbol.[67]

It has been assumed in some quarters that the Bel of the Assyrians was identical with the Phœnician Dagon.[68] A word which reads *Da-gan* is found in the native lists of divinities, and in one place the explanation attached seems to show that the term was among the titles of Bel.[69] But this verbal resemblance between the name Dagon and one of Bel's titles is probably a mere accident, and affords no ground for assuming any connection between the two gods, who have nothing in common one with the other. The Bel of the Assyrians was certainly not their Fish-god; nor had his epithet *Da-gan* any real connection with the word *dag*, דג, "a fish." To speak of "Bel-Dagon" is thus to mislead the ordinary reader, who naturally supposes from the term that he is to identify the great god Belus, the second deity of the first Triad, with the fish forms upon the sculptures.

HEA, OR HOA.

Hea, or Hoa, the third god of the first Triad, was not a prominent object of worship in Assyria. Asshur-izir-pal mentions him as having allotted to the four thousand deities of heaven and earth the senses of hearing, seeing, and understanding; and then, stating that the four thousand deities had transferred all these senses to himself, proceeds to take Hoa's titles, and, as it were, to identify himself with the god.[70] His son, Shalmaneser II., the Black-Obelisk king, gives Hoa his proper place in his opening invocation, mentioning him between Bel and Sin. Sargon puts one of the gates of his new city under Hoa's care, joining him with Bilat Ili—"the mistress of the gods"—who is, perhaps, the Sun-goddess, Gula. Sennacherib, after a successful expedition across a portion of the Persian Gulf, offers sacrifice to Hoa on the seashore, presenting him with a golden boat, a golden fish, and a golden coffer. But these are exceptional instances; and on the whole it is evident that in Assyria Hoa was not a favorite god. The serpent, which is his emblem, though found on the black stones recording benefactions, and frequent on the Babylonian cylinder-seals, is not adopted by the Assyrian kings among the divine symbols which they wear, or among those which they inscribe above their effigies. The word Hoa does not enter as an element into Assyrian names. The kings rarely invoke him. So far as we can tell, he had but two temples in Assyria, one at Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat) and the other at Calah

(Nimrud). Perhaps the devotion of the Assyrians to Nin—the tutelary god of their kings and of their capital—who in so many respects resembled Hoa,[71] caused the worship of Hoa to decline and that of Nin gradually to supersede it.

MYLITTA, OR BELTIS.

Beltis, the "Great Mother," the feminine counterpart of Bel, ranked in Assyria next to the Triad consisting of Anu, Bel, and Hoa. She is generally mentioned in close connection with Bel, her husband, in the Assyrian records. She appears to have been regarded in Assyria as especially "the queen of fertility," or "fecundity," and so as "the queen of the lands,"[72] thus resembling the Greek Demeter, who, like Beltis, was known as "the Great Mother." Sargon placed one of his gates under the protection of Beltis in conjunction with her husband, Bel; and Asshur-bani-pal, his great-grandson, repaired and rededicated to her a temple at Nineveh, which stood on the great mound of Koyunjik.[73] She had another temple at Asshur, and probably a third at Calah.[74] She seems to have been really known as Beltis in Assyria, and as Mylitta (Mulita) in Babylonia, though we should naturally have gathered the reverse from the extant classical notices.[75]

SIN, OR THE MOON.

Sin, the Moon-god, ranked next to Beltis in Assyrian mythology, and his place is thus either fifth or sixth in the full lists, according as Beltis is, or is not, inserted. His worship in the time of the early empire appears from the invocation of Tiglath-Pileser I., where he occurs in the third place, between Bel and Shamas.[76] [Pl. CXLII., Fig. 2.] His emblem, the crescent, was worn by Asshur-izir-pal,[77] and is found wherever divine symbols are inscribed over their effigies by the Assyrian kings. There is no sign which is more frequent on the cylinder-seals, whether Babylonian or Assyrian,[78] and it would thus seem that Sin was among the most popular of Assyria's deities. His name occurs sometimes, though not so frequently as some others, in the appellations of important personages, as *e. g.* in that of Sennacherib, which is explained to mean "Sin multiplies brethren." Sargon, who thus named one of his sons, appears to have been specially attached to the worship of Sin, to whom, in conjunction with Shamas, he

built a temple at Khorsabad,[79] and to whom he assigned the second place among the tutelary deities of his city.[80]

The Assyrian monarchs appear to have had a curious belief in the special antiquity of the Moon-god. When they wished to mark a very remote period, they used the expression "from the origin of the god Sin."[81] This is perhaps a trace of the ancient connection of Assyria with Babylonia, where the earliest capital, Ur, was under the Moon-god's protection, and the most primeval temple was dedicated to his honor.[82]

Only two temples are known to have been erected to Sin in Assyria. One is that already mentioned as dedicated by Sargon at Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad) to the Sun and Moon in conjunction. The other was at Calah, and in that Sin had no associate.

SHAMAS.

Shamas, the Sun-god, though in rank inferior to Sin, seems to have been a still more favorite and more universal object of worship. From many passages we should have gathered that he was second only to Asshur in the estimation of the Assyrian monarchs, who sometimes actually place him above Bel in their lists.[83] His emblem, the four-rayed orb, is worn by the king upon his neck,[84] and seen more commonly than almost any other upon the cylinder-seals. It is even in some instances united with that of Asshur, the central circle of Asshur's emblem being marked by the fourfold rays of Shamas.[85]

The worship of Shamas was ancient in Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser I. not only names him in his invocation, but represents himself as ruling especially under his auspices.[86] Asshur-izir-pal mentions Asshur and Shamas as the tutelary deities under whose influence he carried on his various wars.[87] His son, the Black-Obelisk king, assigns to Shamas his proper place among the gods whose favor he invokes at the commencement of his long Inscription.[88] The kings of the Lower Empire were even more devoted to him than their predecessors. Sargon dedicated to him the north gate of his city, in conjunction with Vul, the god of the air, built a temple to him at Khorsabad in conjunction with Sin, and assigned him the third place among the tutelary deities of his new town.[89] Sennacherib and Esarhaddon mention his name next to Asshur's in passages where they enumerate the gods whom they regard as their chief protectors.

Excepting at Khorsabad, where he had a temple (as above mentioned) in conjunction with Sin, Shamas does not appear to have had any special buildings dedicated to his honor.[90] His images are, however, often noticed in the lists of idols, and it is probable therefore that he received worship in temples dedicated to other deities. His emblem is generally found conjoined with that of the moon, the two being placed side by side, or the one directly under the other. [Pl. CXLII., Fig. 3.]

VUL, OR IVA.

This god, whose name is still so uncertain,[91] was known in Assyria from times anterior to the independence, a temple having been raised in his sole honor at Asshur,[92] the original Assyrian capital, by Shamas-Vul, the son of the Chaldæan king Ismi-Dagon, besides the temple (already mentioned)[93] which the same monarch dedicated to him in conjunction with Anu. These buildings having fallen to ruin by the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., were by him rebuilt from their base; and Vul, who was worshipped in both, appears to have been regarded by that monarch as one of his special "guardian deities."[94] In the Black-Obelisk invocation Vul holds the place intermediate between Sin and Shamas, and on the same monument is recorded the fact that the king who erected it held, on one occasion, a festival to Vul in conjunction with Asshur.[95] Sargon names Vul in the fourth place among the tutelary deities of his city,[96] and dedicates to him the north gate in conjunction with the Sun-god, Shamas.[97] Sennacherib speaks of hurling thunder on his enemies like Vul,[98] and other kings use similar expressions.[99] The term Vul was frequently employed as an element in royal and other names;[100] and the emblem which seems to have symbolized him—the double or triple bolt[101]—appears constantly among those worn by the kings,[102] and engraved above their heads on the rock-tablets.[103] [Pl. CXLII., Fig. 4.]

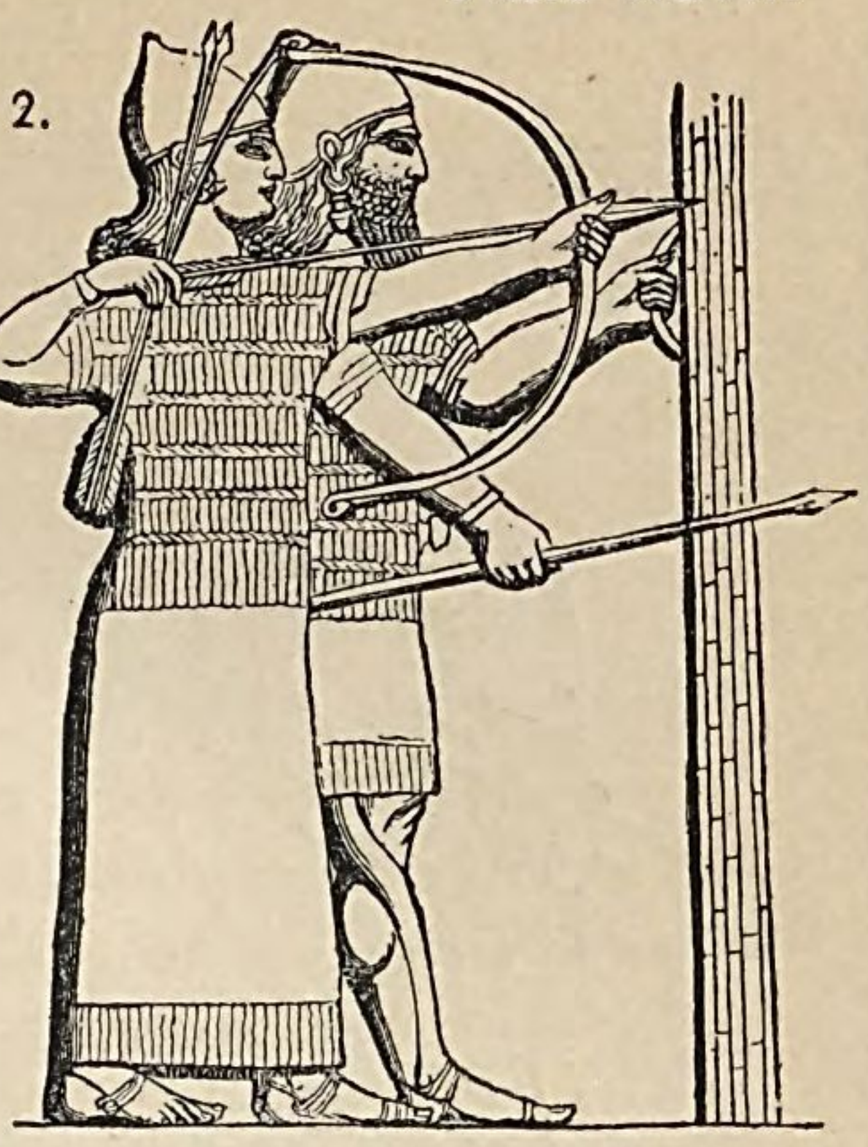
Vul had a temple at Calah[104] besides the two temples in which he received worship at Asshur. It was dedicated to him in conjunction with the goddess Shala, who appears to have been regarded as his wife.

It is not quite certain whether we can recognize any representations of Vul in the Assyrian remains. Perhaps the figure with four wings and a horned cap,[105] who wields a thunderbolt in either hand, and attacks therewith the monster, half lion,

Fig. 1

Foot Archer of the intermediate equipment, with Attendant. (Time of Sargon.)

Fig. 2.

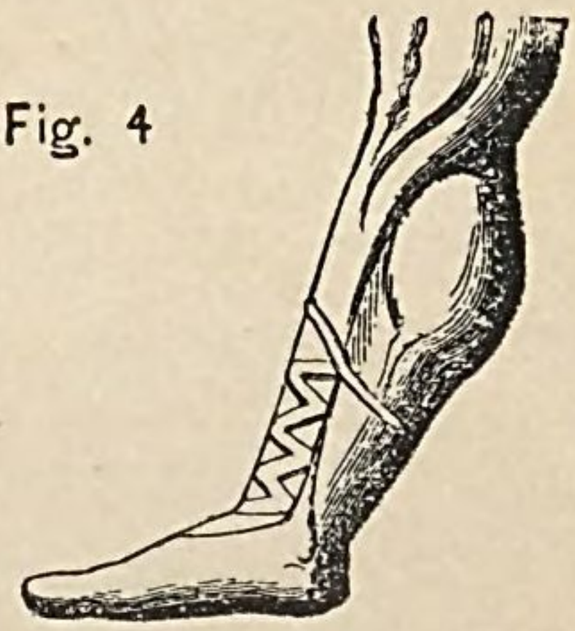


Foot archer of the heavy equipment, with attendant. (Time of Sargon.)

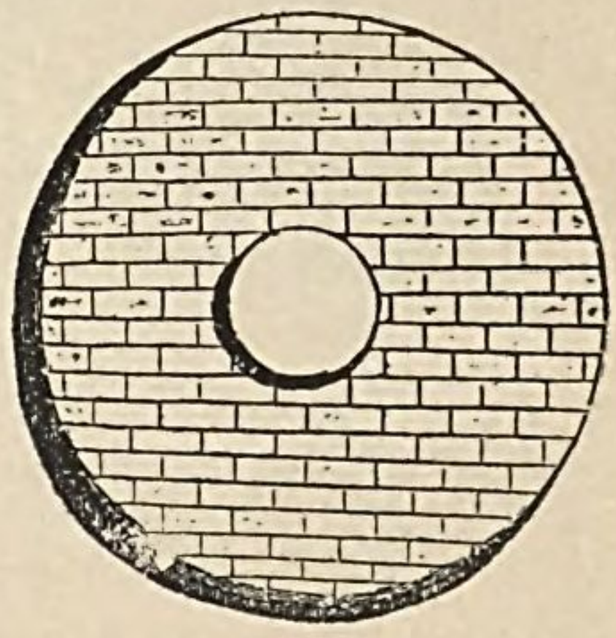
Fig. 3.

Foot Spearman of the time of Sargon (Khorsabad).

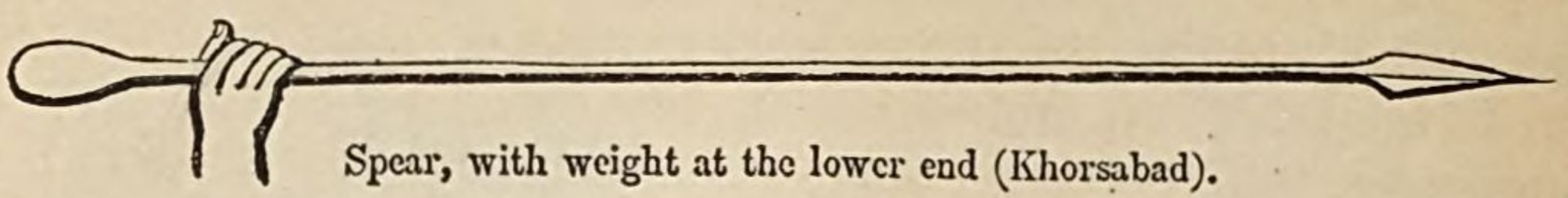
Fig. 4



Greave of a spearman (Khorsabad).



Shield of a spearman (Khorsabad).



Spear, with weight at the lower end (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.

Foot Arcners of the second class.
(Time of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 4.

Sling
(Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.

Fig. 5.

Foot Archer of the Heavy Equipment,
with Attendant. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Belts and head-dress of a foot archer of the third class. (Time of Sennacherib.)

half eagle, which is known to us from the Nimrod sculptures, may be intended for this deity. If so, it will be reasonable also to recognize him in the figure with uplifted foot, sometimes perched upon an ox, and bearing, like the other, one or two thunderbolts, which occasionally occurs upon the cylinders.[106] It is uncertain, however, whether the former of these figures is not one of the many different representations of Nin, the Assyrian Hercules; and, should that prove the true explanation in the one case, no very great confidence could be felt in the suggested identification in the other.

GULA.

Gula, the Sun-goddess, does not occupy a very high position among the deities of Assyria. Her emblem, indeed, the eight-rayed disk, is borne, together with her husband's, by the Assyrian monarchs,[107] and is inscribed on the rock-tablets, on the stones recording benefactions, and on the cylinder-seals, with remarkable frequency. But her name occurs rarely in the inscriptions, and, where it is found, appears low down in the lists. In the Black-Obelisk invocation, out of thirteen deities named, she is the twelfth.[108] Elsewhere she scarcely appears, unless in inscriptions of a purely religious character. Perhaps she was commonly regarded as so much one with her husband that a separate and distinct mention of her seemed not to be requisite.

Gula is known to have had at least two temples in Assyria. One of these was at Asshur, where she was worshipped in combination with ten other deities, of whom one only, Ishtar, was of high rank.[109] The other was at Calah, where her husband had also a temple.[110] She is perhaps to be identified with *Bilat-Ili*, "the mistress of the gods," to whom Sargon dedicated one of his gates in conjunction with Hoa.[111]

NINIP, OR NIN.

Among the gods of the second order, there is none whom the Assyrians worshipped with more devotion than Nin, or Ninip. In traditions which are probably ancient, the race of their kings was derived from him,[112] and after him was called the mighty city which ultimately became their capital. As early as the thirteenth century B.C. the name of Nin was used as an element in royal appellations;[113] and the first king who has left us an historical inscription regarded himself as being in

an especial way under Nin's guardianship. Tiglath-Pileser I. is "the illustrious prince whom Asshur and Nin have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart."[114] He speaks of Nin sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with Asshur, as his "guardian deity."[115] Nin and Nergal make his weapons sharp for him, and under Nin's auspices the fiercest beasts of the field fall beneath them.[116] Asshur-izir-pal built him a magnificent temple at Nimrud (Calah).[117] Shamas-Vul, the grandson of this king, dedicated to him the obelisk which he set up at that place in commemoration of his victories.[118] Sargon placed his newly-built city in part under his protection,[119] and specially invoked him to guard his magnificent palace.[120] The ornamentation of that edifice indicated in a very striking way the reverence of the builder for this god, whose symbol, the winged bull,[121] guarded all its main gateways, and who seems to have been actually represented by the figure strangling a lion, so conspicuous on the *Hareem* portal facing the great court.[122] Nor did Sargon regard Nin as his protector only in peace. He ascribed to his influence the successful issue of his wars; and it is probably to indicate the belief which he entertained on this point that he occasionally placed Nin's emblems on the sculptures representing his expeditions.[123] Sennacherib, the son and successor of Sargon, appears to have had much the same feelings towards Nin as his father, since in his buildings he gave the same prominence to the winged bull and to the figure strangling the lion; placing the former at almost all his doorways, and giving the latter a conspicuous position on the grand façade of his chief palace.[124] Esarhaddon relates that he continued in the worship of Nin, setting up his emblem over his own royal effigy, together with those of Asshur, Shamas, Bel, and Ishtar.[125]

It appears at first sight as if, notwithstanding the general prominency of Nin in the Assyrian religious system, there was one respect in which he stood below a considerable number of the gods. We seldom find his name used openly as an element in the royal appellations. In the list of kings three only will be found with names into which the term Nin enters.[126] But there is reason to believe that, in the case of this god, it was usual to speak of him under a periphrasis;[127] and this periphrasis entered into names in lieu of the god's proper designation. Five kings (if this be admitted) may be regarded as named after him, which is as large a number as we find named after any god but Vul and Asshur.

The principal temples known to have been dedicated to Nin in Assyria were at Calah, the modern Nimrud. There the vast structure at the north-western angle of the great mound, including the pyramidical eminence which is the most striking feature of the ruins, was a temple dedicated to the honor of Nin by Asshur-izir-pal, the builder of the North-West Palace. We can have little doubt that this building represents the "busta Nini" of the clasical writers, the place where Ninus (Nin or Nin-ip), who was regarded by the Greeks as the hero-founder of the nation, was interred and specially worshipped. Nin had also a second temple in this town, which bore the name of *Bit-kura* (or Beth-kura), as the other one did of *Bit-zira* (or Beth-zira).[128] It seems to have been from the fane of Beth-zira that Nin had the title *Pal-zira*, which forms a substitute for Nin, as already noticed,[129] in one of the royal names.

MERODACH.

Most of the early kings of Assyria mention Merodach in their opening invocations, and we sometimes find an allusion in their inscriptions, which seems to imply that he was viewed as a god of great power.[130] But he is decidedly not a favorite object of worship in Assyria until a comparatively recent period. Vul-lush III. indeed claims to have been the first to give him a prominent place in the Assyrian Pantheon;[131] and it may be conjectured that the Babylonian expeditions of this monarch furnished the impulse which led to a modification in this respect of the Assyrian religious system. The later kings, Sargon and his successors, maintain the worship introduced by Vul-lush. Sargon habitually regards his power as conferred upon him by the combined favor of Merodach and Asshur,[132] while Esarhaddon sculptures Merodach's emblem, together with that of Asshur, over the images of foreign gods brought to him by a suppliant prince.[133] No temple to Merodach, is, however, known to have existed in Assyria, even under the later kings. His name, however, was not infrequently used as an element in the appellations of Assyrians.[134]

NERGAL.

Among the Minor gods, Nergal is one whom the Assyrians seem to have regarded with extraordinary reverence. He was the divine ancestor from whom the monarchs loved to

boast that they derived their descent—the line being traceable, according to Sargon, through three hundred and fifty generations.[135] They symbolized him by the winged lion with a human head,[136] or possibly sometimes by the mere natural lion;[137] and it was to mark their confident dependence on his protection that they made his emblems so conspicuous in their palaces. Nin and Nergal—the gods of war and hunting, the occupations in which the Assyrian monarchs passed their lives—were tutelary divinities of the race, the life, and the homes of the kings, who associate the two equally in their inscriptions and their sculptures.

Nergal, though thus honored by the frequent mention of his name and erection of his emblem, did not (so far as appears) often receive the tribute of a temple. Sennacherib dedicated one to him at Tarbisi (now Sherif-khan), near Khorsabad;[138] and he may have had another at Calah (Nimrud), of which he is said to have been one of the "resident gods."[139] But generally it would seem that the Assyrians were content to pay him honor in other ways[140] without constructing special buildings devoted exclusively to his worship.

ISHTAR.

Ishtar was very generally worshipped by the Assyrian monarchs, who called her "their lady," and sometimes in their invocations coupled her with the supreme god Asshur.[141] She had a very ancient temple at Asshur, the primeval capital, which Tiglath-Pileser I. repaired and beautified.[142] Asshur-izir-pal built her a second temple at Nineveh,[143] and she had a third at Arbela, which Asshur-bani-pal states that he restored.[144] Sargon placed under her protection, conjointly with Anu, the western gate of his city; and his son, Sennacherib, seems to have viewed Asshur and Ishtar as the special guardians of his progeny.[145] Asshur-bani-pal, the great hunting king, was a devotee of the goddess, whom he regarded as presiding over his special diversion, the chase.

What is most remarkable in the Assyrian worship of Ishtar is the local character assigned to her. The Ishtar of Nineveh is distinguished from the Ishtar of Arbela, and both from the Ishtar of Babylon, separate addresses being made to them in one and the same invocation.[146] It would appear that in this case there was, more decidedly than in any other, an identification of the divinity with her idols, from which resulted the multiplication of one goddess into many.

The name of Ishtar appears to have been rarely used in Assyria in royal or other appellations. It is difficult to account for this fact, which is the more remarkable, since in Phœnicia Astarte, which corresponds closely to Ishtar, is found repeatedly as an element in the royal titles.[147]

NEBO.

Nebo must have been acknowledged as a god by the Assyrians from very ancient times, for his name occurs as an element in a royal appellation as early as the twelfth century B.C.[148] He seems, however, to have been very little worshipped till the time of Vul-lush III., who first brought him prominently forward in the Pantheon of Assyria after an expedition which he conducted into Babylonia, where Nebo had always been in high favor. Vul-lush set up two statues to Nebo at Calah[149] and probably built him the temple there which was known as Bit-Saggil, or Beth-Saggil, from whence the god derived one of his appellations.[150] He did not receive much honor from Sargon; but both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon held him in considerable reverence, the latter even placing him above Merodach in an important invocation.[151] Asshur-banipal also paid him considerable respect, mentioning him and his wife Warmita, as the deities under whose auspices he undertook certain literary labors.[152]

It is curious that Nebo, though he may thus almost be called a late importation into Assyria, became under the Later Dynasty (apparently) one of most popular of the gods. In the latter portion of the list of Eponyms obtained from the celebrated "Canon," we find Nebo an element in the names as frequently as any other god excepting Asshur. Regarding this as a test of popularity we should say that Asshur held the first place; but that his supremacy was closely contested by Bel and Nebo, who were held in nearly equal repute, both being far in advance of any other deity.

Besides these principal gods, the Assyrians acknowledged and worshipped a vast number of minor divinities, of whom, however, some few only appear to deserve special mention. It may be noticed in the first place, as a remarkable feature of this people's mythological system, that each important god was closely associated with a goddess, who is commonly called his wife, but who yet does not take rank in the Pantheon at all in accordance with the dignity of her husband.[153] Some of

these goddesses have been already mentioned, as Beltis, the feminine counterpart of Bel; Gula, the Sun-goddess, the wife of Shamas; and Ishtar, who is sometimes represented as the wife of Nebo.[154] To the same class belong Sheruha, the wife of Asshur; Anata or Anuta, the wife of Anu; Dav-Kina, the wife of Hea or Hoa; Shala, the wife of Vul or Iva; Zir-banit, the wife of Merodach; and Laz, the wife of Nergal. Nin, the Assyrian Hercules, and Sin, the Moon-god, have also wives, whose proper names are unknown, but who are entitled respectively "the Queen of the Land" and "the great Lady."[155] Nebo's wife, according to most of the Inscriptions, is Warmita; but occasionally, as above remarked,[156] this name is replaced by that of Ishtar. A tabular view of the gods and goddesses, thus far, will probably be found of use by the reader towards obtaining a clear conception of the Assyrian Pantheon:—

TABLE of the Chief ASSYRIAN DEITIES, arranged in their proper order.

Gods.	Correspondent Goddesses.	Chief Seat of Worship (if any).
Asshur .	Sheruha.	
Anu . .	Anuta	Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat).
Bel . . .	Beltis	Asshur, Calah (Nimrud).
Noa. . .	Dav-Kina	Asshur, Calah.
Sin . . .	"The Great Lady" . .	Calah, Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad).
Shamas .	Gula.	Bit-Sargina.
Vul. . .	Shala	Asshur, Calah.
Nin. . .	"The Queen of the Land,"	Calah, Nineveh.
Merodach	Zir-Banit.	
Nergal. .	Laz	Tarbisi (Sherif-Khan).
Nebo . .	Warmita (Ishtar?) . .	Calah.

It appears to have been the general Assyrian practice to unite together in the same worship, under the same roof, the female and the male principle.[157] The female deities had in fact, for the most part, an unsubstantial character; they were ordinarily the mere reflex image of the male, and consequently could not stand alone, but required the support of the stronger sex to give them something of substance and reality. This was the general rule; but at the same time it was not without certain exceptions. Ishtar appears almost always as an independent and unattached divinity;[158] while Beltis and Gula are

presented to us in colors as strong and a form as distinct as their husbands, Bel and Shamas. Again, there are minor goddesses, such as Telita, the goddess of the great marshes near Babylon,[159] who stand alone, unaccompanied by any male. The minor male divinities are also, it would seem, very generally without female counterparts.[160]

Of these minor male divinities the most noticeable are Martu, a son of Anu, who is called "the minister of the deep," and seems to correspond to the Greek Erebus;[161] Sargana, another son of Anu, from whom Sargon is thought by some to have derived his name;[162] Idak, god of the Tigris; Supulat, lord of the Euphrates;[163] and Il or Ra, who seems to be the Babylonian chief god transferred to Assyria, and there placed in a humble position.[164] Besides these, cuneiform scholars recognize in the Inscriptions some scores of divine names, of more or less doubtful etymology, some of which are thought to designate distinct gods, while others may be names of deities known familiarly to us under a different appellation.[165] Into this branch of the subject it is not proposed to enter in the present work, which addresses itself to the general reader.

It is probable that, besides gods, the Assyrians acknowledged the existence of a number of genii, some of whom they regarded as powers of good, others as powers of evil. The winged figure wearing the horned cap, which is so constantly represented as attending upon the monarch when he is employed in any sacred function,[166] would seem to be his tutelary genius—a benignant spirit who watches over him, and protects him from the spirits of darkness. This figure commonly bears in the right hand either a pomegranate or a pine-cone, while the left is either free or else supports a sort of plaited bag or basket. [Pl. CXLII., Fig. 6.] Where the pine-cone is carried, it is invariably pointed towards the monarch, as if it were the means of communication between the protector and the protected, the instrument by which grace and power passed from the genius to the mortal whom he had undertaken to guard. Why the pine-cone was chosen for this purpose it is difficult to form a conjecture. Perhaps it had originally become a sacred emblem merely as a symbol of productiveness,[167] after which it was made to subserve a further purpose, without much regard to its old symbolical meaning.

The sacred basket, held in the left hand, is of still more dubious interpretation. It is an object of great elegance, always elaborately and sometimes very tastefully ornamented.[168] Pos-

sibly it may represent the receptacle in which the divine gifts are stored, and from which they can be taken by the genius at his discretion, to be bestowed upon the mortal under his care.

Another good genius would seem to be represented by the hawk-headed figure, which is likewise found in attendance upon the monarch, attentively watching his proceedings. This figure has been called that of a god, and has been supposed to represent the Nisroch of Holy Scripture;[169] but the only ground for such an identification is the conjectural derivation of Nisroch from a root *nisr*, which in some Semitic languages signifies a "hawk" or "falcon." As *nisr*, however, has not been found with any such meaning in Assyrian, and as the word "Nisroch" nowhere appears in the Inscriptions,[170] it must be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful whether there is any real connection between the hawk-headed figure and the god in whose temple Sennacherib was assassinated. [Pl. CXLII., Fig. 5.] The various readings of the Septuagint version [171] make it extremely uncertain what was the name actually written in the original Hebrew text. Nisroch, which is utterly unlike any divine name hitherto found in the Assyrian records, is most probable a corruption. At any rate there are no sufficient grounds for identifying the god mentioned, whatever the true reading of his name may be, with the hawk-headed figure, which has the appearance of an attendant genius rather than that of a god, and which was certainly not included among the main deities of Assyria.[172]

Representations of evil genii are comparatively infrequent; but we can scarcely be mistaken in regarding as either an evil genius, or a representation of the evil principle, the monster—half lion, half eagle—which in the Nimrud sculptures[173] retreats from the attacks of a god, probably Vul,[174] who assails him with thunderbolts. [Pl. CXLIII., Fig. 1.] Again, in the case of certain grotesque statuettes found at Khorsabad, one of which has already been represented,[175] where a human figure has the head of a lion with the ears of an ass, the most natural explanation seems to be that an evil genius is intended. In another instance, where we see two monsters with heads like the statuette just mentioned, placed on human bodies, the legs of which terminate in eagles' claws—both of them armed with daggers and maces, and engaged in a struggle with one another [176]—we seem to have a symbolical representation of the tendency of evil to turn upon itself, and reduce itself to feebleness by internal quarrel and disorder.[177] A considerable

number of instances occur in which a human figure, with the head of a hawk or eagle, threatens a winged human-headed lion—the emblem of Nergal—with a strap or mace.[178] In these we may have a spirit of evil assailing a god, or possibly one god opposing another—the hawk-headed god or genius driving Nergal (*i.e.*, War) beyond the Assyrian borders.

If we pass from the objects to the mode of worship in Assyria, we must notice at the outset the strongly idolatrous character of the religion. Not only were images of the gods worshipped set up, as a matter of course, in every temple dedicated to their honor, but the gods were sometimes so identified with their images as to be multiplied in popular estimation when they had several famous temples, in each of which was a famous image. Thus we hear of the Ishtar of Arbela, the Ishtar of Nineveh, and the Ishtar of Babylon, and find these goddesses invoked separately, as distinct divinities, by one and the same king in one and the same Inscription.[179] In other cases, without this multiplication, we observe expressions which imply a similar identification of the actual god with the mere image. Tiglath-Pileser I. boasts that he has set Anu and Vul (*i.e.*, their images) up in their places.[180] He identifies repeatedly the images which he carries off from foreign countries with the gods of those countries.[181] In a similar spirit Sennacherib asks, by the mouth of Rabshakeh, "*Where are the gods* of Hamath and of Arpad? *Where are the gods* of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah?"[182]—and again unable to rise to the conception of a purely spiritual deity, supposes that, because Hezekiah has destroyed all the images throughout Judæa,[183] he has left his people without any divine protection.[184] The carrying off of the idols from conquered countries, which we find universally practised, was not perhaps intended as a mere sign of the power of the conqueror, and of the superiority of his gods to those of his enemies; it was probably designed further to weaken those enemies by depriving them of their celestial protectors; and it may even have been viewed as strengthening the conqueror by multiplying his divine guardians. It was certainly usual to remove the images in a reverential manner;[185] and it was the custom to deposit them in some of the principal temples of Assyria.[186] We may presume that there lay at the root of this practice a real belief in the supernatural power of the images themselves, and a notion that, with the possession of the images, this power likewise changed sides and passed over from the conquered to the conquerors

Assyrian idols were in stone, baked clay, or metal. Some images of Nebo and of Ishtar have been obtained from the ruins. Those of Nebo are standing figures, of a larger size than the human, though not greatly exceeding it. They have been much injured by time, and it is difficult to pronounce decidedly on their original workmanship; but, judging by what appears, it would seem to have been of a ruder and coarser character than that of the slabs or of the royal statues. The Nebo images are heavy, formal, inexpressive, and not over well-proportioned; but they are not wanting in a certain quiet dignity which impresses the beholder.[187] They are unfortunately disfigured, like so many of the lions and bulls, by several lines of cuneiform writing inscribed round their bodies; but this artistic defect is pardoned by the antiquarian, who learns from the inscribed lines the fact that the statues represent Nebo, and the time and circumstances of their dedication.

Clay idols are very frequent. They are generally in a good material, and are of various sizes, yet never approaching to the full stature of humanity. Generally they are mere statuettes, less than a foot in height. Specimens have been selected for representation in the preceding volume, from which a general idea of their character is obtainable.[188] They are, like the stone idols, formal and inexpressive in style, while they are even ruder and coarser than those figures in workmanship. We must regard them as intended chiefly for private use among the mass of the population,[189] while we must view the stone idols as the objects of public worship in the shrines and temples.

Idols in metal have not hitherto appeared among the objects recovered from the Assyrian cities. We may conclude, however, from the passage of Nahum prefixed to this chapter,[190] as well as from general probability, that they were known and used by the Assyrians, who seem to have even admitted them—no less than stone statues—into their temples. The ordinary metal used was no doubt bronze; but in Assyria, as in Babylonia,[191] silver, and perhaps in some few instances gold, may have been employed for idols, in cases where they were intended as proofs to the world at large of the wealth and magnificence of a monarch.

The Assyrians worshipped their gods chiefly with sacrifices and offerings. Tiglath-Pileser I. relates that he offered sacrifice to Anu and Vul on completing the repairs of their temple.[192] Asshur-izir-pal says that he sacrificed to the gods after

embarking on the Mediterranean.[193] Vul-lush IV. sacrificed to Bel-Merodach, Nebo, and Nergal, in their respective high seats at Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha.[194] Sennacherib offered sacrifices to Hoa on the sea-shore after an expedition in the Persian Gulf.[195] Esarhaddon "slew great and costly sacrifices" at Nineveh upon completing his great palace in that capital.[196] Sacrifice was clearly regarded as a duty by the kings generally, and was the ordinary mode by which they propitiated the favor of the national deities.

With respect to the mode of sacrifice we have only a small amount of information, derived from a very few bas-reliefs. These unite in representing the bull as the special sacrificial animal.[197] In one [198] we simply see a bull brought up to a temple by the king; but in another,[199] which is more elaborate, we seem to have the whole of a sacrificial scene fairly, if not exactly, brought before us. [Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 1.] Towards the front of the temple, where the god, recognizable by his horned cap, appears seated upon a throne, with an attendant priest, who is beardless, paying adoration to him, advances a procession consisting of the king and six priests, one of whom carries a cup, while the other five are employed about the animal. The king pours a libation over a large bowl, fixed in a stand, immediately in front of a tall fire-altar, from which flames are rising. Close behind this stands the priest with a cup, from which we may suppose that the monarch will pour a second libation. Next we observe a bearded priest directly in front of the bull, checking the advance of the animal, which is not to be offered till the libation is over. The bull is also held by a pair of priests, who walk behind him and restrain him with a rope attached to one of his fore-legs a little above the hoof. Another pair of priests, following closely on the footsteps of the first pair, completes the procession: the four seem, from the position of their heads and arms, to be engaged in a solemn chant. It is probable, from the flame upon the altar,[200] that there is to be some burning of the sacrifice; while it is evident, from the altar being of such a small size, that only certain parts of the animal can be consumed upon it. We may conclude therefore that the Assyrian sacrifices resembled those of the classical nations,[201] consisting not of whole burnt offerings, but of a selection of choice parts, regarded as specially pleasing to the gods, which were placed upon the altar and burnt, while the remainder of the victim was consumed by priest or people.

Assyrian altars were of various shapes and sizes. One type was square, and of no great height; it had its top ornamented with gradines, below which the sides were either plain or fluted.[202] Another which was also of moderate height, was triangular, but with a circular top, consisting of a single flat stone, perfectly plain, except that it was sometimes inscribed round the edge.[203] [Pl. CXLIII., Fig. 2.] A third type is that represented in the sacrificial scene. [Pl. CXLIV.] This is a sort of portable stand—narrow, but of considerable height, reaching nearly to a man's chin. Altars of this kind seem to have been carried about by the Assyrians in their expeditions: we see them occasionally in the entrenched camps,[204] and observe priests officiating at them in their dress of office. [Pl. CXLIII., Fig. 3.]

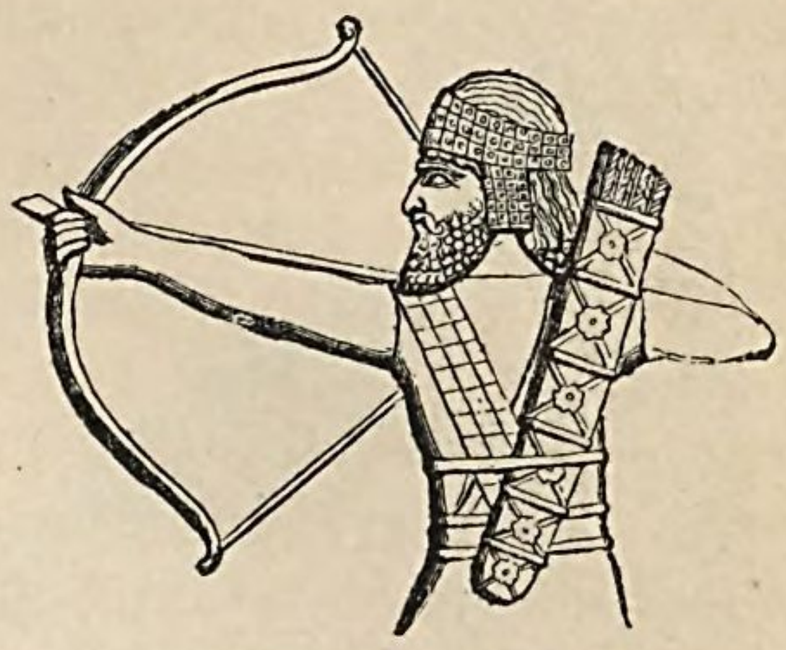
Besides their sacrifices of animals, the Assyrian kings were accustomed to deposit in the temples of their gods, as thank-offerings, many precious products from the countries which they overran in their expeditions. Stones and marbles of various kinds, rare metals, and images of foreign deities, are particularly mentioned;[205] but it would seem to be most probable that some portion of all the more valuable articles was thus dedicated. Silver and gold were certainly used largely in the adornment of the temples, which are sometimes said to have been made "as splendid as the sun," by reason of the profuse employment upon them of these precious metals.[206]

It is difficult to determine how the ordinary worship of the gods was conducted. The sculptures are for the most part monuments erected by kings; and when these have a religious character, they represent the performance by the kings of their own religious duties, from which little can be concluded as to the religious observances of the people. The kings seem to have united the priestly with the regal character; and in the religious scenes representing their acts of worship, no priest ever intervenes between them and the god, or appears to assume any but a very subordinate position. The king himself stands and worships in close proximity to the holy tree; with his own hand he pours libations; and it is not unlikely that he was entitled with his own arm to sacrifice victims.[207] But we can scarcely suppose that the people had these privileges. Sacerdotal ideas have prevailed in almost all Oriental monarchies, and it is notorious that they had a strong hold upon the neighboring and nearly connected kingdom of Baby-

Fig. 1.

Foot Archers of the lightest equipment. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 2.



Mode of carrying the Quiver. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 3.

Foot spearman of the time of Sennacherib.

Fig. 4

Wicker shield of spearmen. (Time of Sennacherib.)

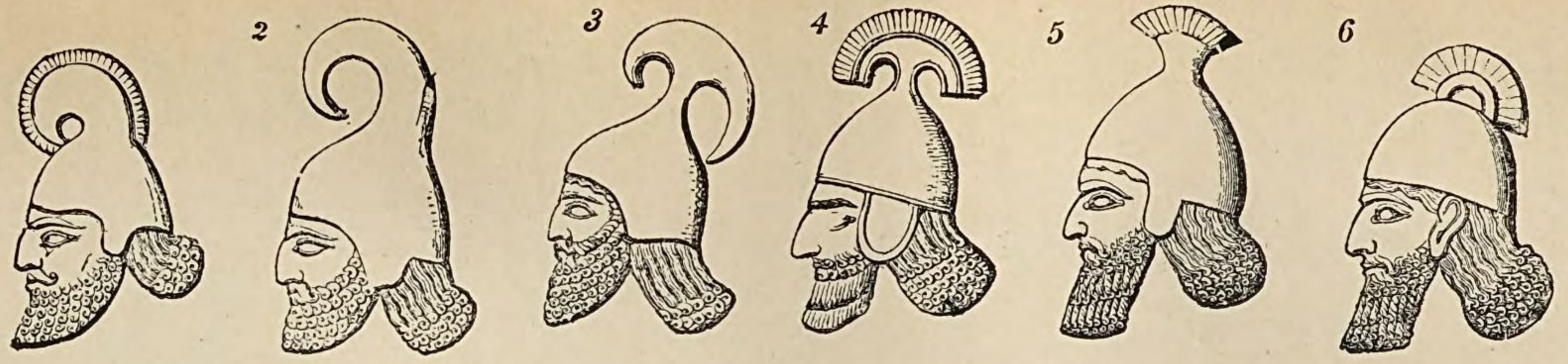
Fig. 5

Wicker shield or targe. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Vol. I.

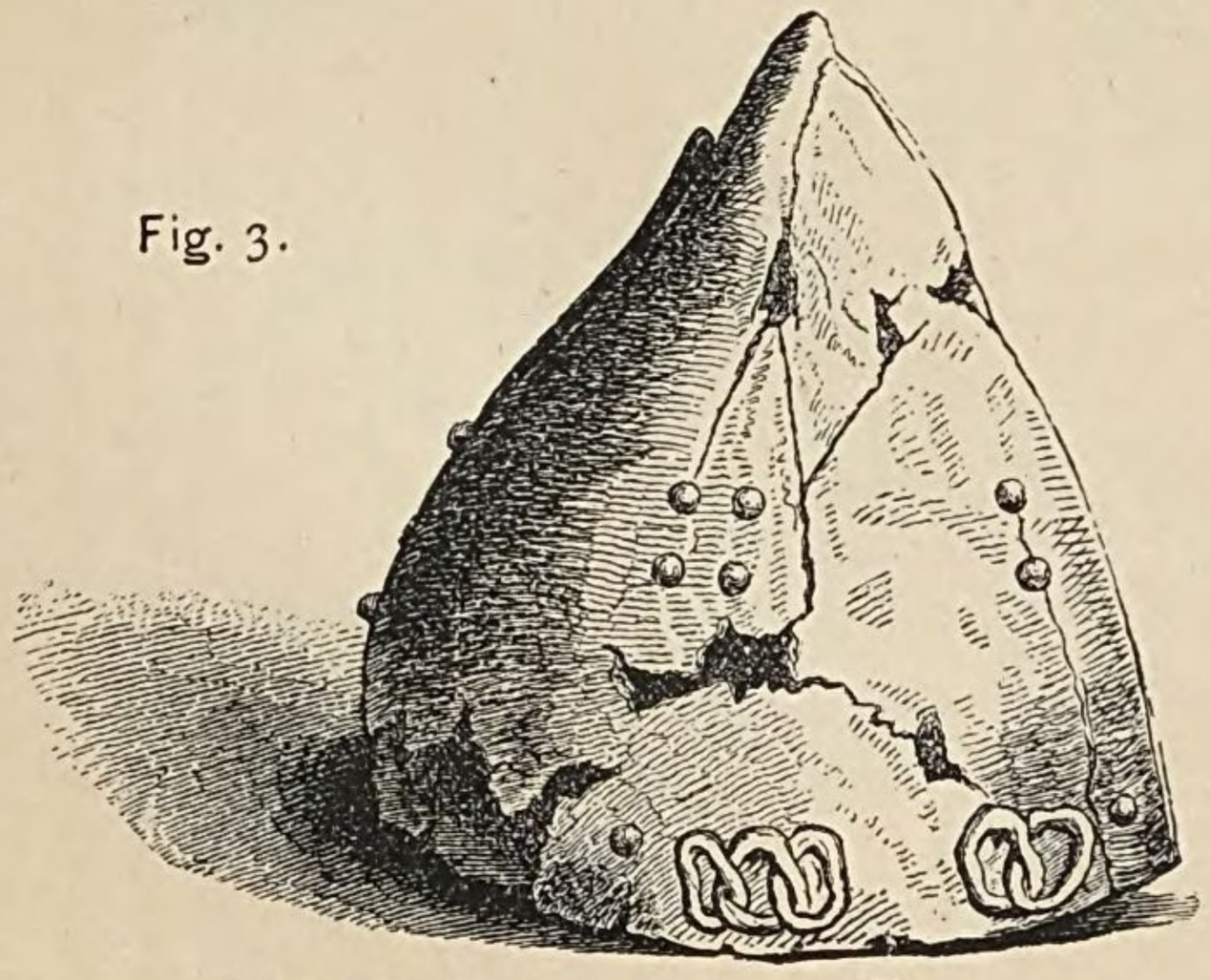
Plate C

Fig. 5



Assyrian crested helmets, from the bas-reliefs.

Fig. 3.



Iron Helmet (from Koyunjik).

Fig. 4.

Pointed Helmet, with curtain of scales (Nimrud)

Fig. 1.

Metal Shield of the latest period.

Fig. 2.

Slinger. (Time of Asshur-bani-pal.)

lon. The Assyrians generally, it is probable, approached the gods through their priests; and it would seem to be these priests who are represented upon the cylinders as introducing worshippers to the gods, dressed themselves in long robes, and with a curious mitre upon their heads. The worshipper seldom comes empty-handed. He carries commonly in his arms an antelope or young goat,[208] which we may presume to be an offering intended to propitiate the deity. [Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 2.]

It is remarkable that the priests in the sculptures are generally, if not invariably, beardless.[209] It is scarcely probable that they were eunuchs, since mutilation is in the East always regarded as a species of degradation.. Perhaps they merely shaved the beard for greater cleanliness, like the priests of the Egyptians;[210] and possibly it was a custom only obligatory on the upper grades of the priesthood.[211]

We have no evidence of the establishment of set festivals in Assyria. Apparently the monarchs decided, of their own will, when a feast should be held to any god;[212] and, proclamation being made, the feast was held accordingly. Vast numbers, especially of the chief men, were assembled on such occasions; numerous sacrifices were offered, and the festivities lasted for several days. A considerable proportion of the worshippers were accommodated in the royal palace, to which the temple was ordinarily a mere adjunct, being fed at the king's cost, and lodged in the halls and other apartments.[213]

The Assyrians made occasionally a religious use of fasting. The evidence on this point is confined to the Book of Jonah,[214] which, however, distinctly shows both the fact and the nature of the usage. When a fast was proclaimed, the king, the nobles, and the people exchanged their ordinary apparel for sackcloth, sprinkled ashes upon their heads, and abstained alike from food and drink until the fast was over. The animals also that were within the walls of the city where the fast was commanded, had sackcloth placed upon them;[215] and the same abstinence was enforced upon them as was enjoined on the inhabitants. Ordinary business was suspended, and the whole population united in prayer to Asshur, the supreme god, whose pardon they entreated, and whose favor they sought to propitiate. These proceedings were not merely formal. On the occasion mentioned in the book of Jonah, the repentance of the Ninevites seems to have been sincere. "God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented

of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them: and he did it not."[216]

The religious sentiment appears, on the whole, to have been strong and deep-seated among the Assyrians. Although religion had not the prominence in Assyria which it possessed in Egypt, or even in Greece—although the temple was subordinated to the palace,[217] and the most imposing of the representations of the gods[218] were degraded to mere architectural ornaments—yet the Assyrians appear to have been really, nay, even earnestly, religious. Their religion, it must be admitted, was of a sensuous character. They not only practised image-worship, but believed in the actual power of the idols to give protection or work mischief; nor could they rise to the conception of a purely spiritual and immaterial deity. Their ordinary worship was less one of prayer than one by means of sacrifices and offerings. They could, however, we know, in the time of trouble, utter sincere prayers; and we are bound therefore to credit them with an honest purpose in respect of the many solemn addresses and invocations which occur both in their public and their private documents. The numerous mythological tablets[219] testify to the large amount of attention which was paid to religious subjects by the learned; while the general character of their names, and the practice of inscribing sacred figures and emblems upon their signets, which was almost universal, seem to indicate a spirit of piety on the part of the mass of the people.

The sensuous cast of the religion naturally led to a pompous ceremonial, a fondness for processional display, and the use of magnificent vestments. These last are represented with great minuteness in the Nimrud sculptures.[220] The dresses of those engaged in sacred functions seem to have been elaborately embroidered, for the most part with religious figures and emblems, such as the winged circle, the pine-cone, the pomegranate, the sacred tree, the human-headed lion, and the like. Armlets, bracelets, necklaces, and earrings were worn by the officiating priests, whose heads were either encircled with a richly-ornamented fillet,[221] or covered with a mitre or high cap of imposing appearance.[222] Musicians had a place in the processions, and accompanied the religious ceremonies with playing or chanting, or, in some instances, possibly with both.

It is remarkable that the religious emblems of the Assyrians are almost always free from that character of grossness which,

in the classical works of art, so often offends modern delicacy. The sculptured remains present us with no representations at all parallel to the phallic emblems of the Greeks. Still we are perhaps not entitled to conclude, from this comparative purity, that the Assyrian religion was really exempt from that worst feature of idolatrous systems—a licensed religious sensualism. According to Herodotus the Babylonian worship of Beltis was disgraced by a practice which even he, heathen as he was, regarded as "most shameful."[223] Women were required once in their lives to repair to the temple of this goddess, and there offer themselves to the embrace of the first man who desired their company. In the Apocryphal Book of Baruch we find a clear allusion to the same custom,[224] so that there can be little doubt of its having really obtained in Babylonia; but if so, it would seem to follow, almost as a matter of course, that the worship of the same identical goddess in the adjoining country included a similar usage. It may be to this practice that the prophet Nahum alludes, where he denounces Nineveh as a "well-favored harlot," the multitude of whose harlotries was notorious.[225]

Such then was the general character of the Assyrian religion. We have no means of determining whether the cosmogony of the Chaldæans formed any part of the Assyrian system, or was confined to the lower country. No ancient writer tells us anything of the Assyrian notions on this subject, nor has the decipherment of the monuments thrown as yet any light upon it. It would be idle therefore to prolong the present chapter by speculating upon a matter concerning which we have at present no authentic data.

CHAPTER IX.

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

Τὰ παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὑρον, χαλεπὰ ὀντα παντὶ ἑξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσα.—THUCID. i. 20.

THE chronology of the Assyrian kingdom has long exercised, and divided, the judgments of the learned. On the one hand, Ctesias and his numerous followers—including, among the ancients, Cephalion, Castor, Diodorus Siculus, Nicolas of Da-

mascus, Trogus Pompeius, Velleius Paterculus, Josephus, Eusebius, and Moses of Chorêné; among the moderns, Freret, Rollin, and Clinton—have given the kingdom a duration of between thirteen and fourteen hundred years, and carried back its antiquity to a time almost coeval with the founding of Babylon; on the other, Herodotus, Volney, Heeren, B. G. Niebuhr, Brandis, and many others, have preferred a chronology which limits the duration of the kingdom to about six centuries and a half, and places the commencement in the thirteenth century B.C., when a flourishing empire had already existed in Chaldæa, or Babylonia, for a thousand years, or more. The questions thus mooted remain still, despite of the volumes which have been written upon them,[1] so far undecided, that it will be necessary to entertain and discuss them at some length in this place, before entering on the historical sketch which is needed to complete our account of the Second Monarchy.

The duration of a single unbroken empire continuously for 1306 (or 1360) years,[2] which is the time assigned to the Assyrian Monarchy by Ctesias, must be admitted to be a thing hard of belief, if not actually incredible. The Roman State, with all its elements of strength, had (we are told), as kingdom, commonwealth, and empire, a duration of no more than twelve centuries.[3] The Chaldæan Monarchy lasted, as we have seen,[4] about a thousand years, from the time of the Elamite conquest. The duration of the Parthian was about five centuries;[5] of the first Persian, less than two and a half;[6] of the Median, at the utmost, one and a half;[7] of the later Babylonian, less than one.[8] The only monarchy existing under conditions at all similar to Assyria, whereto an equally long—or rather a still longer—duration has been assigned with some show of reason, is Egypt.[9] But there it is admitted that the continuity was interrupted by the long foreign domination of the Hyksos, and by at least one other foreign conquest —that of the Ethiopian Sabacos or Shebeks. According to Ctesias, one and the same dynasty occupied the Assyrian throne during the whole period of thirteen hundred years, Sardanapalus, the last king in his list, being the descendant and legitimate successor of Ninus.[10]

There can be no doubt that a monarchy lasting about six centuries and a half, and ruled by at least two or three different dynasties, is *per se* a thing far more probable than one ruled by one and the same dynasty for more than thirteen

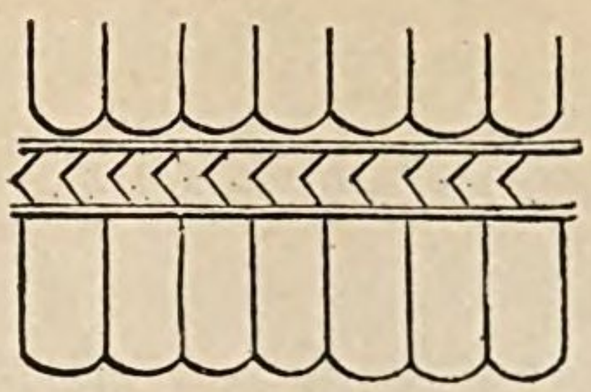
Vol. I.

Plate CI.

Fig 5

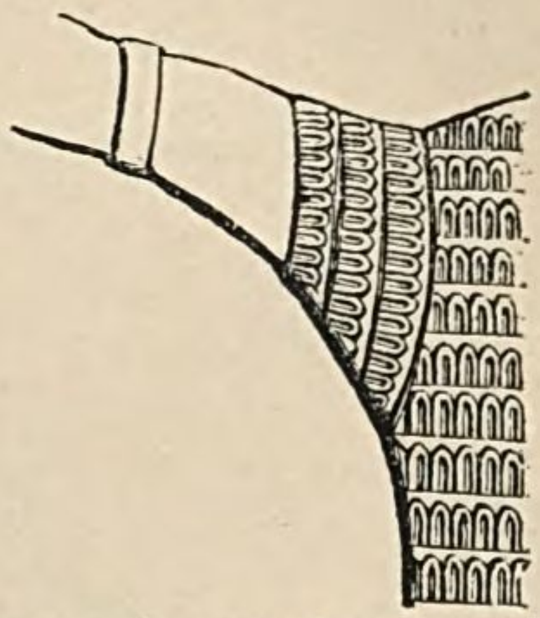
Soldier undermining a wall, sheltered by *gerrhon*.

Fig 2.



Arrangement of Scales in Assyrian Scale-armour of the second period (Khorsabad)

Fig. 3.

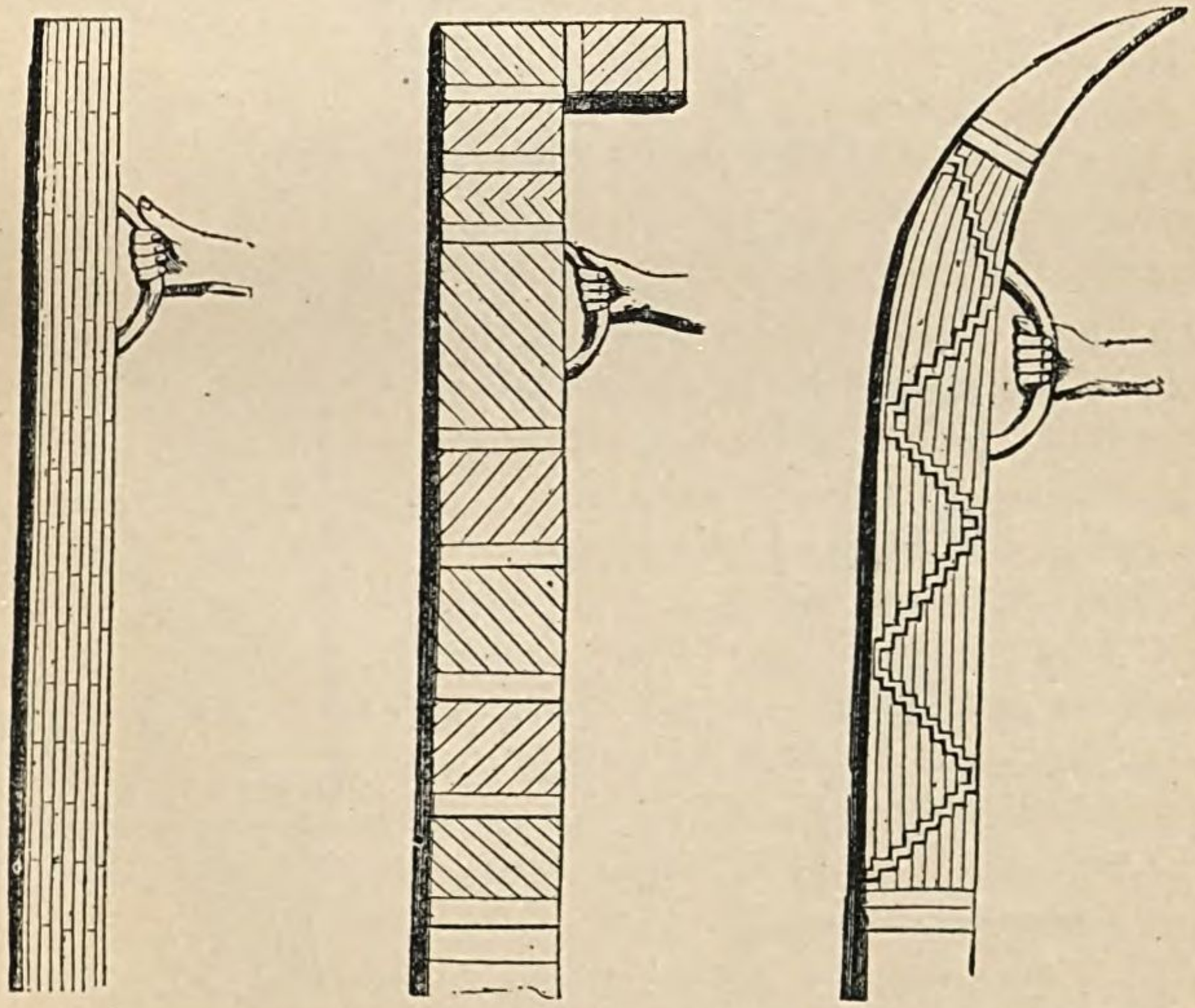


Sleeve of a coat of mail—scale-armour of the first period (Nimrud).

Fig. 1

Scale (Egyptian).

Fig. 4.

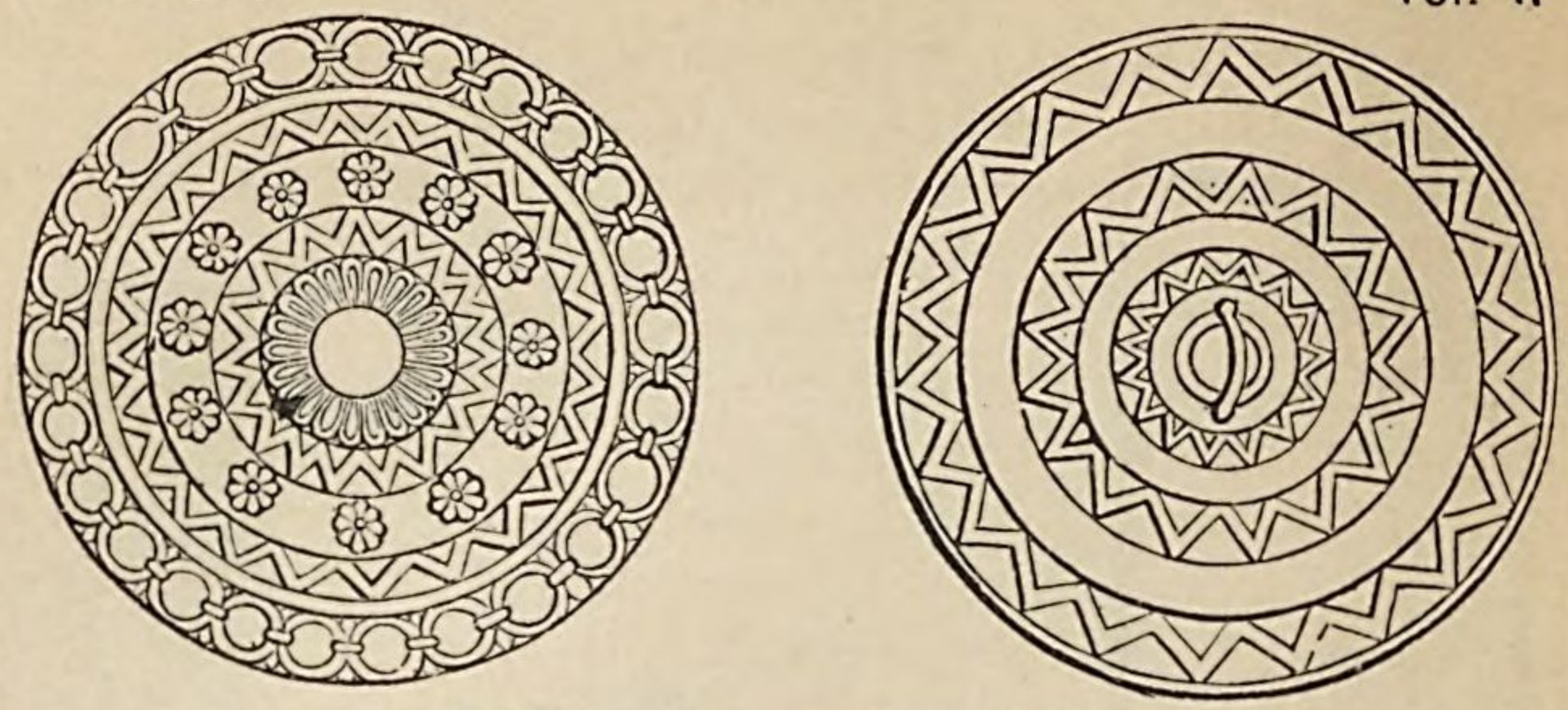


Assyrian *Gerrha*, or large wicker Shields.

Plate CII.

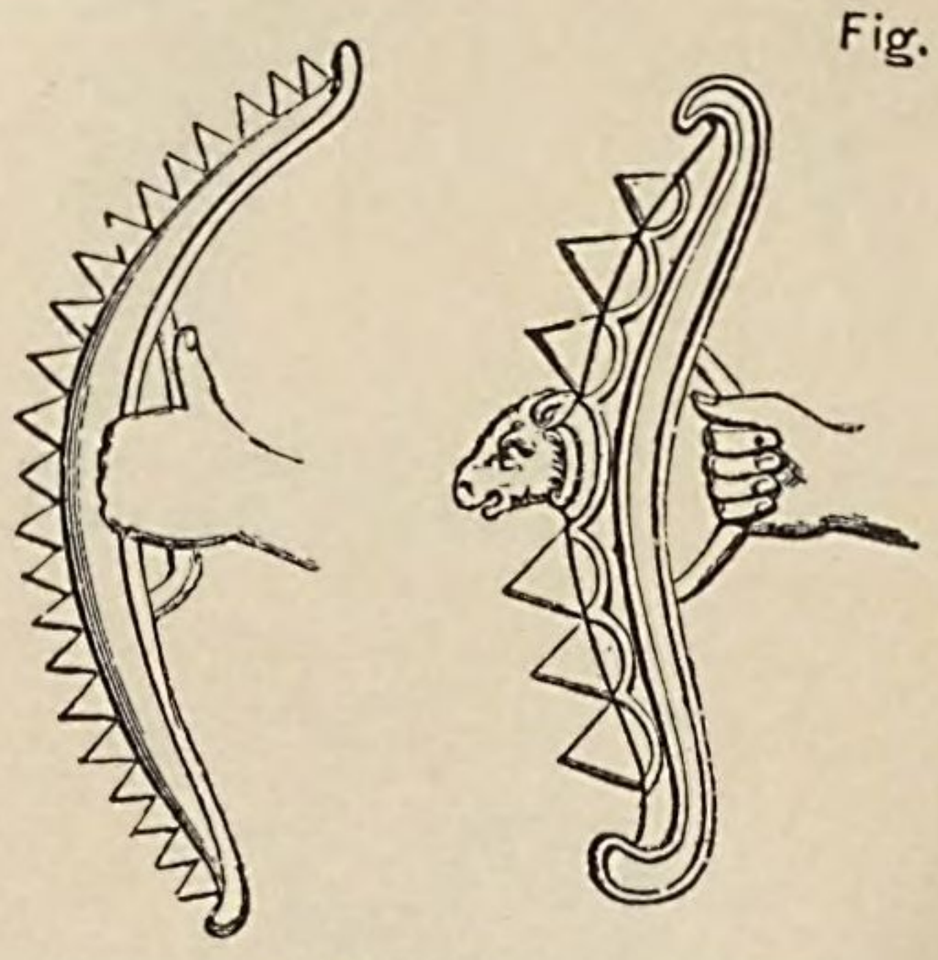
Fig. 1.

Vol. I.



Round Shields or Targes, patterned (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2.



Convex Shields with teeth (Nimrud)

Fig. 3.

Egyptian convex shield, worn on back.

Assyrian ditto (Koyunjik.)

centuries. And therefore, if the historical evidence in the two cases is at all equal—or rather, if that which supports the more improbable account does not greatly preponderate—we ought to give credence to the more moderate and probable of the two statements.

Now, putting aside authors who merely re-echo the statements of others, there seem to be, in the present case, two and two only distinct original authorities—Herodotus and Ctesias. Of these two, Herodotus is the earlier. He writes within two centuries of the termination of the Assyrian rule,[11] whereas Ctesias writes at least thirty years later.[12] He is of unimpeachable honesty, and may be thoroughly trusted to have reported only what he had heard.[13] He had travelled in the East, and had done his best to obtain accurate information upon Oriental matters, consulting on the subject, among others, the Chaldæans of Babylon.[14] He had, moreover, taken special pains to inform himself upon all that related to Assyria, which he designed to make the subject of an elaborate work distinct from his general history.[15]

Ctesias, like Herodotus, had had the advantage of visiting the East. It may be argued that he possessed even better opportunities than the earlier writer for becoming acquainted with the views which the Orientals entertained of their own past. Herodotus probably devoted but a few months, or at most a year or two, to his Oriental travels; Ctesias passed seventeen years at the Court of Persia.[16] Herodotus was merely an ordinary traveller, and had no peculiar facilities for acquiring information in the East; Ctesias was court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon,[17] and was thus likely to gain access to any archives which the Persian kings might have in their keeping.[18] But these advantages seem to have been more than neutralized by the temper and spirit of the man. He commenced his work with the broad assertion that Herodotus was "a liar,"[19] and was therefore bound to differ from him when he treated of the same periods or nations. He does differ from him, and also from Thucydides,[20] whenever they handle the same transactions; but in scarcely a single instance where he differs from either writer does his narrative seem to be worthy of credit. The cuneiform monuments, while they generally confirm Herodotus, contradict Ctesias perpetually.[21] He is at variance with Manetho on Egyptian, with Ptolemy on Babylonian, chronology.[22] No independent writer confirms him on any important point. His

Oriental history is quite incompatible with the narrative of Scripture.[23] On every ground, the judgment of Aristotle, of Plutarch, of Arrian, of Scaliger,[24] and of almost all the best critics of modern times,[25] with respect to the credibility of Ctesias, is to be maintained, and his authority is to be regarded as of the very slightest value in determining any controverted matter.

The chronology of Herodotus, which is on all accounts to be preferred, assigns the commencement of the Assyrian Empire to about B.C. 1250, or a little earlier,[26] and gives the monarchy a duration of nearly 650 years from that time. The Assyrians, according to him, held the undisputed supremacy of Western Asia for 520 years, or from about B.C. 1250 to about B.C. 730—after which they maintained themselves in an independent but less exalted position for about 130 years longer, till nearly the close of the seventh century before our era. These dates are not indeed to be accepted without reserve; but they are approximate to the truth, and are, at any rate, greatly preferable to those of Ctesias.

The chronology of Berosus was, apparently, not very different from that of Herodotus. There can be no reasonable doubt that his sixth Babylonian dynasty represents the line of kings which ruled in Babylon during the period known as that of the Old Empire in Assyria. Now this line, which was Semitic, appears to have been placed upon the throne by the Assyrians, and to have been among the first results of that conquering energy which the Assyrians at this time began to develop. Its commencement should therefore synchronize with the foundation of an Assyrian Empire. The views of Berosus on this latter subject may be gathered from what he says of the former. Now the scheme of Berosus gave as the date of the establishment of this dynasty about the year B.C. 1300; and as Berosus undoubtedly placed the fall of the Assyrian Empire in B.C. 625, it may be concluded, and with a near approach to certainty, that he would have assigned the Empire a duration of about 675 years, making it commence with the beginning of the thirteenth century before our era, and terminate midway in the latter half of the seventh.

If this be a true account of the ideas of Berosus, his scheme of Assyrian chronology would have differed only slightly from that of Herodotus; as will be seen if we place the two schemes side by side.

ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY.

According to Herodotus.	ab. B.C.	ab. B.C.
Great Empire, lasting 520 yrs.	1250	to 730
Revolt of Medes	730	
Curtailed Kingdom, lasting 130 years.	730	to 600
Destruction of Nineveh .	600	

According to Berosus.	ab. B.C.	ab. B.C.
Assyrian Dynasty of 45 kings in Babylon (526 years) . .	1301	to 775
Reign of Pul (about 28 years)	775	to 747
Assyrian kings from Pul to Saracus (122 years)	747	to 625
Destruction of Nineveh .	625	

In the case of a history so ancient as that of Assyria, we might well be content if our chronology were vague merely to the extent of the variations here indicated. The parade of exact dates with reference to very early times is generally fallacious, unless it be understood as adopted simply for the sake of convenience. In the history of Assyria, however, we may make a nearer approach to exactness than in most others of the same antiquity, owing to the existence of two chronological documents of first-rate importance. One of these is the famous Canon of Ptolemy, which, though it is directly a Babylonian record, has important bearings on the chronology of Assyria. The other is an Assyrian Canon, discovered and edited by Sir H. Rawlinson in 1862,[27] which gives the succession of the kings for 251 years, commencing (as is thought) B.C. 911 and terminating B.C. 660, eight years after the accession of the son and successor of Esarhaddon. These two documents, which harmonize admirably, carry up an *exact* Assyrian chronology almost from the close of the Empire to the tenth century before our era. For the period anterior to this we have, in the Assyrian records, one or two isolated dates, dates fixed in later times with more or less of exactness; and of these we might have been inclined to think little, but that they harmonize remarkably with the statements of Berosus and Herodotus, which place the commencement of the Empire about B.C. 1300, or a little later. We have, further, certain lists of kings, forming continuous lines of descent from father to son, by means of which we may fill up the blanks that would otherwise remain in our chronological scheme with approximate dates calculated from an estimate of generations. From these various sources the subjoined scheme has been composed, the sources being indicated at the side, and the fixed dates being carefully distinguished from those which are uncertain or approximate.

It will be observed that in this list the chronology of Assyria is carried back to a period nearly a century and a half ante-

KINGS OF ASSYRIA.

B.C.	B.C.			
~	–	Bel-sumili-kapi	Called the founder of the kingdom on a genealogical tablet.	
		* * * *		
–	–	Irba-vul.	Mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser I. as a former king. A very archaic tablet in the British Museum is dated in his reign.	
		* * * *		
–	–	Asshur-iddin-akhi	Mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser as a former king.	
		* * * *		
Ab. 1440 to 1420		Asshur-bil-nisi-su	Mentioned on a synchronistic tablet, which connects them with the time of Purna-puriyas, the Chaldæan king. Asshur-upallit mentioned on Kileh-Sherghat bricks.	Early Kingdom.
— 1420 to 1400		Buzur-Asshur (successor)		
— 1400 to 1380		Asshur-upallit (successor)		
— 1380 to 1360		Bel-lush (his son)	Names and succession found on Kileh-Sherghat bricks, vases, etc. Shalmaneser mentioned also on a genealogical slab and in the standard inscription of Nimrud.	
— 1360 to 1340		Pud-il (his son)		
— 1340 to 1320		Vul-lush I. (his son)		
— 1320 to 1300		Shalmaneser I. (his son)		
— 1300 to 1280		Tiglathi-Nin (his son)	Mentioned on a genealogical tablet. Called "the conqueror of Babylon," and placed by Sennacherib 600 yrs. before his own capture of Babylon in B.C. 703.	Great Empire of Herodotus. 526 years of Berosus.
		* * * *		
— 1230 to 1210		Bel-kudur-uzur	Mentioned on the synchronistic tablet as the predecessor of Nin-pala-zira.	
— 1210 to 1190		Nin-pala-zira (successor)		
— 1190 to 1170		Asshur-dayan I. (his son)	Names and relationship given in cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser I.	
— 1170 to 1150		Mutaggil-Nebo (his son)		
— 1150 to 1130		Asshur-ris-ilim (his son)		
— 1130 to 1110		Tiglath-Pileser I (his son)	Mentioned on the synchronistic tablet above spoken of. Date of Tiglath-Pileser I. fixed by the Bavian inscription. Dates of the other kings calculated from his at 20 years to a generation.	
— 1110 to 1090		Asshur-bil-kala (his son)		
— 1090 to 1070		Shamas-Vul I (his brother)		
		* * * *		
		Asshur-mazur	Mentioned in an inscription of Shalmaneser II.	
		* * * *		
— 930 to	911	Asshur-dayan II.	The kings from Asshur-dayan II. to Vul-lush III. are proved to have been in direct succession by the Kileh-Sherghat and Nimrud monuments. The last nine reigns are given in the Assyrian Canon. The Canon is the sole authority for the last three. The dates of the whole series are determined from the Canon of Ptolemy by calculating back from B.C. 680, his date for the accession of Esar-haddon (Asaridanus). They might also be fixed from the year of the great eclipse.	
911 to	889	Vul-lush II. (his son)		
889 to	883	Tiglathi-Nin II. (his son)		
883 to	858	Asshur-izir-pal (his son)		
858 to	823	Shalmaneser II. (his son)		
823 to	810	Shamas-Vul II. (his son)		
810 to	781	Vul-lush III. (his son)		
781 to	771	Shalmaneser III.		
771 to	753	Asshur-dayan III.		
753 to	745	Asshur-lush		
745 to	727	Tiglath-Pileser II.	The years of these kings, from Esar-haddon upwards, are taken from the Assyrian Canon. The dates accord strictly with the Canon of Ptolemy. The last year of Asshur-bani-pal is to some extent conjectural.	Later Kingdom of Herodotus and Berosus.
727 to	722	Shalmaneser IV.		
722 to	705	Sargon		
705 to	681	Sennacherib (his son)		
681 to	668	Esar-haddon (his son)		
668 to	626(?)	Asshur-bani-pal (his son)		
626(?) to	625	Asshur-emid-ilin		

rior to B.C. 1300, the approximate date, according to Herodotus and Berosus, of the establishment of the "Empire." It might have been concluded, from the mere statement of Herodotus, that Assyria existed before the time of which he spoke, since an empire can only be formed by a people already flourishing. Assyria as an independent kingdom is the natural antecedent of Assyria as an Imperial power; and this earlier phase of her existence might reasonably have been presumed from the later.[28] The monuments furnish distinct evidence of the time in question in the fourth, fifth, and sixth kings of the above list, who reigned while the Chaldæan empire was still flourishing in Lower Mesopotamia.[29] Chronological and other considerations induce a belief that the four kings who follow likewise belonged to it; and that the "Empire" commenced with Tiglathi-Nin I., who is the first great conqueror.

The date assigned to the accession of this king, B.C. 1300, which accords so nearly with Berosus's date for the commencement of his 526 years, is obtained from the monuments in the following manner. First, Sennacherib, in an inscription set up in or about his tenth year (which was B.C. 694), states that he recovered from Babylon certain images of gods, which had been carried thither by Merodach-idbin-akhi, king of Babylon, who had obtained them in his war with Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, 418 years previously.[30] This gives for the date of the war with Tiglath-Pileser the year B.C. 1112. As that monarch does not mention the Babylonian war in the annals which relate the events of his early years,[31] we must suppose his defeat to have taken place towards the close of his reign, and assign him the space from B.C. 1130 to B.C. 1110, as, approximately, that during which he is likely to have held the throne. Allowing then to the six monumental kings who preceded Tiglath-Pileser average reigns of twenty years each, which is the actual average furnished by the lines of direct descent in Assyria, where the length of each reign is known,[32] and allowing fifty years for the break between Tiglathi-Nin and Bel-kudur-uzur, we are brought to (1130+120+50) B.C. 1300 for the accession of the first Tiglathi-Nin, who took Babylon, and is the first king of whom extensive conquests are recorded.[33] Secondly, Sennacherib in another inscription reckons 600 years from his first conquest of Babylon (B.C. 703) to a year in the reign of this monarch. This "six hundred" may be used as a round number; but as Sennacherib considered that he had the means of calculating exactly, he would probably not have used a round

number, unless it was tolerably near to the truth. Six hundred years before B.C. 703 brings us to B.C. 1303.

The chief uncertainty which attaches to the numbers in this part of the list arises from the fact that the nine kings from Tiglathi-Nin downwards do not form a single direct line. The inscriptions fail to connect Bel-kudur-uzur with Tiglathi-Nin, and there is thus a probable interval between the two reigns, the length of which can only be conjectured.

The dates assigned to the later kings, from Vul-lush II. to Esarhaddon inclusive, are derived from the Assyrian Canon taken in combination with the famous Canon of Ptolemy. The agreement between these documents, and between the latter and the Assyrian records generally, is exact;[34] and a conformation is thus afforded to Ptolemy which is of no small importance. The dates from the accession of Vul-lush II. (B.C. 911) to the death of Esarhaddon (B.C. 668) would seem to have the same degree of accuracy and certainty which has been generally admitted to attach to the numbers of Ptolemy. They have been confirmed by the notice of a great eclipse in the eighth year of Asshur-dayan III., which is undoubtedly that of June 15, B.C. 763.[35]

The reign of Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus), the son and successor of Esarhaddon, which commenced B.C. 668, is carried down to B.C. 626 on the combined authority of Berosus, Ptolemy, and the monuments. The monuments show that Asshur-bani-pal proclaimed himself king of Babylon after the death of Saül-mugina, whose last year was (according to Ptolemy) B.C. 647; and that from the date of this proclamation he reigned over Babylon at least twenty years. Polyhistor, who reports Berosus, has left us statements which are in close accordance, and from which we gather that the exact length of the reign of Asshur-bani-pal over Babylon was twenty-one years.[36] Hence, B.C. 626 is obtained as the year of his death. As Nineveh appears to have been destroyed B.C. 625 or 624, two years only are left for Asshur-bani-pal's son and successor, Asshur-emid-illin, the Saracus of Abydenus.

The framework of Assyrian chronology being thus approximately, and, to some extent, provisionally settled, we may proceed to arrange upon it the facts, so far as they have come down to us, of Assyrian history.

In the first place, then, if we ask ourselves where the Assyrians came from, and at what time they settled in the country which thenceforth bore their name, we seem to have an answer.

at any rate to the former of these two questions, in Scripture. "Out of that land"—the land of Shinar—"went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh."[37] The Assyrians, previously to their settlement on the middle Tigris, had dwelt in the lower part of the great valley—the flat alluvial plain towards the mouths of the two streams. It was here, in this productive region, where nature does so much for man, and so little needs to be supplied by himself, that they had grown from a family into a people; that they had learnt or developed a religion, and that they had acquired a knowledge of the most useful and necessary of the arts. It has been observed in a former chapter[38] that the whole character of the Assyrian architecture is such as to indicate that their style was formed in the low flat alluvium, where there were no natural elevations, and stone was not to be had. It has also been remarked that their writing is manifestly derived from the Chaldæan;[39] and that their religion is almost indentical with that which prevailed in the lower country from a very early time.[40] The evidence of the monuments accords thus, in the most striking way, with the statement of the Bible, exhibiting to us the Assyrians as a people who had once dwelt to the south, in close contact with the Chaldæans, and had removed after awhile to a more northern position.

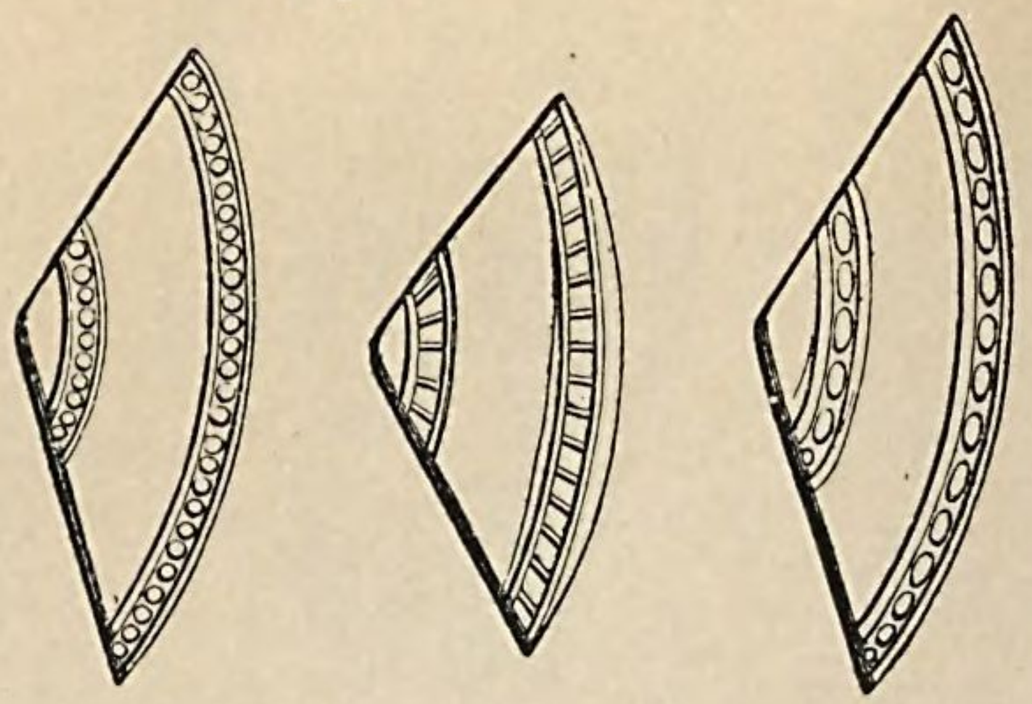
With regard to the date of their removal, we can only say that it was certainly anterior to the time of the Chaldæan kings, Purna-puriyas and Kurri-galzu, who seem to have reigned in the fifteenth century before our era. If we could be sure that the city called in later times Asshur bore that name when Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, erected a temple there to Anu and Vul,[41] we might assign to the movement a still higher antiquity; for Shamas-Vul belongs to the nineteenth century B.C.[42] As, however, we have no direct evidence that either the city or the country was known as Asshur until four centuries later, we must be content to lay it down that the Assyrians had moved to the north certainly as early as B.C. 1440, and that their removal may not improbably have taken place several centuries earlier.[43]

The motive of the removal is shrouded in complete obscurity. It may have been a forced colonization, commanded and carried out by the Chaldæan kings, who may have originated the system of transplanting to distant regions subject tribes of doubtful fidelity;[44] or it may have been the voluntary self-expatriation of an increasing race, pressed for room and dis-

contented with its condition. Again, it may have taken place by a single great movement, like that of the Tartar tribes, who transferred their allegiance from Russia to China in the reign of the Empress Catherine, and emigrated in a body from the banks of the Don to the eastern limits of Mongolia;[45] or it may have been a gradual and protracted change, covering a long term of years, like most of the migrations whereof we read in history. On the whole, there is perhaps some reason to believe that a spirit of enterprise about this time possessed the Semitic inhabitants of Lower Mesopotamia, who voluntarily proceeded northwards in the hope of bettering their condition. Terah conducted one body from Ur to Harran;[46] another removed itself from the shores of the Persian Gulf to those of the Mediterranean;[47] while probably a third, larger than either of these two, ascended the course of the Tigris, occupied Adiabêné, with the adjacent regions, and, giving its own tribal name of Asshur to its chief city and territory, became known to its neighbors first as a distinct, and then as an independent and powerful people.

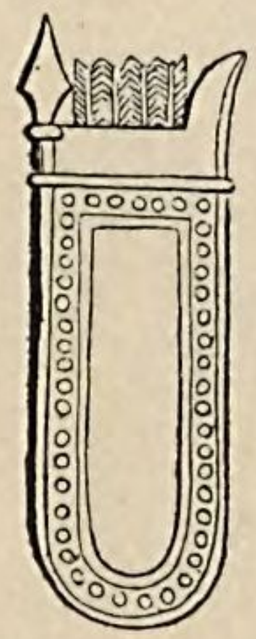
The Assyrians for some time after their change of abode were probably governed by Babylonian rulers, who held their office under the Chaldæan Emperor. Bricks of a Babylonian character have been found at Kileh-Sherghat, the original Assyrian capital, which are thought to be of greater antiquity than any of the purely Assyrian remains, and which may have been stamped by these provincial governors.[48] Ere long, however, the yoke was thrown off, and the Assyrians established a separate monarchy of their own in the upper country, while the Chaldæan Empire was still flourishing under native monarchs of the old ethnic type in the regions nearer to the sea. The special evidence which we possess of the co-existence side by side of these two kingdoms is furnished by a broken tablet of a considerably later date,[49] which seems to have contained, when complete, a brief but continuous sketch of the synchronous history of Babylonia and Assyria, and of the various transactions in which the monarchs of the two countries had been engaged one with another, from the most ancient times. This tablet has preserved to us the names of three very early Assyrian kings—Asshur-bil-nisi-su, Buzur-Asshur, and Asshur-upallit, of whom the two former are recorded to have made treaties of peace with the contemporary kings of Babylon;[50] while the last-named intervened in the domestic affairs of the country, depriving an usurping monarch of the throne, and

Fig. 1.



Assyrian convex shield, resembling the Greek (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.

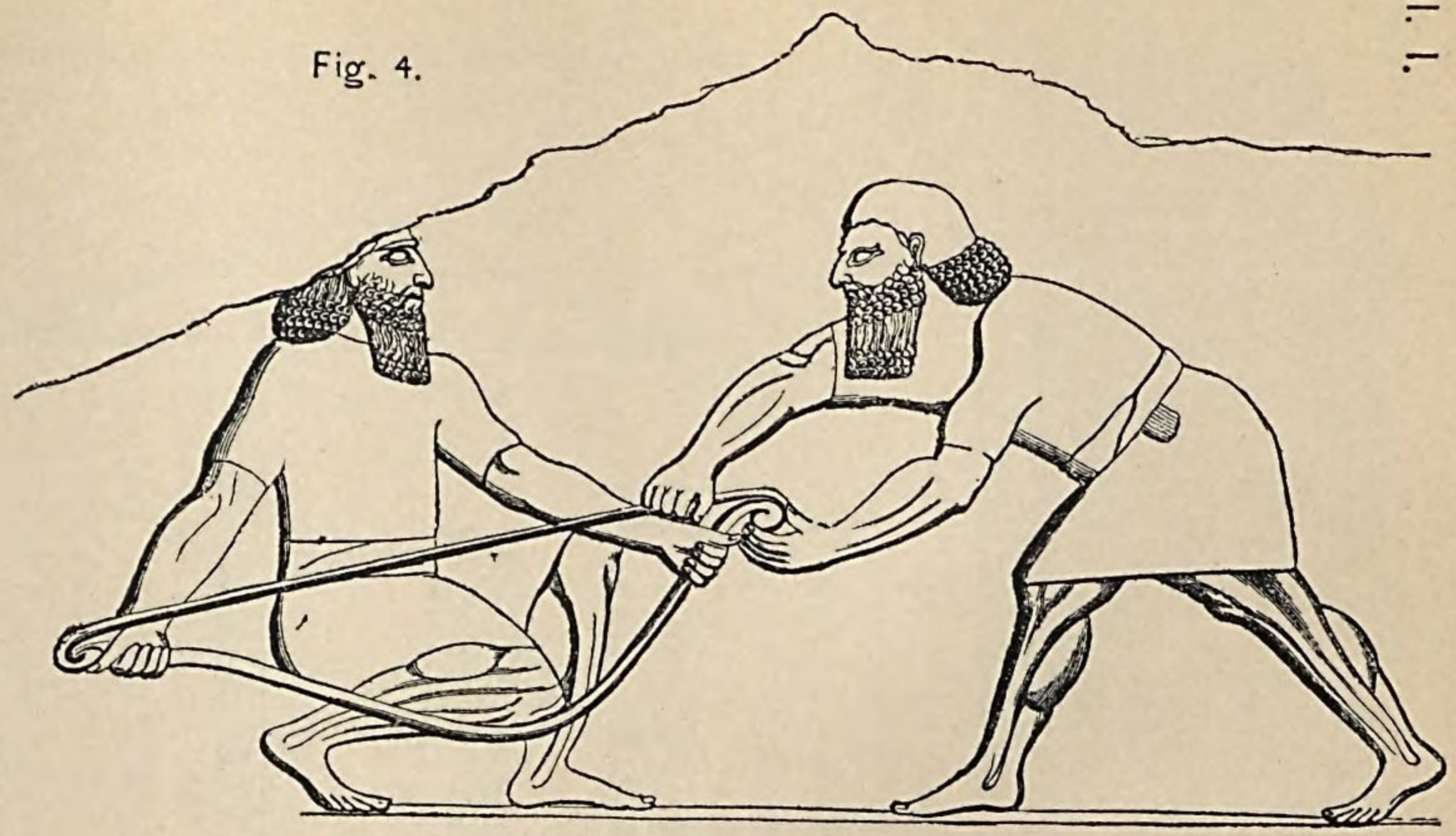


Quiver, with arrows and javelin (Nimrud).

Fig. 3.

Ornamented End of Bow (Khorsabad).

Fig. 4.



Stringing the bow (Koyunjik).

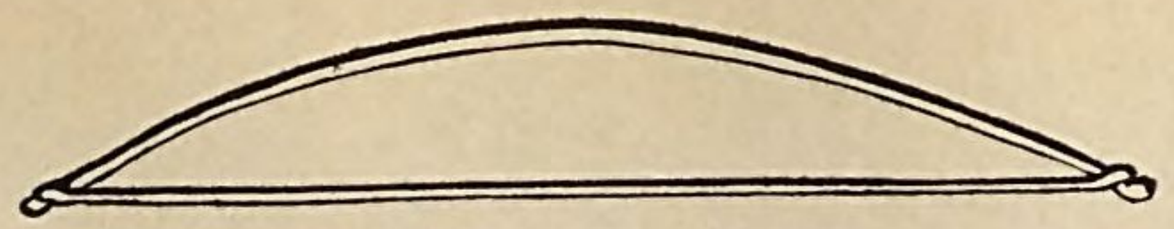
Vol. I.

Plate CIV.

Fig. 3.

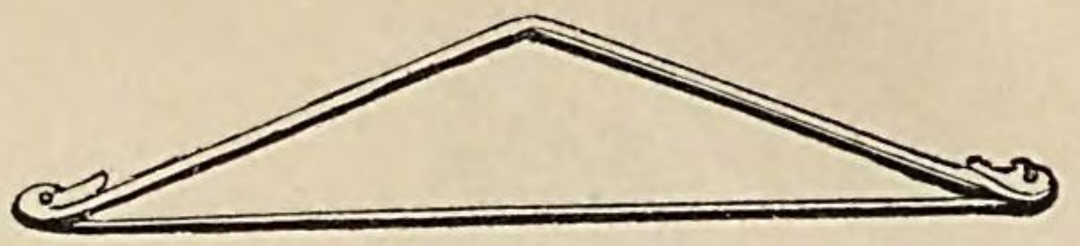
Quiver, with rich ornamentation (Nimrud).

Fig. 4.



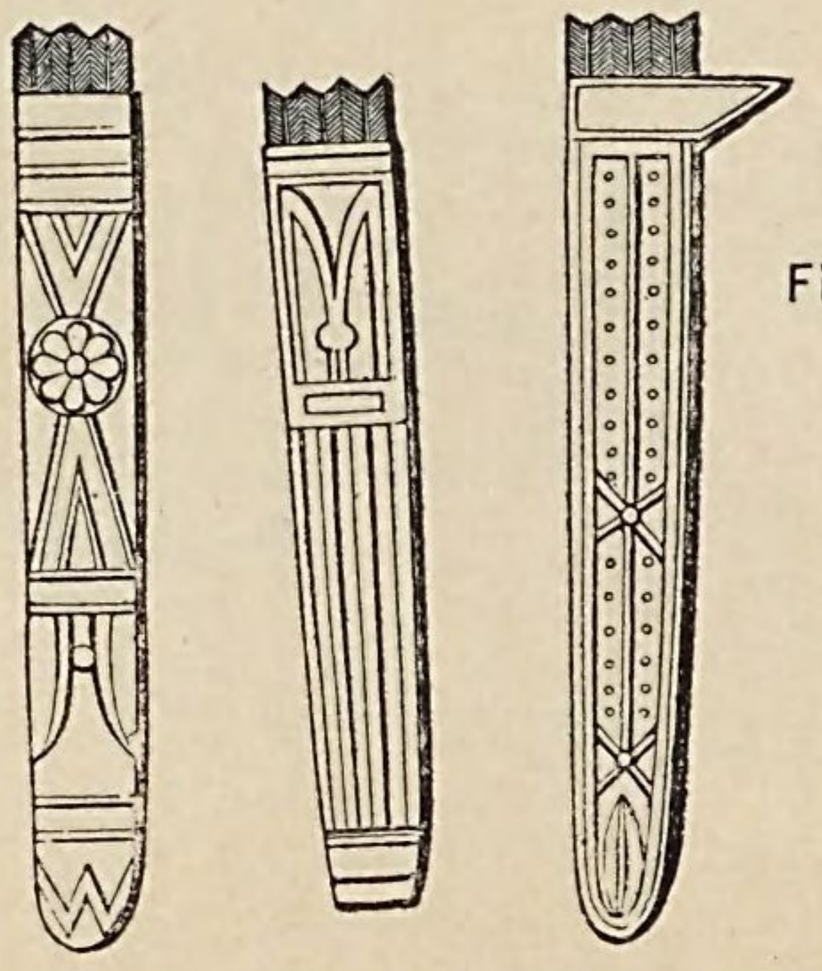
Assyrian curved bow.

Fig. 5.



Assyrian angular bow.

Fig. 3.

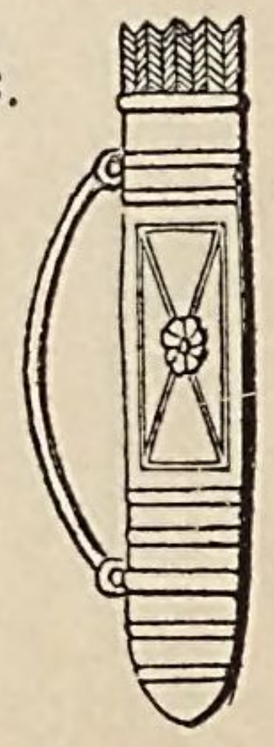


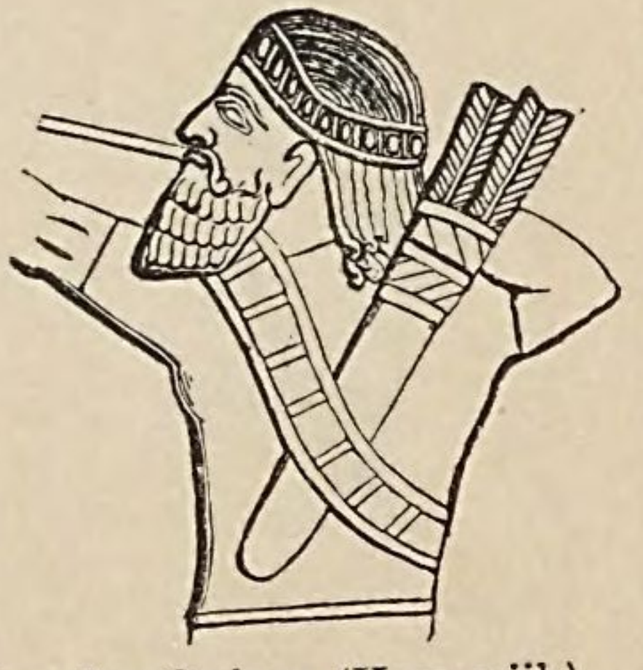
Quivers of the ordinary character.

Fig. 1.

Mode of carrying the Bow in a bow-case (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.





Peculiar mode of carrying the Quiver (Koyunjik).

restoring it to the legitimate claimant, who was his own relation. Intermarriages, it appears, took place at this early date between the royal families of Assyria and Chaldæa; and Asshur-upallit, the third of the three kings, had united one of his daughters to Purna-puriyas, a Chaldæan monarch who has received notice in the preceding volume.[51] On the death of Purna-puriyas, Kara-khar-das, the issue of this marriage, ascended the throne; but he had not reigned long before his subjects rebelled against his authority. A struggle ensued, in which he was slain, whereupon a certain Nazi-bugas, an usurper, became king, the line of Purna-puriyas being set aside. Asshur-upallit, upon this, interposed. Marching an army into Babylonia, he defeated and slew the usurper, after which he placed on the throne another son of Purna-puriyas, the Kurri-galzu[52] already mentioned in the account of the kings of Chaldæa.

What is most remarkable in the glimpse of history which this tablet opens to us is the power of Assyria, and the apparent terms of equality on which she stands with her neighbor. Not only does she treat as an equal with the great Southern Empire—not only is her royal house deemed worthy of furnishing wives to its princes—but when dynastic troubles arise there, she exercises a predominant influence over the fortunes of the contending parties, and secures victory to the side whose cause she espouses. Jealous as all nations are of foreign interposition in their affairs, we may be sure that Babylonia would not have succumbed on this occasion to Assyria's influence, had not her weight been such that, added to one side in a civil struggle, it produced a preponderance which defied resistance.

After this one short lift,[53] the curtain again drops over the history of Assyria for a space of about sixty years, during which our records tell us nothing but the mere names of the kings. It appears from the bricks of Kileh-Sherghat that Asshur-upallit was succeeded upon the throne by his son,[54] Bel-lush, or Bellikhus (Belochus?), who was in his turn followed by his son, Pudil, his grandson, Vul-lush, and his great-grandson, Shalmaneser, the first of the name. Of Bel-lush, Pudil, and Vul-lush I., we know only that they raised or repaired important buildings in their city of Asshur (now Kileh-Sherghat), which in their time, and for some centuries later, was the capital of the monarchy.

This place was not very favorably situated, being on the right bank of the Tigris, which is a far less fertile region than

the left, and not being naturally a place of any great strength. The Assyrian territory did not at this time, it is probable, extend very far to the north: at any rate, no need was as yet felt for a second city higher up the Tigris valley, much less for a transfer of the seat of government in that direction. Calah was certainly, and Nineveh probably, not yet built;[55] but still the kingdom had obtained a name among the nations; the term Assyria was applied geographically to the whole valley of the middle Tigris;[56] and a prophetic eye could see in the hitherto quiescent power the nation fated to send expeditions into Palestine, and to bear off its inhabitants into captivity.[57]

Shalmaneser I. (ab. B.C. 1320) is chiefly known in Assyrian history as the founder of Calah (Nimrud),[58] the second, apparently, of those great cities which the Assyrian monarchs delighted to build and embellish. This foundation would of itself be sufficient to imply the growth of Assyria in his time towards the north, and would also mark its full establishment as the dominant power on the left as well as the right bank of the Tigris. Calah was very advantageously situated in a region of great fertility and of much natural strength, being protected on one side by the Tigris, and on the other by the Shor-Derreh torrent, while the Greater Zab further defended it at the distance of a few miles on the south and south-east, and the Khazr or Ghazr-Su on the north-east.[59] Its settlement must have secured to the Assyrians the undisturbed possession of the fruitful and important district between the Tigris and the mountains, the Aturia or Assyria Proper of later times,[60] which ultimately became the great metropolitan region in which almost all the chief towns were situated.

It is quite in accordance with this erection of a sort of second capital, further to the north than the old one, to find, as we do, by the inscriptions of Asshur-izir-pal, that Shalmaneser undertook expeditions against the tribes on the upper Tigris, and even founded cities in those parts, which he colonized with settlers brought from a distance. We do not know what the exact bounds of Assyria towards the north were before his time, but there can be no doubt that he advanced them; and he is thus entitled to the distinction of being the first known Assyrian conqueror.

With Tiglathi-Nin, the son and successor of Shalmaneser I., the spirit of conquest displayed itself in a more signal and striking manner. The probable date of this monarch has al-

ready been shown to synchronize closely with the time assigned by Berosus to the commencement of his sixth Babylonian dynasty, and by Herodotus to the beginning of his "Assyrian Empire."[61] Now Tiglathi-Nin appears in the Inscriptions as the prince who first aspired to transfer to Assyria the supremacy hitherto exercised, or at any rate claimed, by Babylon. He made war upon the southern kingdom, and with such success that he felt himself entitled to claim its conquest, and to inscribe upon his signet-seal the proud title of "Conqueror of Babylonia."[62] This signet-seal, left by him (as is probable) at Babylon, and recovered about six hundred years later by Sennacherib, shows to us that he reigned for some time in person at the southern capital,[63] where it would seem that he afterwards established an Assyrian dynasty—a branch perhaps of his own family. This is probably the exact event of which Berosus spoke as occurring 526 years before Phul or Pul, and which Herodotus regarded as marking the commencement of the Assyrian "Empire." We must not, however, suppose that Babylonia was from this time really subject continuously to the Court of Nineveh. The subjection may have been maintained for a little less than a century; but about that time we find evidence that the yoke of Assyria had been shaken off, and that the Babylonian monarchs, who have Semitic names, and are probably Assyrians by descent, had become hostile to the Ninevite kings, and were engaged in frequent wars with them.[64] No real permanent subjection of the Lower country to the Upper was effected till the time of Sargon; and even under the Sargonid dynasty revolts were frequent; nor were the Babylonians reconciled to the Assyrian sway till Esarhaddon united the two crowns in his own person, and reigned alternately at the two capitals. Still, it is probable that, from the time of Tiglathi-Nin, the Upper country was recognized as the superior of the two: it had shown its might by a conquest and the imposition of a dynasty—proofs of power which were far from counterbalanced by a few retaliatory raids adventured upon under favorable circumstances by the Babylonian princes. Its influence was therefore felt, even while its yoke was refused; and the Semitizing of the Chaldæans, commenced under Tiglathi-Nin, continued during the whole time of Assyrian preponderance; no effectual Turanian reaction ever set in; the Babylonian rulers, whether submissive to Assyria or engaged in hostilities against her, have equally Semitic names; and it does not appear that

any effort was at any time made to recover to the Turanian element of the population its early supremacy.

The line of direct descent, which has been traced in uninterrupted succession through eight monarchs, beginning with Asshur-bel-nisi-su, here terminates; and an interval occurs which can only be roughly estimated as probably not exceeding fifty years. Another consecutive series of eight kings follows, known to us chiefly through the famous Tiglath-Pileser cylinder (which gives the succession of five of them), but completed from the combined evidence of several other documents.[65] These monarchs, it is probable, reigned from about B.C. 1230 to B.C. 1070.

Bel-kudur-uzur, the first monarch of this second series, is known to us wholly through his unfortunate war with the contemporary king of Babylon. It seems that the Semitic line of kings, which the Assyrians had established in Babylon, was not content to remain very long in a subject position. In the time of Bel-kudur-uzur, Vul-baladan, the Babylonian vassal monarch, revolted; and a war followed between him and his Assyrian suzerain, which terminated in the defeat and death of the latter, who fell in a great battle, about B.C. 1210.

Nin-pala-zira succeeded. It is uncertain whether he was any relation to his predecessor, but clear that he avenged him. He is called "the king who organized the country of Assyria, and established the troops of Assyria in authority."[66] It appears that shortly after his accession, Vul-baladan of Babylon, elated by his previous successes, made an expedition against the Assyrian capital, and a battle was fought under the walls of Asshur, in which Nin-pala-zira was completely successful. The Babylonians fled, and left Assyria in peace during the remainder of the reign of this monarch.

Asshur-dayan, the third king of the series, had a long and prosperous reign.[67] He made a successful inroad into Babylonia, and returned into his own land with a rich and valuable booty. He likewise took down the temple which Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon, had erected to the gods Asshur and Vul at Asshur, the Assyrian capital, because it was in a ruinous condition, and required to be destroyed or rebuilt. Asshur-dayan seems to have shrunk from the task of restoring so great a work, and therefore demolished the structure. which was not rebuilt for the space of sixty years from its demolition.[68] He was succeeded upon the throne by his son Mutaggil-Nebo.

Mutaggil-Nebo reigned probably from about B.C. 1170 to B.C. 1150. We are informed that "Asshur, the great Lord, aided him according to the wishes of his heart, and established him in strength in the government of Assyria."[69] Perhaps these expressions allude to internal troubles at the commencement of his reign, over which he was so fortunate as to triumph. We have no further particulars of this monarch.

Asshur-ris-ilim, the fourth king of the series, the son and successor of Mutaggil-Nebo, whose reign may be placed between B.C. 1150 and B.C. 1130, is a monarch of greater pretensions than most of his predecessors. In his son's Inscription he is called "the powerful king, the subduer of rebellious countries, he who has reduced all the accursed."[70] These expressions are so broad, that we must conclude from them, not merely that Asshur-ris-ilim, unlike the previous kings of the line, engaged in foreign wars, but that his expeditions had a great success, and paved the way for the extensive conquests of his son and successor, Tiglath-Pileser. Probably he turned his arms in various directions, like that monarch. Certainly he carried them southwards into Babylonia, where, as we learn from the synchronistic tablet of Babylonian and Assyrian history, he was engaged for some time in a war with Nebuchadnezzar (*Nabuk-udur-uzur*), the first known king of that name. It has been conjectured that he likewise carried them into Southern Syria and Palestine;[71] and that, in fact, he is the monarch designated in the book of Judges by the name of Chushan-ris-athaim,[72] who is called "the king of Mesopotamia (Aram-Naharaim)," and is said to have exercised dominion over the Israelites for eight years. This identification, however, is too uncertain to be assumed without further proof. The probable date of Chushan-ris-athaim is some two (or three) centuries earlier; and his title, "king of Mesopotamia," is one which is not elsewhere applied to Assyrians monarchs.

A few details have come down to us with respect to the Babylonian war of Asshur-ris-ilim. It appears that Nebuchadnezzar was the assailant. He began the war by a march up the Diyaleh and an advance on Assyria along the outlying Zegros hills, the route afterwards taken by the great Persian road described by Herodotus. Asshur-ris-ilim went out to meet him in person, engaged him in the mountain region, and repulsed his attack. Upon this the Babylonian monarch retired, and after an interval, the duration of which

is unknown, advanced a second time against Assyria, but took now the direct line across the plain. Asshur-ris-ilim on this occasion was content to employ a general against the invader. He "sent" his chariots and his soldiers towards his southern border, and was again successful, gaining a second victory over his antagonist, who fled away, leaving in his hands forty chariots and a banner.

Tiglath-Pileser I., who succeeded Asshur-ris-ilim about B.C. 1130, is the first Assyrian monarch of whose history we possess copious details which can be set forth at some length. This is owing to the preservation and recovery of a lengthy document belonging to his reign—in which are recorded the events of his first five years.[73] As this document is the chief evidence we possess of the condition of Assyria,[74] the character and tone of thought of the kings, and indeed of the general state of the Eastern world, at the period in question—which synchronizes certainly with some portion of the dominion of the Judges over Israel, and probably with the early conquests of the Dorians in Greece[75]—it is thought advisable to give in this place such an account of it, and such a number of extracts as shall enable the reader to form his own judgment on these several points.

The document opens with an enumeration and glorification of the "great gods" who "rule over heaven and earth," and are "the guardians of the kingdom of Tiglath-Pileser." These are "Asshur, the great Lord, ruling supreme over the gods; Bel, the lord, father of the gods, lord of the world; Sin, the leader(?), the lord of empire(?); Shamas, the establisher of heaven and earth; Vul, he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands; Nin, the champion who subdues evil spirits and enemies; and Ishtar, the source of the gods, the queen of victory, she who arranges battles." These deities, who (it is declared) have placed Tiglath-Pileser upon the throne, have "made him firm, have confided to him the supreme crown, have appointed him in might to the sovereignty of the people of Bel, and have granted him pre-eminence, exaltation, and warlike power," are invoked to make the "duration of his empire continue forever to his royal posterity, lasting as the great temple of Kharris-Matira."[76]

In the next section the king glorifies himself, enumerating his royal titles as follows: "Tiglath-Pileser, the powerful king, king of the people of various tongues; king of the four regions; king of all kings; lord of lords; the supreme (?); monarch of

monarchs; the illustrious chief, who, under the auspices of the Sun-god, being armed with the sceptre and girt with the girdle of power over mankind, rules over all the people of Bel; the mighty prince, whose praise is blazoned forth among the kings; the exalted sovereign, whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of the four regions, and whose name he has made celebrated to posterity; the conqueror of many plains and mountains of the Upper and Lower country; the victorious hero, the terror of whose name has overwhelmed all regions; the bright constellation who, as he wished, has warred against foreign countries, and under the auspices of Bel—there being no equal to him—has subdued the enemies of Asshur."[77]

The royal historian, after this introduction, proceeds to narrate his actions—first in general terms declaring that he has subdued all the lands and the peoples round about, and then proceeding to particularize the various campaigns which he had conducted during the first five years of his reign. The earliest of these was against the Muskai, or Moschians, who are probably identical with the Meshech of Holy Scripture[78]—a people governed (it is said) by five kings, and inhabiting the countries of Alzi and Purukhuz, parts (apparently) of Taurus or Niphates.[79] These Moschians are said to have neglected for fifty years to pay the tribute due from them to the Assyrians, from which it would appear that they had revolted during the reign of Asshur-dayan, having previously been subject to Assyria.[80] At this time, with a force amounting to 20,000 men, they had invaded the neighboring district of Qummukh (Commagêné),[81] an Assyrian dependency, and had made themselves masters of it. Tiglath-Pileser attacked them in this newly-conquered country, and completely defeated their army. He then reduced Commagêné, despite the assistance which the inhabitants received from some of their neighbors. He burnt the cities, plundered the temples, ravaged the open country, and carried off, either in the shape of plunder or of tribute, vast quantities of cattle and treasure.[82]

The character of the warfare is indicated by such a passage as the following:—

"The country of Kasiyara, a difficult region, I passed through. With their 20,000 men and their five kings, in the country of Qummukh I engaged. I defeated them. The ranks of their warriors in fighting the battle were beaten down as if by the tempest. Their carcasses covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains. I cut off their heads. Of the battlements of

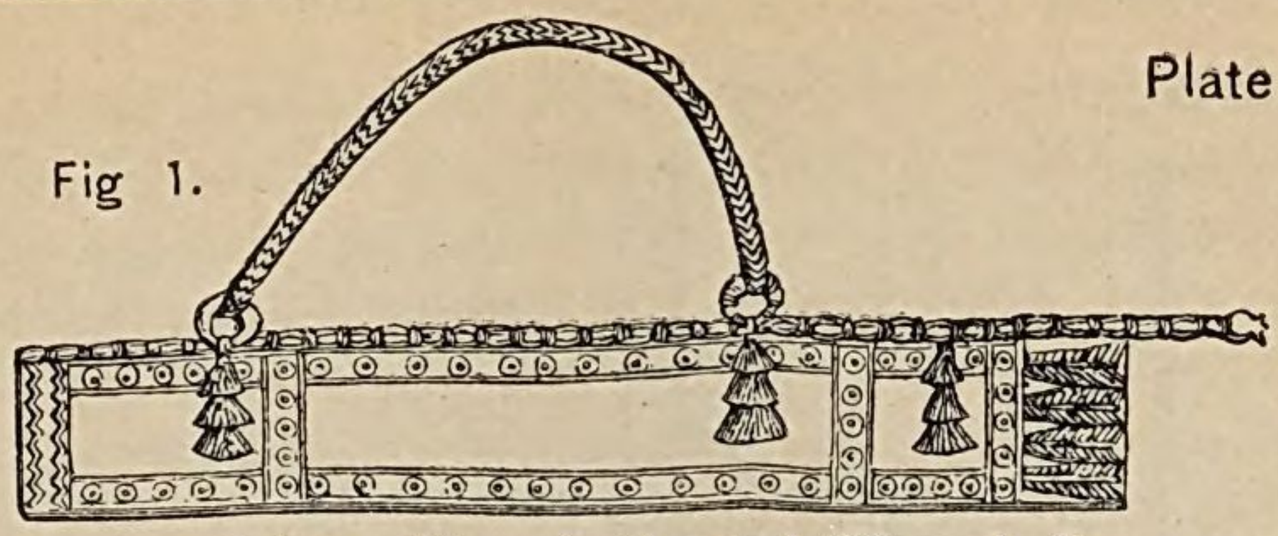
their cities I made heaps, like mounds of earth (?). Their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered to a countless amount. Six thousand of their common soldiers, who fled before my servants, and accepted my yoke, I took and gave over to the men of my own territory as slaves."[83]

The second campaign was partly in the same region and with the same people. The Moschians, who were still loth to pay tribute, were again attacked and reduced.[84] Commagêné was completely overrun, and the territory was attached to the Assyrian empire.[85] The neighboring tribes were assailed in their fastnesses, their cities burnt, and their territories ravaged.[86] At the same time war was made upon several other peoples or nations. Among these the most remarkable are the Khatti (Hittites), two of whose tribes, the Kaskians and Urumians,[87] had committed an aggression on the Assyrian territory: for this they were chastised by an invasion which they did not venture to resist, by the plundering of their valuables, and the carrying off of 120 of their chariots.[88] In another direction the Lower Zab was crossed, and the Assyrian arms were carried into the mountain region of Zagros, where certain strongholds were reduced and a good deal of treasure taken.[89]

The third campaign was against the numerous tribes of the Naïri,[90] who seem to have dwelt at this time partly to the east of the Euphrates, but partly also in the mountain country west of the stream from Sumeïsat to the Gulf of Iskenderun.[91] These tribes, it is said, had never previously made their submission to the Assyrians.[92] They were governed by a number of petty chiefs or "kings," of whom no fewer than twenty-three are particularized. The tribes east of the Euphrates seem to have been reduced with little resistance, while those who dwelt west of the river, on the contrary, collected their troops together, gave battle to the invaders, and made a prolonged and desperate defence. All, however, was in vain. The Assyrian monarch gained a great victory, taking 120 chariots, and then pursued the vanquished Naïri and their allies as far as "the Upper Sea," *i.e.*, the Mediterranean. The usual ravage and destruction followed, with the peculiarity that the lives of the "kings" were spared, and that the country was put to a moderate tribute, viz., 1200 horses and 200 head of cattle.[93]

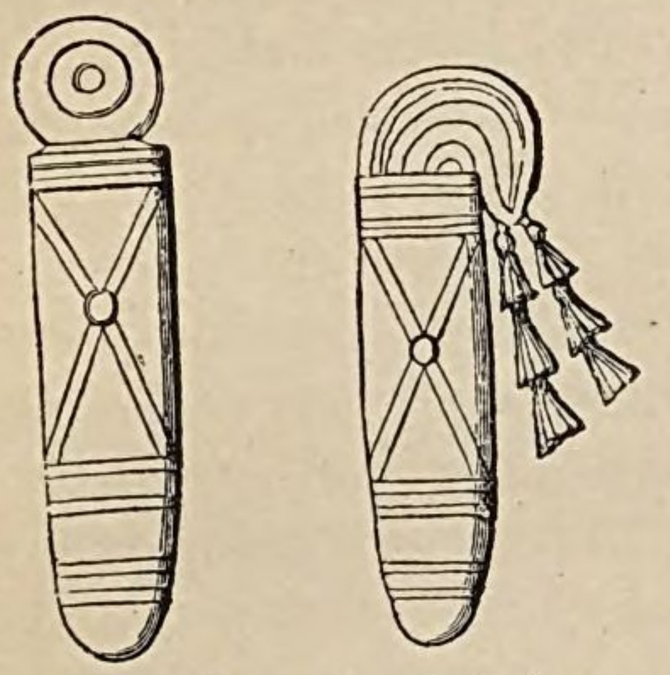
In the fourth campaign the Aramæans or Syrians were attacked by the ambitious monarch. They occupied at this time the valley of the Euphrates, from the borders of the Tsukhi, or Shuhites,[94] who held the river from about Anah to

Fig 1.



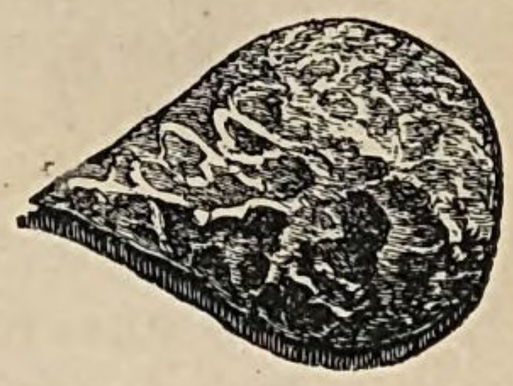
Quiver with projecting rod (Khorsabad).

Fig 2.



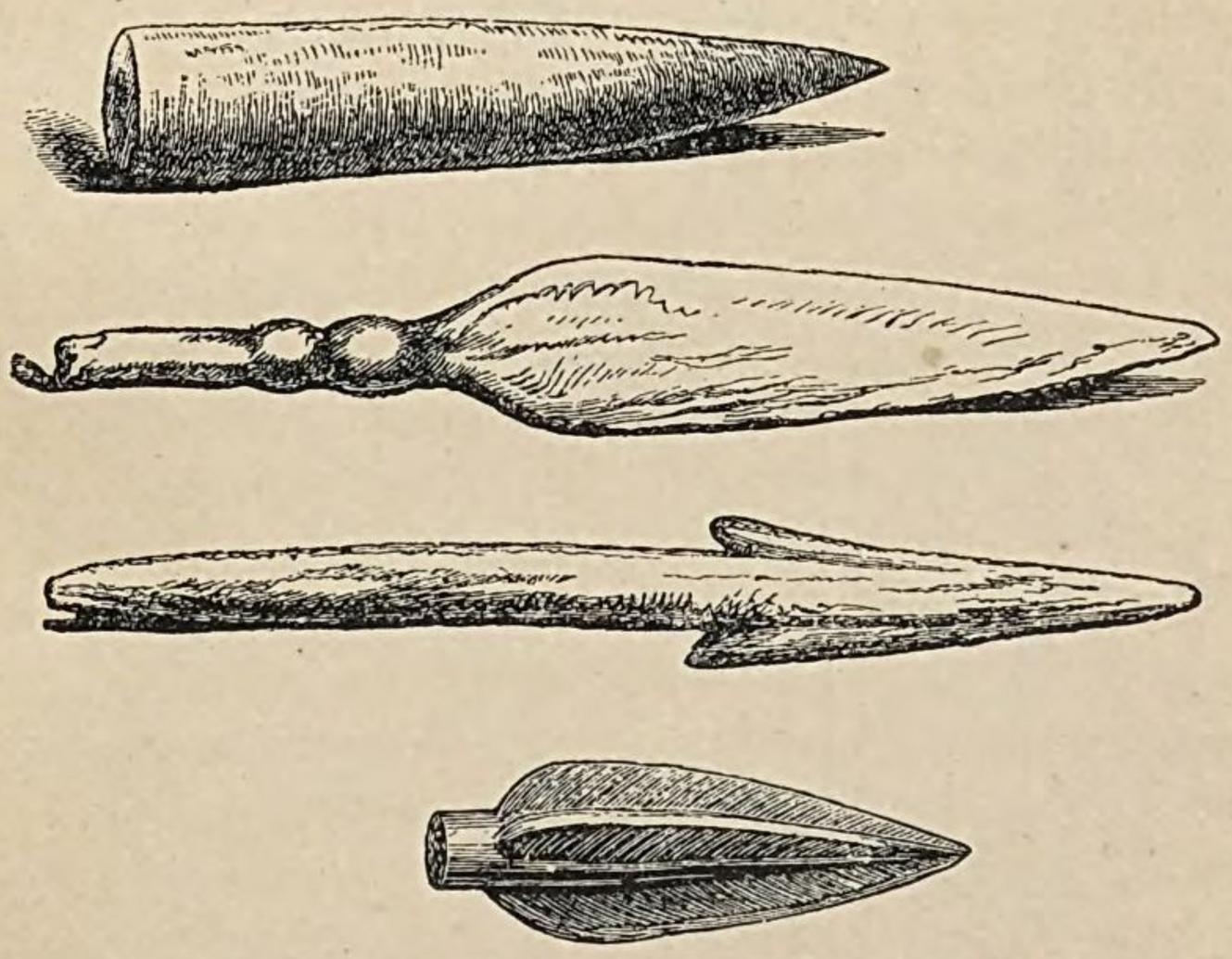
Assyrian covered Quivers
(Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Flint arrow-head (Nimrud).

Fig. 4

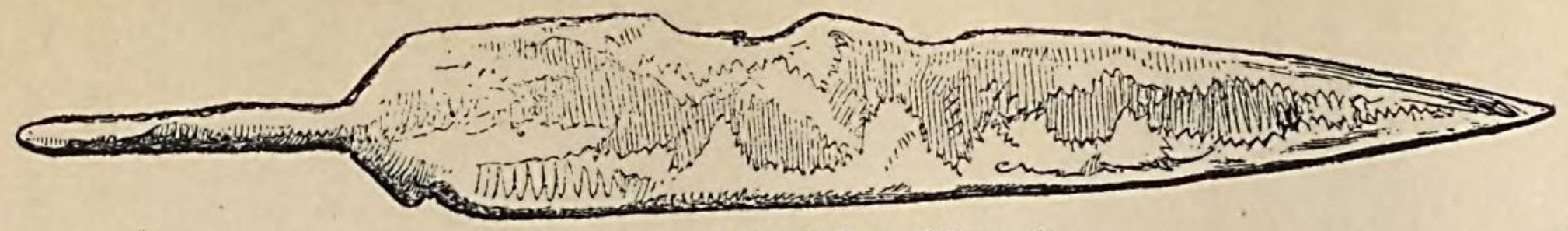


Bronze arrow-heads (Nimrud and Koyunjik).

Fig. 5

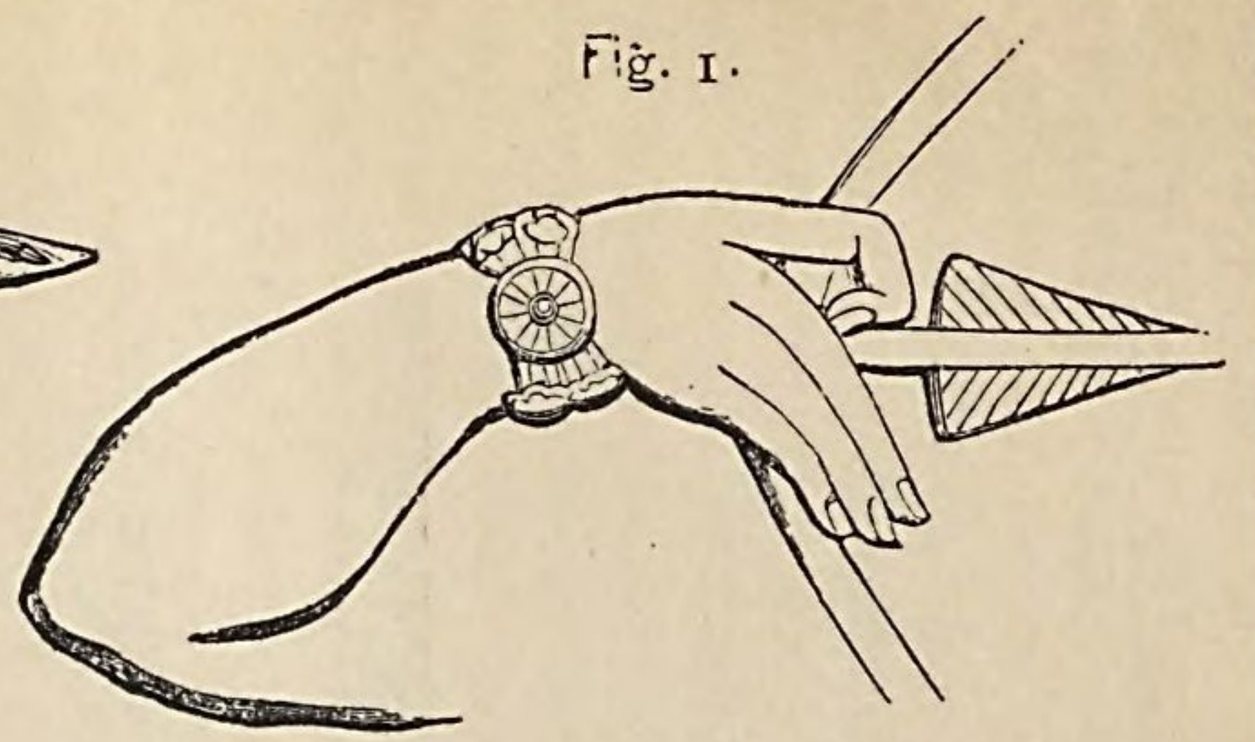
Assyrian Arrow.

Fig. 3.



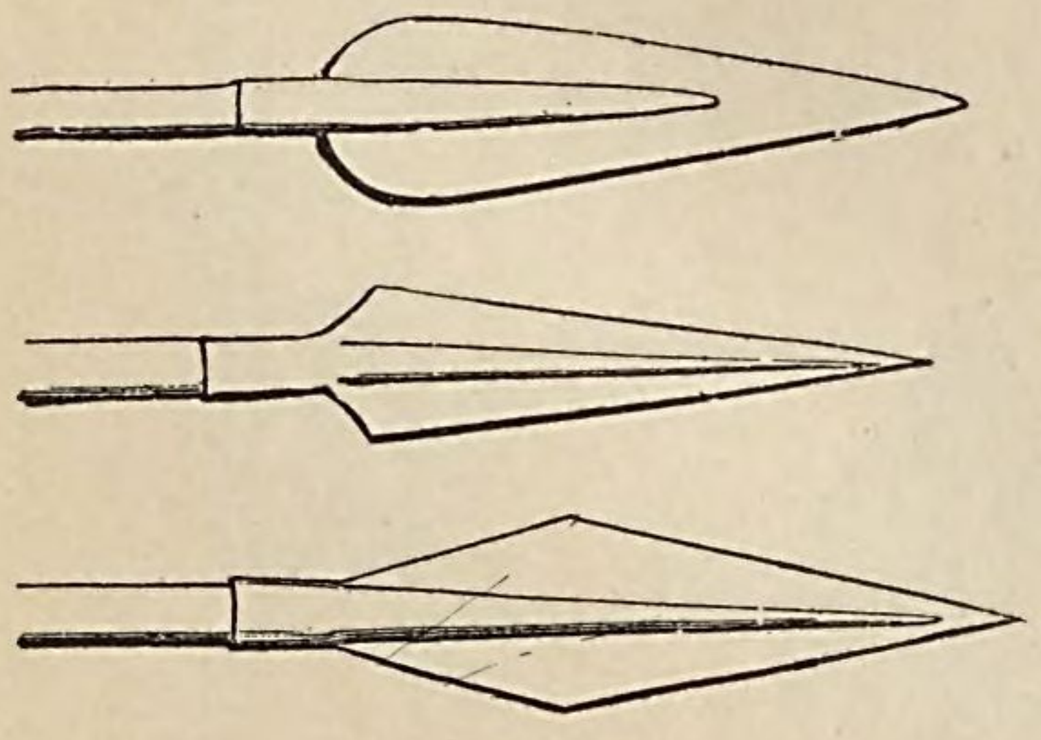
Bronze spear-head from Nimrud.

Fig. 1.

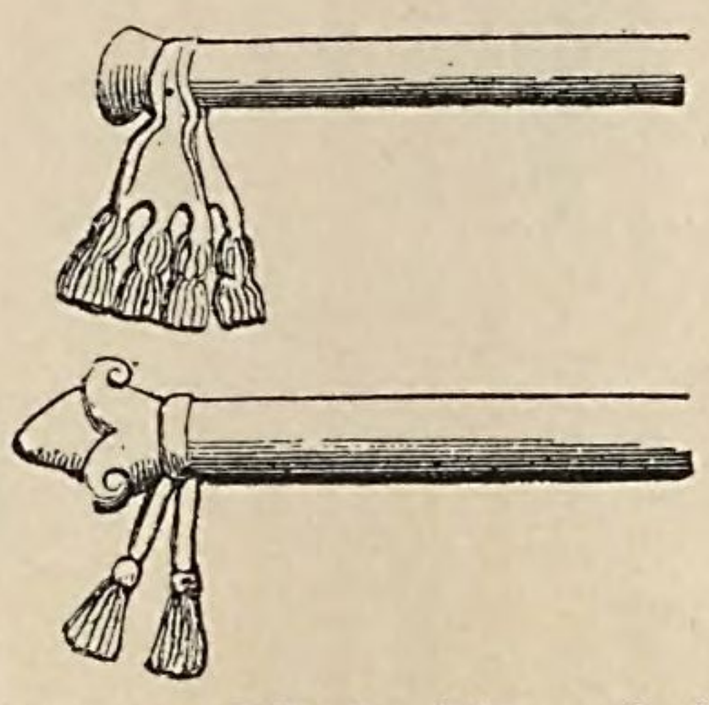


Mode of drawing the Bow (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4.

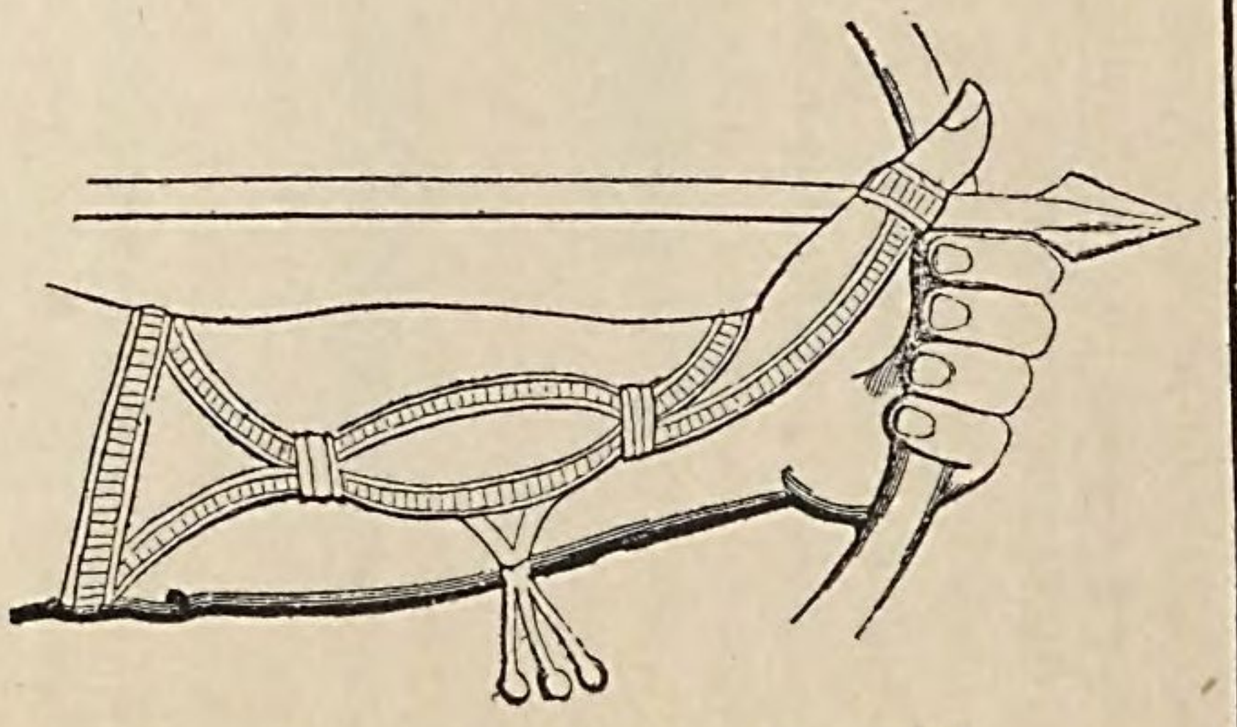


Spear-heads, from the Sculptures.



Ornamented Ends of Spear-shafts (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



Guard worn by an archer (Koyunjik).

Hit), as high up as Carchemish, the frontier town and chief stronghold of the Khatti or Hittites. Carchemish was not, as has commonly been supposed, Circesium, at the junction of the Khabour with the Euphrates,[95] but was considerably higher up the stream, certainly near to, perhaps on the very site of, the later city of Mabog or Hierapolis.[96] Thus the Aramæans had a territory of no great width, but 250 miles long between its north-western and its south-eastern extremities. Tiglath-Pileser smote this region, as he tells us, "at one blow."[97] First attacking and plundering the eastern or left bank of the river, he then crossed the stream in boats covered with skins, took and burned six cities on the right bank, and returned in safety with an immense plunder.

The fifth and last campaign was against the country of Musr or Muzr, by which some Orientalists have understood Lower Egypt.[98] This, however, appears to be a mistake. The Assyrian Inscriptions designate two countries by the name of Musr or Muzr, one of them being Egypt, and the other a portion of Upper Kurdistan. The expedition of Tiglath-Pileser I. was against the eastern Musr, a highly mountainous country, consisting (apparently) of the outlying ranges of Zagros between the greater Zab and the Eastern Khabour. Notwithstanding its natural strength and the resistance of the inhabitants, this country was completely overrun in an incredibly short space. The armies which defended it were defeated, the cities burnt, the strongholds taken. Arin, the capital, submitted, and was spared, after which a set tribute was imposed on the entire region, the amount of which is not mentioned. The Assyrian arms were then turned against a neighboring district, the country of the Comani. The Comani, though Assyrian subjects, had lent assistance to the people of Musr, and it was to punish this insolence that Tiglath-Pileser resolved to invade their territory. Having defeated their main army, consisting of 20,000 men, he proceeded to the attack of the various castles and towns, some of which were stormed, while others surrendered at discretion. In both cases alike the fortifications were broken down and destroyed, the cities which surrended being spared, while those taken by storm were burnt with fire. Ere long the whole of the "far-spreading country of the Comani" was reduced to subjection, and a tribute was imposed exceeding that which had previously been required from the people.[99]

After this account of the fifth campaign, the whole result of the wars is thus briefly summed up:—"There fell into my

hands altogether, between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year, forty-two countries with their kings, from the banks of the river Zab to the banks of the river Euphrates, the country of the Khatti, and the upper ocean of the setting sun. I brought them under one government; I took hostages from them; and I imposed on them tribute and offerings." [100]

From describing his military achievements, the monarch turns to an account of his exploits in the chase. In the country of the Hittites he boasts that he had slain "four wild bulls, strong and fierce," with his arrows; while in the neighborhood of Harran, on the banks of the river Khabour, he had killed ten large wild buffaloes (?), and taken four alive.[101] These captured animals he had carried with him on his return to Asshur, his capital city, together with the horns and skins of the slain beasts. The lions which he had destroyed in his various journeys he estimates at 920. All these successes he ascribes to the powerful protection of Nin and Nergal.[102]

The royal historiographer proceeds, after this, to give an account of his domestic administration, of the buildings which he had erected, and the various improvements which he had introduced. Among the former he mentions temples to Ishtar, Martu, Bel, Il or Ra, and the presiding deities of the city of Asshur, palaces for his own use, and castles for the protection of his territory. Among the latter he enumerates the construction of works of irrigation, the introduction into Assyria of foreign cattle and of numerous beasts of chase, the naturalization of foreign vegetable products, the multiplication of chariots, the extension of the territory, and the augmentation of the population of the country.[103]

A more particular account is then given of the restoration by the monarch of two very ancient and venerable temples in the great city of Asshur. This account is preceded by a formal statement of the particulars of the monarch's descent from Nin-pala-zira,[104] the king who seems to be regarded as the founder of the dynasty—which breaks the thread of the narrative somewhat strangely and awkwardly. Perhaps the occasion of its introduction was, in the mind of the writer, the necessary mention, in connection with one of the two temples, of Asshur-dayan, the great-grandfather of the monarch. It appears that in the reign of Asshur-dayan, this temple, which, having stood for 641 years, was in a very ruinous condition, had been taken down, while no fresh building had been raised in its room. The site remained vacant for sixty years, till Tiglath-Pileser,

having lately ascended the throne, determined to erect on the spot a new temple to the old gods, who were Anu and Vul, probably the tutelary deities of the city. His own account of the circumstances of the building and dedication is as follows:—

"In the beginning of my reign, Anu and Vul, the great gods, my lords, guardians of my steps, gave me a command to repair this their shrine. So I made bricks; I levelled the earth; I took its dimensions (?); I laid down its foundations upon a mass of strong rock. This place, throughout its whole extent, I paved with bricks in set order (?); fifty feet deep I prepared the ground; and upon this substructure I laid the lower foundations of the temple of Anu and Vul. From its foundations to its roof I built it up better than it was before. I also built two lofty towers (?) in honor of their noble godships, and the holy place, a spacious hall, I consecrated for the convenience of their worshippers, and to accommodate their votaries, who were numerous as the stars of heaven. I repaired, and built, and completed my work. Outside the temple I fashioned everything with the same care as inside. The mound of earth on which it was built I enlarged like the firmament of the rising stars (?), and I beautified the entire building. Its towers I raised up to heaven, and its roofs I built entirely of brick. An inviolable shrine(?) for their noble godships I laid down near at hand. Anu and Vul, the great gods, I glorified inside the shrine. I set them up in their honored purity, and the hearts of their noble godships I delighted."[105]

The other restoration mentioned is that of a temple to Vul only, which, like that to Anu and Vul conjointly, had been originally built by Shamas-Vul, the son of Ismi-Dagon. This building had likewise fallen into decay, but had not been taken down like the other. Tiglath-Pileser states that he "levelled its site," and then rebuilt it "from its foundations to its roofs," enlarging it beyond its former limits, and adorning it. Inside of it he "sacrificed precious victims to his lord, Vul." He also deposited in the temple a number of rare stones or marbles, which he had obtained in the country of the Naïri in the course of his expeditions.[106]

The inscription then terminates with the following long invocation:—

"Since a holy place, a noble hall, I have thus consecrated for the use of the Great Gods, my lords Anu and Vul, and have laid down an adytum for their special worship, and have finished it successfully, and have delighted the hearts of their noble god-

ships, may Anu and Vul preserve me in power! May they support the men of my government! May they establish the authority of my officers! May they bring the rain, the joy of the year, on the cultivated land and the desert, during my time! In war and in battle may they preserve me victorious! Many foreign countries, turbulent nations, and hostile kings I have reduced under my yoke: to my children and my descendants, may they keep them in firm allegiance! I will lead my steps" (or, "may they establish my feet"), "firm as the mountains, to the last days, before Asshur and their noble godships!

"The list of my victories and the catalogue of my triumphs over foreigners hostile to Asshur, which Anu and Vul have granted to my arms, I have inscribed on my tablets and cylinders, and I have placed, [to remain] to the last days, in the temple of my lords, Anu and Vul. And I have made clean (?) the tablets of Shamas-Vul, my ancestor; I have made sacrifices, and sacrificed victims before them, and have set them up in their places. In after times, and in the latter days . . . . if the temple of the Great Gods, my lords Anu and Vul, and these shrines should become old and fall into decay, may the Prince who comes after me repair the ruins! May he raise altars and sacrifice victims before my tablets and cylinders, and may he set them up again in their places, and may he inscribe his name on them together with my name! As Anu and Vul, the Great Gods, have ordained, may he worship honestly with a good heart and full trust!

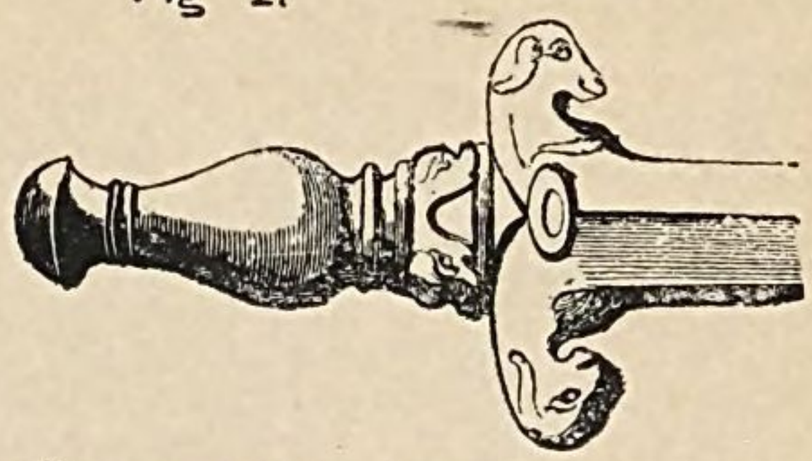
"Whoever shall abrade or injure my tablets and cylinders, or shall moisten them with water, or scorch them with fire, or expose them to the air, or in the holy place of God shall assign them a place where they cannot be seen or understood, or shall erase the writing and inscribe his own name, or shall divide the sculptures (?) and break them off from my tablets, may Anu and Vul, the Great Gods, my lords, consign his name to perdition! May they curse him with an irrevocable curse! May they cause his sovereignty to perish! May they pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire! Let not his offspring survive him in the kingdom! Let his servants be broken! Let his troops be defeated! Let him fly vanquished before his enemies! May Vul in his fury tear up the produce of his land! May a scarcity of food and of the necessaries of life afflict his country! For one day may he not be called happy! May his name and his race perish!"[107]

The document is then dated—"In the month Kuzalla

Fig.

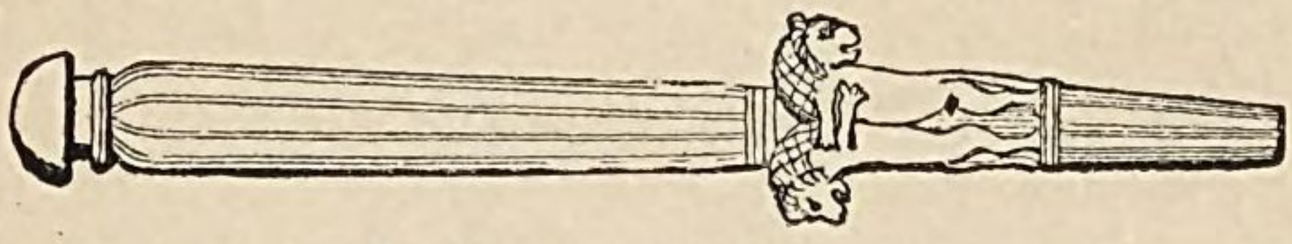
Ornamental Handle of short Sword (Khorsabad).

Fig 2.



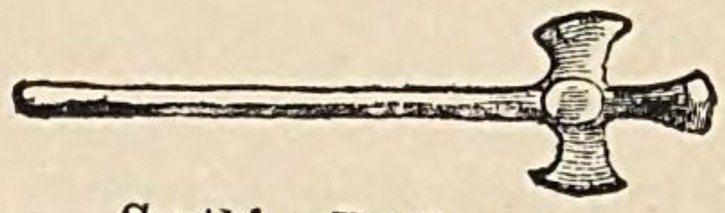
Ornamented handle of longer sword (Nimrud).

Fig. 3.



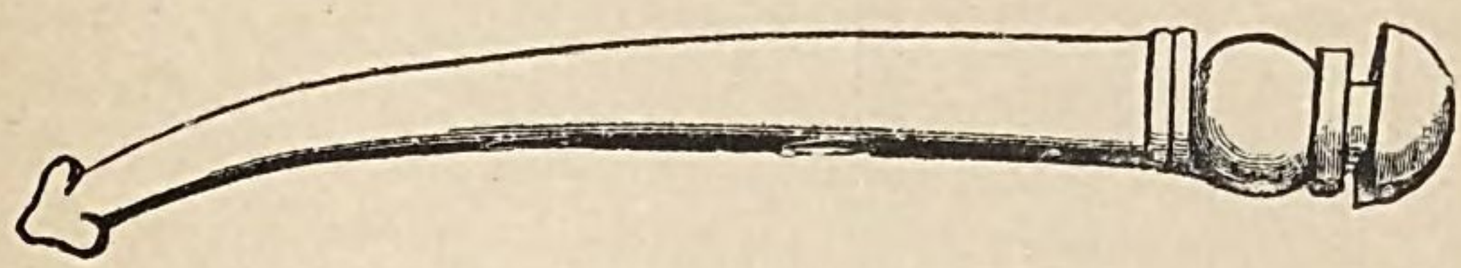
Sheathed sword (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4



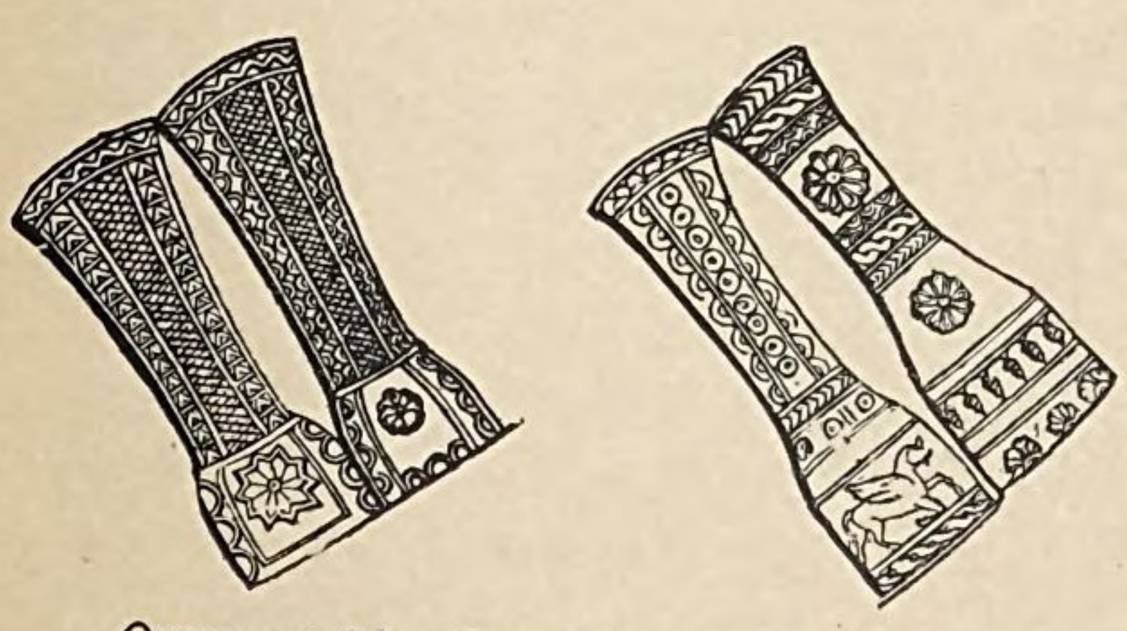
Scythian Battleaxe.

Fig. 5.



Assyrian curved sword (Khorsabad).

Fig. 6.

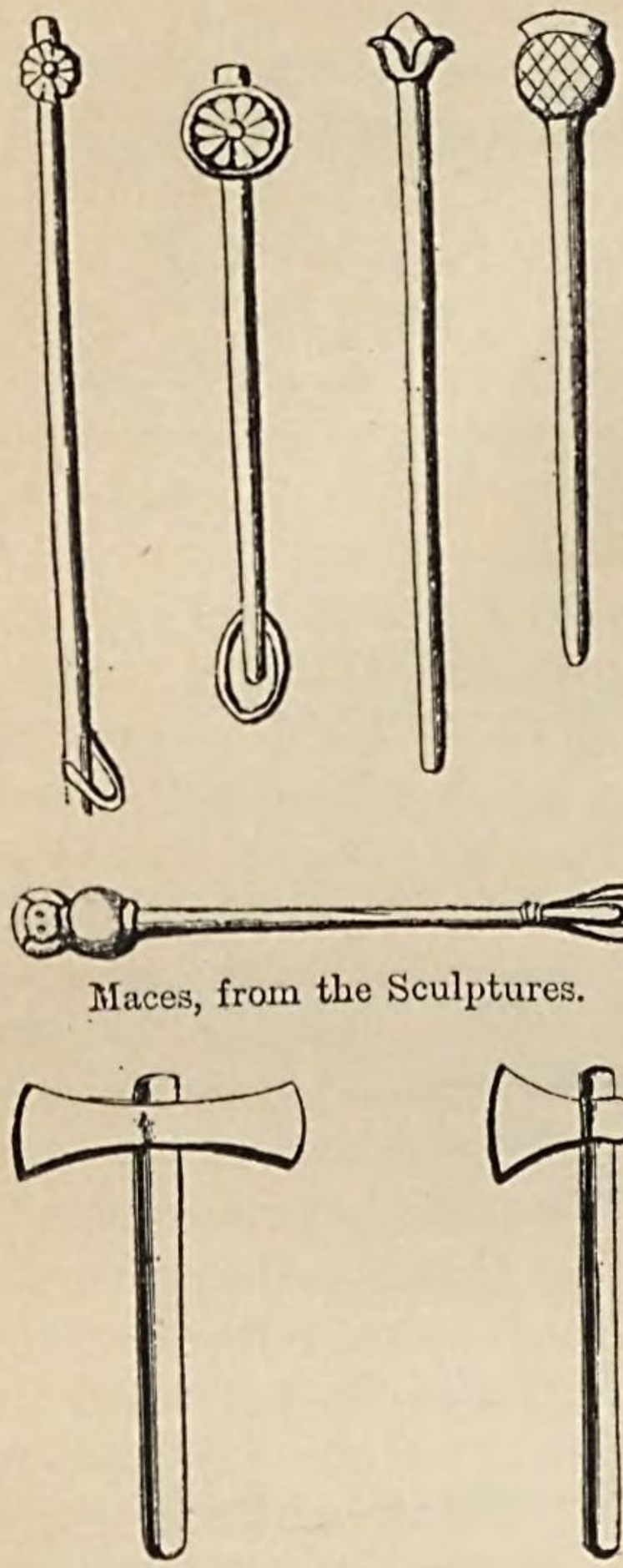


Ornamented handles of daggers (Nimrud).

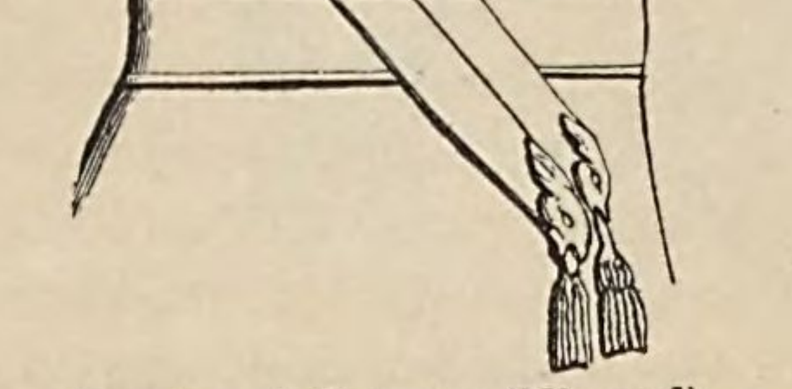
Fig. 7.

Handle of dagger, with chain (Nimrud).

Fig. 1.



Maces, from the Sculptures.

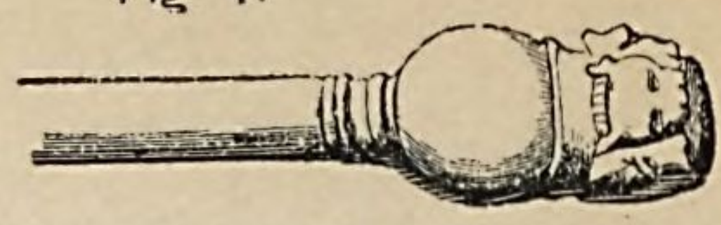


Assyrian Battleaxes (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.

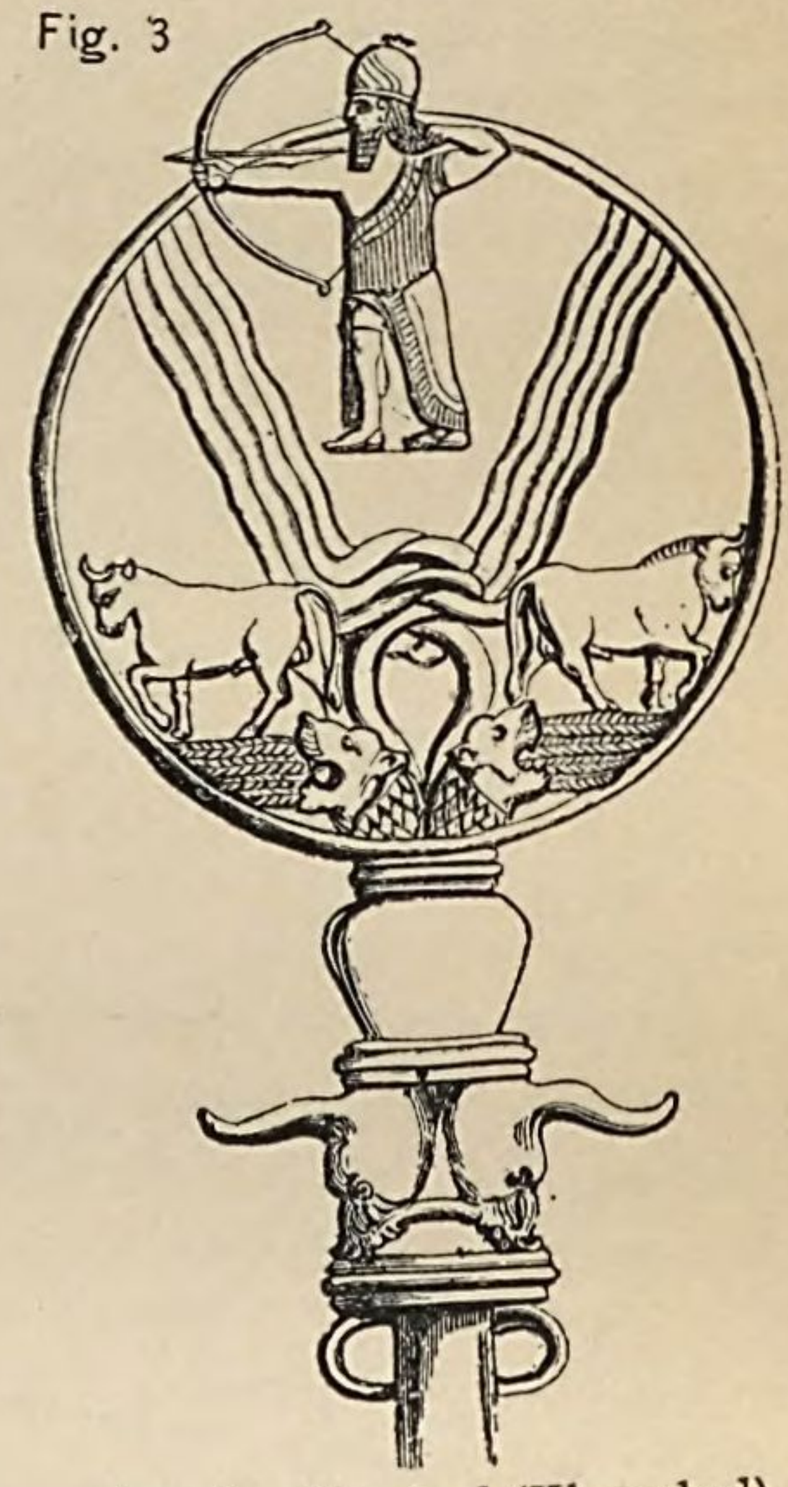
Sheaths of Daggers (Nimrud).

Fig 1.



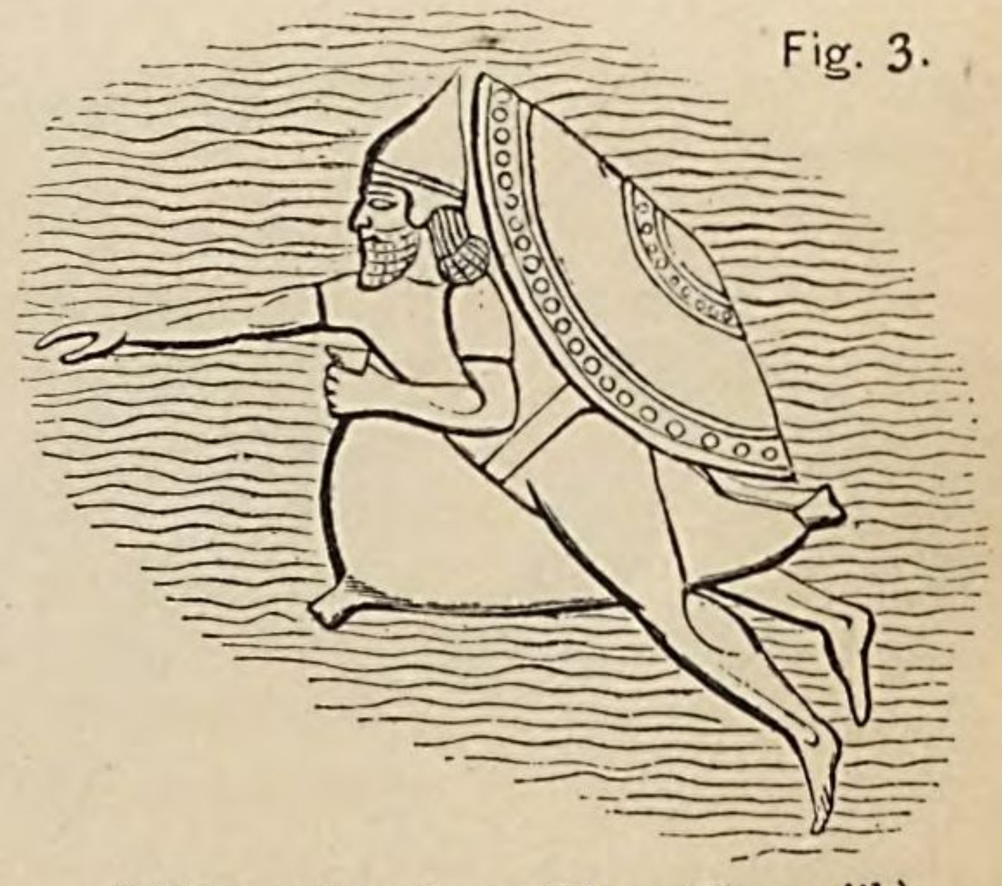
Head of Royal Mace (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3



Assyrian Standard (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.



Soldier swimming a River (Koyunjik).

(Chisleu), on the 29th day, in the year presided over by Ina-iliya-pallik, the Rabbi-Turi."[108]

Perhaps the most striking feature of this inscription, when it is compared with other historical documents of the same kind belonging to other ages and nations, is its intensely religious character. The long and solemn invocation of the Great Gods with which it opens, the distinct ascription to their assistance and guardianship of the whole series of royal successes, whether in war or in the chase; the pervading idea that the wars were undertaken for the chastisement of the enemies of Asshur, and that their result was the establishment in an ever-widening circle of the worship of Asshur; the careful account which is given of the erection and renovation of temples, and the dedication of offerings; and the striking final prayer—all these are so many proofs of the prominent place which religion held in the thoughts of the king who set up the inscription, and may fairly be accepted as indications of the general tone and temper of his people.[109] It is evident that we have here displayed to us, not a decent lip-service, not a conventional piety, but a real, hearty earnest religious faith—a faith bordering on fanaticism—a spirit akin to that with which the Jews were possessed in their warfare with the nations of Canaan, or which the soldiers of Mahomet breathed forth when they fleshed their maiden swords upon the infidels. The king glorifies himself much; but he glorifies the gods more. He fights, in part, for his own credit, and for the extension of his territory; but he fights also for the honor of the gods, whom the surrounding nations reject, and for the diffusion of their worship far and wide throughout all known regions. His wars are religious wars, at least as much as wars of conquest; his buildings, or, at any rate, those on whose construction he dwells with most complacency, are religious buildings; the whole tone of his mind is deeply and sincerely religious; besides formal acknowledgments, he is continually letting drop little expressions which show that his gods are "in all his thoughts,"[110] and represent to him real powers governing and directing all the various circumstances of human life. The religious spirit displayed is, as might have been expected, in the highest degree exclusive and intolerant; but it is earnest, constant, and all-pervading.

In the next place, we cannot fail to be struck with the energetic character of the monarch, so different from the temper which Ctesias ascribes, in the broadest and most sweeping

terms, to all the successors of Ninus.[111] Within the first five years of his reign the indefatigable prince conducts in person expeditions into almost every country upon his borders; attacks and reduces six important nations,[112] besides numerous petty tribes;[113] receiving the submission of forty-two kings;[114] traversing the most difficult mountain regions; defeating armies, besieging towns, destroying forts and strongholds, ravaging territories; never allowing himself a moment of repose; when he is not engaged in military operations, devoting himself to the chase, contending with the wild bull and the lion, proving himself (like the first Mesopotamian king) in very deed "a mighty hunter,"[115] since he counts his victims by hundreds;[116] and all the while having regard also to the material welfare of his country, adorning it with buildings, enriching it with the products of other lands, both animal and vegetable, fertilizing it by means of works of irrigation, and in every way "improving the condition of the people, and obtaining for them abundance and security."[117]

With respect to the general condition of Assyria, it may be noted, in the first place, that the capital is still Asshur, and that no mention is made of any other native city.[118] The king calls himself "king of the four regions."[119] which would seem to imply a division of the territory into districts, like that which certainly obtained in later times.[120] The mention of "*four*" districts is curious, since the same number was from the first affected by the Chaldæans,[121] while we have also evidence that, at least after the time of Sargon, there was a pre-eminence of four great cities in Assyria.[122] The limits of the territory at the time of the Inscription are not very clearly marked; but they do not seem to extend beyond the outer ranges[123] of Zagros on the east, Niphates on the north, and the Euphrates upon the west. The southern boundary at the time was probably the commencement of the alluvium; but this cannot be gathered from the Inscription, which contains no notice of any expedition in the direction of Babylonia. The internal condition of Assyria is evidently flourishing. Wealth flows in from the plunder of the neighboring countries; labor is cheapened by the introduction of enslaved captives;[124] irrigation is cared for; new fruits and animals are introduced; fortifications are repaired, palaces renovated, and temples beautified or rebuilt.

The countries adjoining upon Assyria on the west, the north, and the east, in which are carried on the wars of the period,

present indications of great political weakness. They are divided up among a vast number of peoples, nations, and tribes, whereof the most powerful is only able to bring into the field a force of 20,000 men.[125] The peoples and nations possess but little unity. Each consists of various separate communities, ruled by their own kings, who in war unite their troops against the common enemy; but are so jealous of each other, that they do not seem even to appoint a generalissimo. On the Euphrates, between Hit and Carchemish, are, first, the Tsukhi or Shuhites, of whom no particulars are given; and, next, the Aramæans or Syrians, who occupy both banks of the river, and possess a number of cities, no one of which is of much strength. Above the Aramæans are the Khatti or Hittites, whose chief city, Carchemish, is an important place; they are divided into tribes, and, like the Aramæans, occupy both banks of the great stream. North and north-west of their country, probably beyond the mountain-range of Amanus, are the Muskai (Moschi), an aggressive people, who were seeking to extend their territory eastward into the land of the Qummukh or people of Commagêné. These Qummukh hold the mountain country on both sides of the Upper Tigris, and have a number of strongholds, chiefly on the right bank. To the east they adjoin on the Kirkhi, who must have inhabited the skirts of Niphates, while to the south they touch the Naïri, who stretch from Lake Van, along the line of the Tigris, to the tract known as Commagêné to the Romans. The Naïri have, at the least, twenty-three kings,[126] each of whom governs his own tribe or city. South of the more eastern Naïri is the country of Muzr—a mountain tract well peopled and full of castles, probably the region about Amadiyeh and Rowandiz. Adjoining Muzr to the east or north-east, are the *Quwanu* or Comani,[127] who are among the most powerful of Assyria's neighbors, being able, like the Moschi, to bring into the field an army of 20,000 men. At this time they are close allies of the people of Muzr--finally, across the lower Zab, on the skirts of Zagros, are various petty tribes of small account, who offer but little resistance to the arms of the invader.

Such was the position of Assyria among her neighbors in the latter part of the twelfth century before Christ. She was a compact and powerful kingdom, centralized under a single monarch, and with a single great capital, in the midst of wild tribes which clung to a separate independence, each in its own valley or village. At the approach of a

great danger, these tribes might consent to coalesce and to form alliances, or even confederations; but the federal tie, never one of much tenacity, and rarely capable of holding its ground in the presence of monarchic vigor, was here especially weak. After one defeat of their joint forces by the Assyrian troops, the confederates commonly dispersed, each flying to the defence of his own city or territory, with a short-sighted selfishness which deserved and ensured defeat. In one direction only was Assyria confronted by a rival state possessing a power and organization in character not unlike her own, though scarcely of equal strength. On her southern frontier, in the broad flat plain intervening between the Mesopotamian upland and the sea—the kingdom of Babylon was still existing; its Semitic kings, though originally established upon the throne by Assyrian influence,[128] had dissolved all connection with their old protectors, and asserted their thorough independence. Here, then, was a considerable state, as much centralized as Assyria herself, and not greatly inferior either in extent of territory or in population,[129] existing side by side with her, and constituting a species of check, whereby something like a balance of power was still maintained in Western Asia, and Assyria was prevented from feeling herself the absolute mistress of the East, and the uncontrolled arbitress of the world's destinies.

Besides the great cylinder inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., there exist five more years of his annals in fragments, from which we learn that he continued his aggressive expeditions during this space, chiefly towards the north-west, subduing the Lulumi in Northern Syria, attacking and taking Carchemish, and pursuing the inhabitants across the Euphrates in boats.

No mention is made during this time of any collision between Assyria and her great rival, Babylon. The result of the wars waged by Asshur-ris-ilim against Nebuchadnezzar I.[130] had, apparently, been to produce in the belligerents a feeling of mutual respect; and Tiglath-Pileser, in his earlier years, neither trespassed on the Babylonian territory in his aggressive raids, nor found himself called upon to meet and repel any invasion of his own dominions by his southern neighbors. Before the close of his reign, however, active hostilities broke out between the two powers. Either provoked by some border ravage or actuated simply by lust of conquest, Tiglath-Pileser marched his troops into Babylonia. For two consecutive years he

wasted with fire and sword the "upper" or northern provinces, taking the cities of Kurri-Galzu—now Akkerkuf—Sippara of the Sun, and Sippara of Anunit (the Sepharvaim or "two Sipparas" of the Hebrews), and Hupa or Opis, on the Tigris; and finally capturing Babylon itself, which, strong as it was, proved unable to resist the invader. On his return he passed up the valley of the Euphrates, and took several cities from the Tsukhi. But here, it would seem that he suffered a reverse. Merodach-iddin-akhi, his opponent, if he did not actually defeat his army, must, at any rate, have greatly harassed it on its retreat; for he captured an important part of its baggage. Indulging a superstition common in ancient times,[131] Tiglath-Pileser had carried with him in his expedition certain images of gods, whose presence would, it was thought, secure victory to his arms. Merodach-iddin-akhi obtained possession of these idols, and succeeded in carrying them off to Babylon, where they were preserved for more than 400 years, and considered as mementoes of victory.[132]

The latter days of this great Assyrian prince were thus, unhappily, clouded by disaster. Neither he, nor his descendants, nor any Assyrian monarch for four centuries succeeded in recovering the lost idols, and replacing them in the shrines from which they were taken. A hostile and jealous spirit appears henceforth in the relations between Assyria and Babylon; we find no more intermarriages of the one royal house with the other; wars are frequent—almost constant—nearly every Assyrian monarch, whose history is known to us in any detail, conducting at least one expedition into Babylonia.

A work still remains, belonging to the reign of this king, from which it appears that the peculiar character of Assyrian mimetic art was already fixed in his time, the style of representation being exactly such as prevailed at the most flourishing period, and the workmanship, apparently, not very inferior. In a cavern from which the Tsupnat river or eastern branch of the Tigris rises, close to a village called Korkhar, and about fifty or sixty miles north of Diarbekr, is a bas-relief sculptured on the natural rock, which has been smoothed for the purpose, consisting of a figure of the king in his sacerdotal dress with the right arm extended and the left hand grasping the sacrificial mace,[133] accompanied by an inscription which is read as follows:—"By the grace of Asshur, Shamas, and Vul, the Great Gods, I, Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, son of Asshur-ris-ilim, king of Assyria, who was the son of Mutaggil-Nebo,

king of Assyria, marching from the great sea of Akhiri" (the Mediterranean) "to the sea of Naïri" (Lake of Van) "for the third time have invaded the country of Naïri."[134] [Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 3.]

The fact of his having warred in Lower Mesopotamia is almost the whole that is known of Tiglath-Pileser's son and successor, Asshur-bil-kala. A contest in which he was engaged with the Babylonian prince, Merodach-shapik-ziri (who seems to have been the successor of Merodach-iddin-akhi), is recorded on the famous synchronistic tablet, in conjunction with the Babylonian wars of his father and grandfather; but the tablet is so injured in this place that no particulars can be gathered from it. From a monument of Asshur-bil-kala's own time—one of the earliest Assyrian sculptures that has come down to us—we may perhaps further conclude that he inherited something of the religious spirit of his father, and gave a portion of his attention to the adornment of temples, and the setting up of images.[135]

The probable date of the reign of Asshur-bil-kala is about B.C. 1110–1090. He appears to have been succeeded on the throne by his younger brother, Shamas-Vul, of whom nothing is known, but that he built, or repaired, a temple at Nineveh. His reign probably occupied the interval between B.C. 1090 and 1070. He would thus seem to have been contemporary with *Smendes* in Egypt and with Samuel or Saul in Israel.[136] So apparently insignificant an event as the establishment of a kingdom in Palestine was not likely to disturb the thoughts, even if it came to the knowledge, of an Assyrian monarch. Shamas-Vul would no doubt have regarded with utter contempt the petty sovereign of so small a territory as Palestine, and would have looked upon the new kingdom as scarcely more worthy of his notice than any other of the ten thousand little principalities which lay on or near his borders. Could he, however, have possessed for a few moments the prophetic foresight vouchsafed some centuries earlier to one who may almost be called his countryman,[137] he would have been astonished to recognize in the humble kingdom just lifting its head in the far West, and struggling to hold its own against Philistine cruelty and oppression,[138] a power which in little more than fifty years would stand forth before the world as the equal, if not the superior, of his own state. The imperial splendor of the kingdom of David and Solomon did, in fact, eclipse for awhile the more ancient glories of Assyria.[139] It

is a notable circumstance that, exactly at the time when a great and powerful monarchy grew up in the tract between Egypt and the Euphrates, Assyria passed under a cloud. The history of the country is almost a blank for two centuries between the reigns of Shamas-Vul and the second Tiglathi Nin, whose accession is fixed by the Assyrian Canon to B.C. 889. During more than three-fourths of this time, from about B.C. 1070 to B.C. 930, the very names of the monarchs are almost wholly unknown to us.[140] It seems as if there was not room in Western Asia for two first-class monarchies to exist and flourish at the same time: and so, although there was no contention, or even contact, between the two empires of Judæa and Assyria,[141] yet the rise of the one to greatness could only take place under the condition of a coincident weakness of the other.

It is very remarkable that exactly in this interval of darkness, when Assyria would seem, from the failure both of buildings and records, to have been especially and exceptionally weak,[142] occurs the first appearance of her having extended her influence beyond Syria into the great and ancient monarchy of Egypt. In the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty, which began with Sheshonk I., or Shishak, the contemporary of Solomon, about B.C. 990, Assyrian names appear for the first time in the Egyptian dynastic lists. It has been supposed from this circumstance that the entire twenty-second dynasty, together with that which succeeded it, was Assyrian; but the condition of Assyria at the time renders such a hypothesis most improbable. The true explanation would seem to be that the Egyptian kings of this period sometimes married Assyrian wives, who naturally gave Assyrian names to some of their children. These wives were perhaps members of the Assyrian royal family; or perhaps they were the daughters of the Assyrian nobles who from time to time were appointed as viceroys of the towns and small states which the Ninevite monarchs conquered on the skirts of their empire. Either of these suppositions is more probable than the establishment in Egypt of a dynasty really Assyrian at a time of extraordinary weakness and depression.

When at the close of this long period of obscurity, Assyria once more comes into sight, we have at first only a dim and indistinct view of her through the mists which still enfold and shroud her form. We observe that her capital is still fixed at Kileh-Sherghat, where a new series of kings, bearing names

which, for the most part, resemble those of the earlier period, are found employing themselves in the repair and enlargement of public buildings, in connection with which they obtain honorable mention in an inscription of a later monarch. Asshur-dayan, the first monarch of this group, probably ascended the throne about B.C. 930, shortly after the separation of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. He appears to have reigned from about B.C. 930 to B.C. 911. He was succeeded in B.C. 911 by his son,[143] Vul-lush II., who held the throne from B.C. 911 to B.C. 889. Nothing is known at present of the history of these two monarchs. No historical inscriptions belonging to their reigns have been recovered; no exploits are recorded of them in the inscriptions of later sovereigns.[144] They stand up before us the mere "shadows of mighty names"—proofs of the uncertainty of posthumous fame, which is almost as often the award of chance as the deserved recompense of superior merit.

Of Tiglathi-Nin, the second monarch of the name, and the third king of the group which we are considering, one important historical notice, contained in an inscription of his son, has come down to us. In the annals of the great Asshur-izir-pal inscribed on the Nimrud monolith, that prince, while commemorating his warlike exploits, informs us that he set up his sculptures at the sources of the Tsupnat river alongside of sculptures previously set up by his ancestors Tiglath-Pileser and Tiglathi-Nin.[145] That Tiglathi-Nin should have made so distant an expedition is the more remarkable from the brevity of his reign, which only lasted for six years. According to the Canon, he ascended the throne in the year B.C. 889; he was succeeded in B.C. 883 by his son Asshur-izir-pal.

With Asshur-izir-pal commences one of the most flourishing periods of the Empire. During the twenty-five years of his active and laborious reign, Assyria enlarged her bounds and increased her influence in almost every direction, while, at the same time, she advanced rapidly in wealth and in the arts; in the latter respect leaping suddenly to an eminence which (so far as we know) had not previously been reached by human genius. The size and magnificence of Asshur-izir-pal's buildings, the artistic excellence of their ornamentation, the pomp and splendor which they set before us as familiar to the king who raised them, the skill in various useful arts which they display or imply, have excited the admiration of Europe, which has seen with astonishment that many of its inventions

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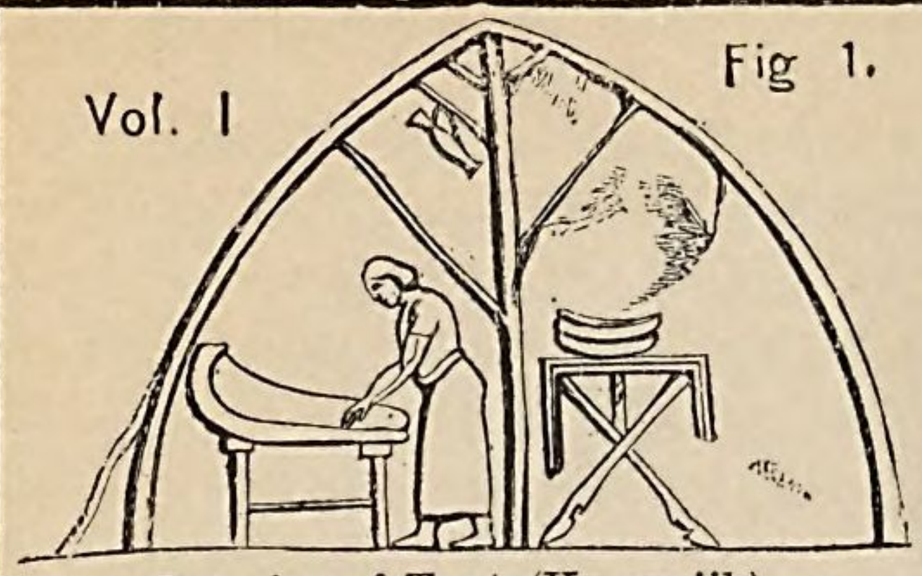
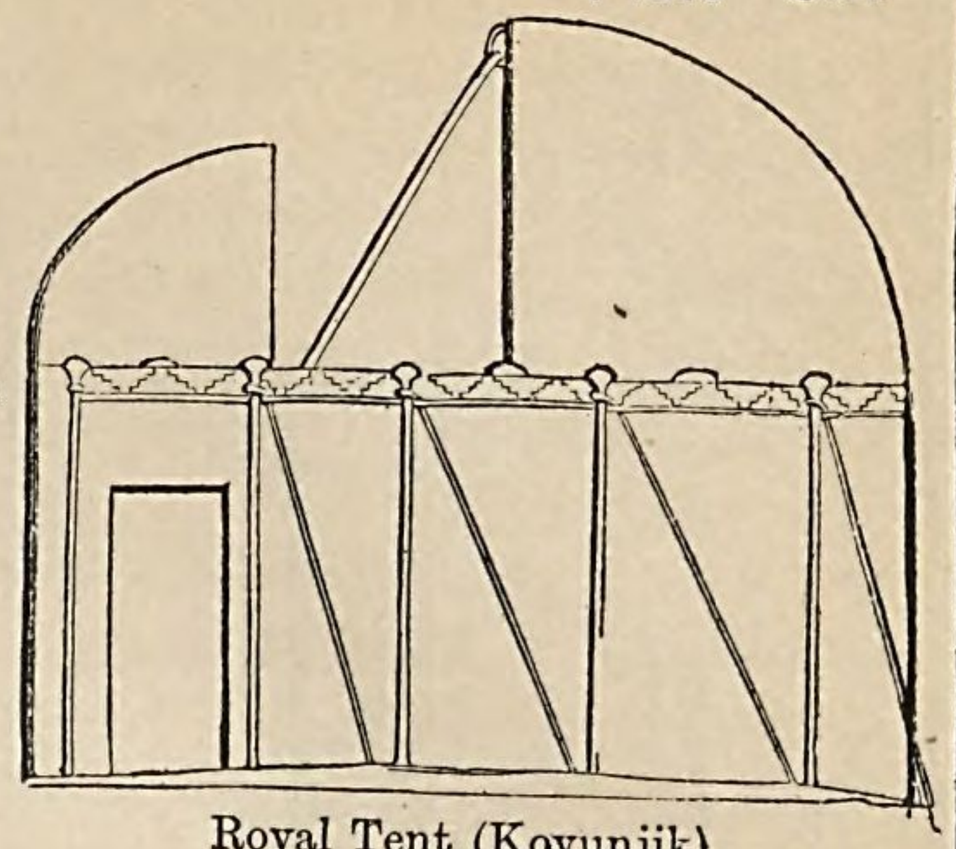
Plate CIX.

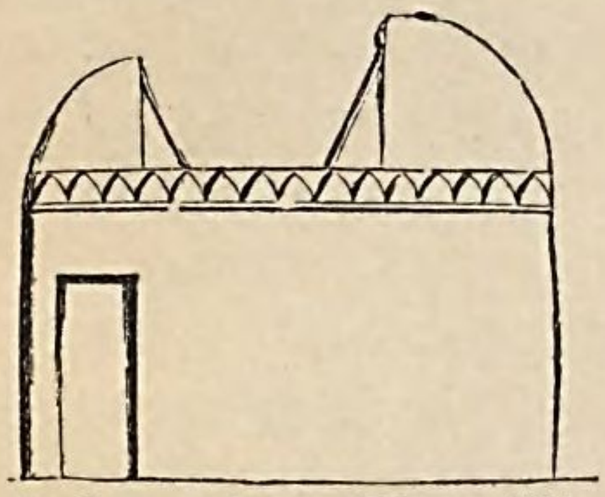
Fig 1.



Interior of Tent (Koyunjik).

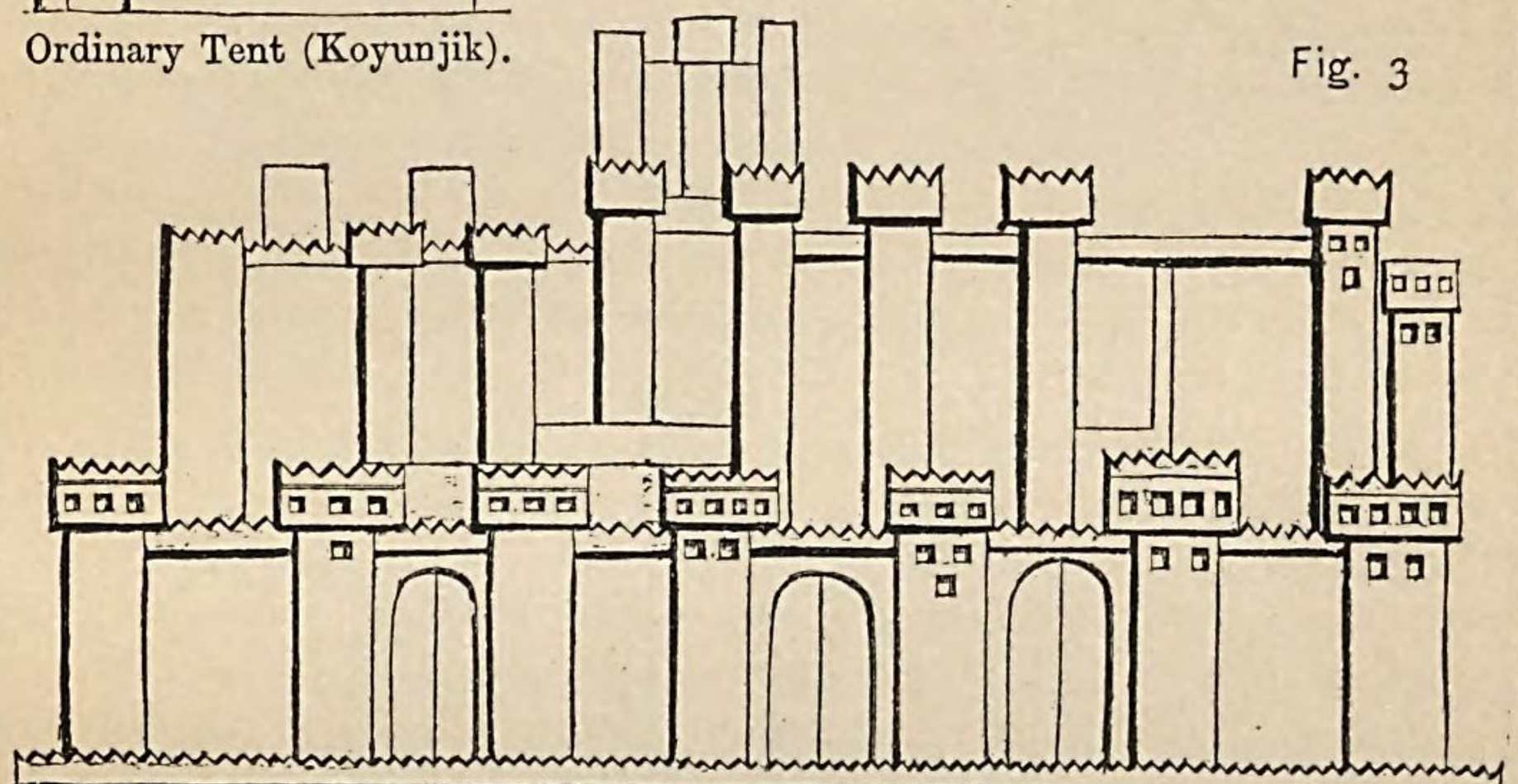


Royal Tent (Koyunjik).



Ordinary Tent (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3

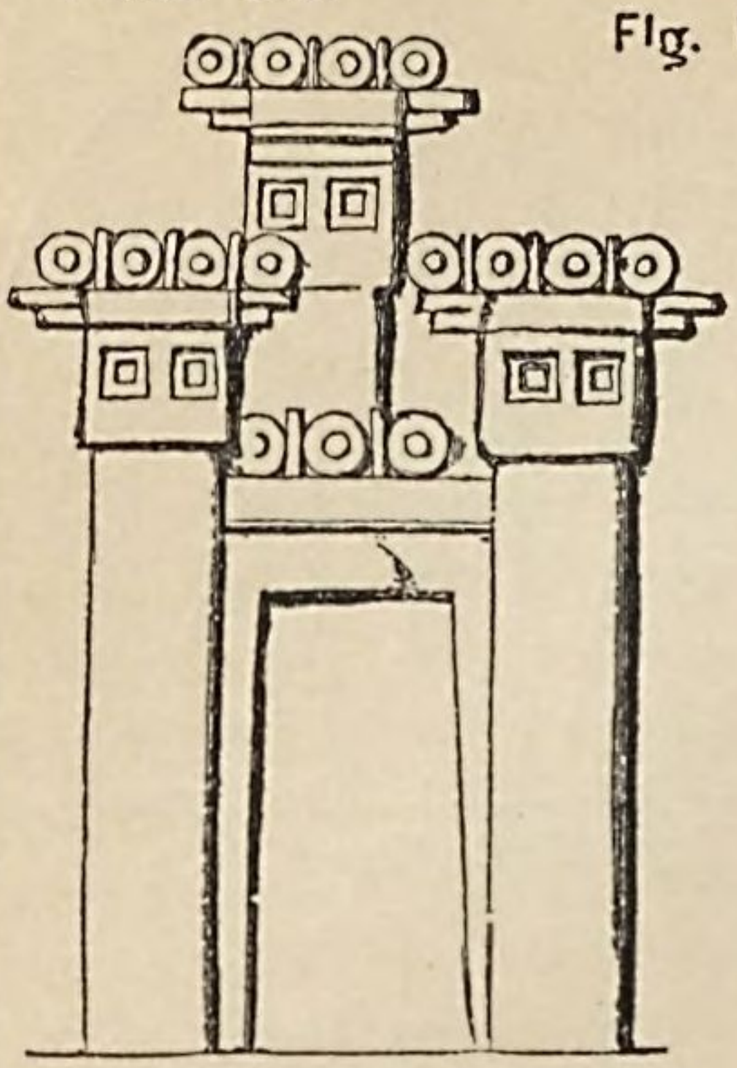


Fortified Place belonging to an enemy of the Assyrians (Nimrud).

Fig. 2

King walking in a mountainous country—chariot following supported by men (from an Obelisk in the British Museum).

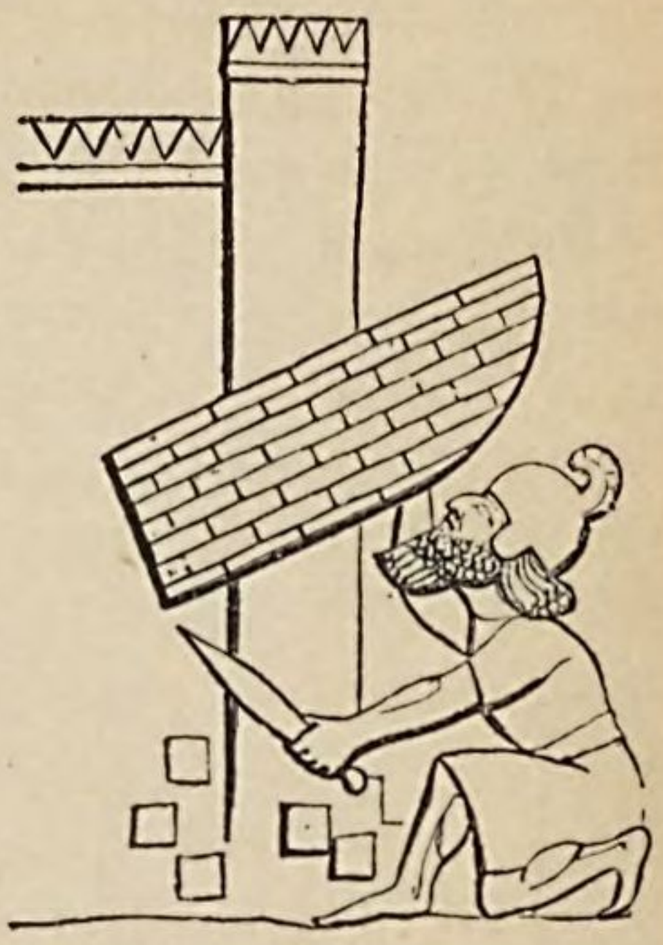
Fig. 1.



Gateway of Castle (Koyunjik).

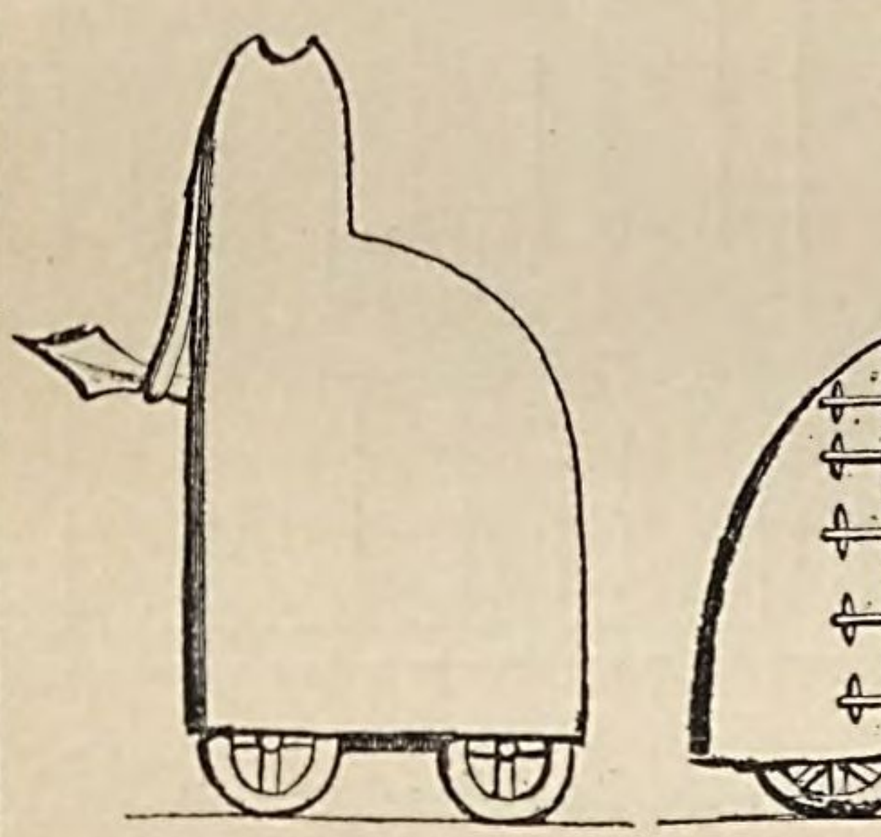
Fig. 2.

Crowbar.

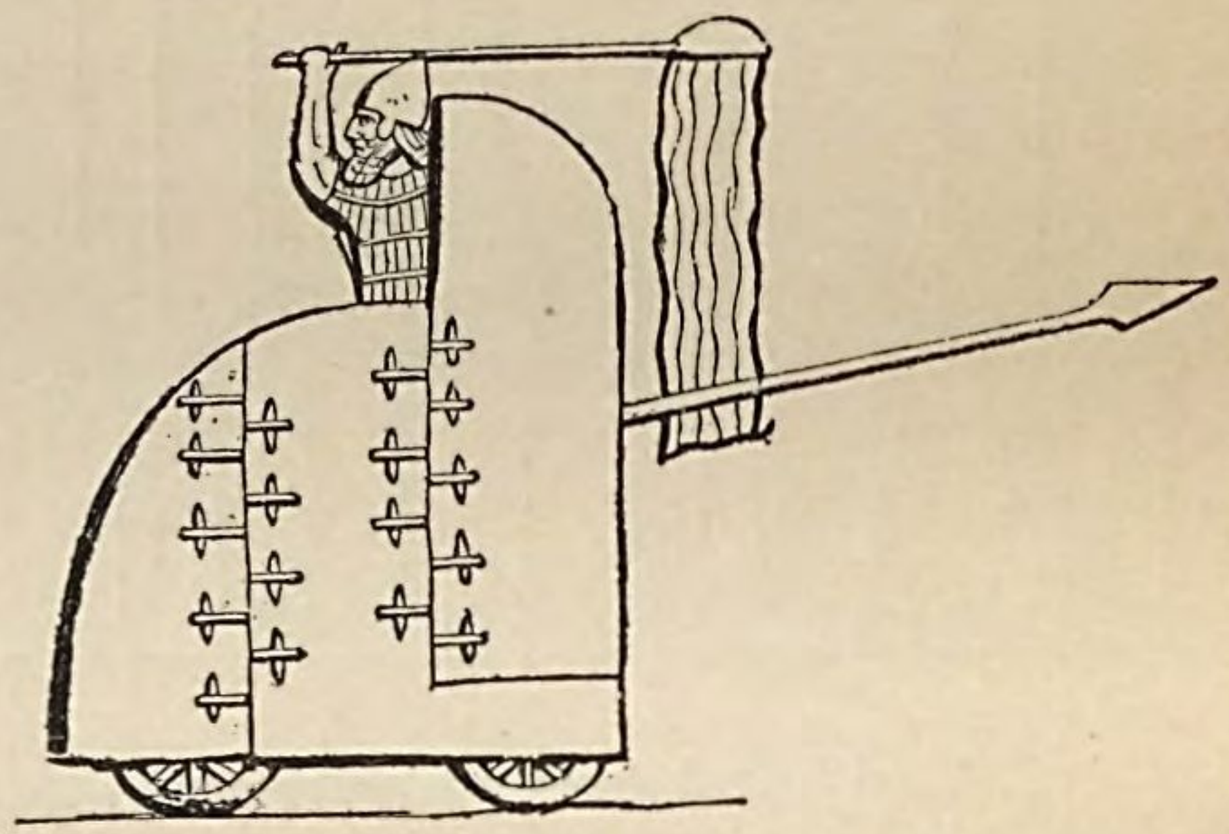


Mining the Wall (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



No. I.



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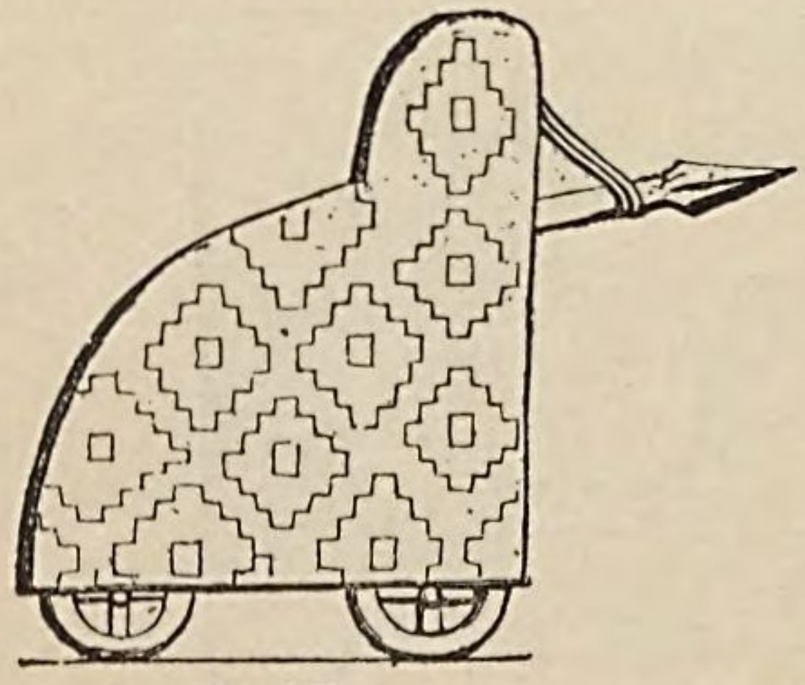

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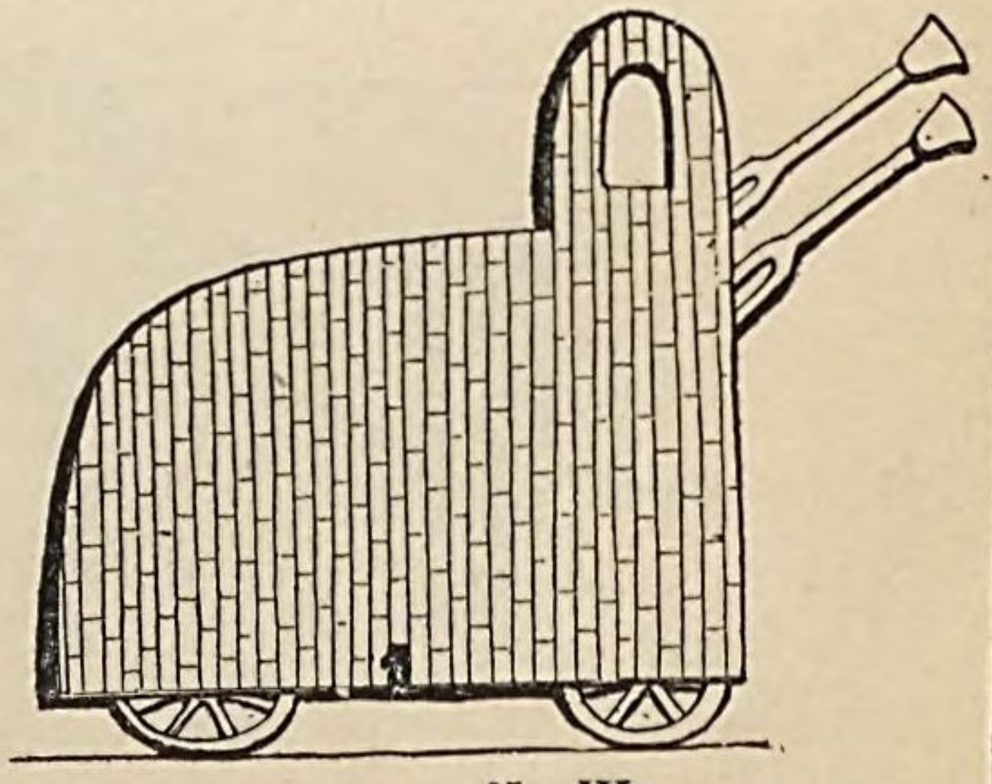

No. IV.

Battering-rams.

were anticipated, and that its luxury was almost equalled, by an Asiatic people nine centuries before the Christian era. It will be our pleasing task at this point of the history, after briefly sketching Asshur-izir-pal's wars, to give such an account of the great works which he constructed as will convey to the reader at least a general idea of the civilization and refinement of the Assyrians at the period to which we are now come.

Asshur-izir-pal's first campaign was in north-western Kurdistan and in the adjoining parts of Armenia. It does not present any very remarkable features, though he claims to have penetrated to a region "never approached by the kings his fathers." His enemies are the Numi or Elami [146] (*i.e.*, the mountaineers) and the Kirkhi, who seem to have left their name in the modern Kurkh.[147] Neither people appears to have been able to make much head against him; no battle was fought: the natives merely sought to defend their fortified places; but these were mostly taken and destroyed by the invader. One chief, who was made prisoner, received very barbarous treatment; he was carried to Arbela, and there flayed and hung up upon the town wall.

The second expedition of Asshur-izir-pal, which took place in the same year as his first, was directed against the regions to the west and north-west of Assyria. Traversing the country of Qummukh,[148] and receiving its tribute, as well as that of Serki [149] and Sidikan (Arban [150]), he advanced against the Laki, who seem to have been at this time the chief people of Central Mesopotamia, extending from the vicinity of Hatra as far as, or even beyond, the middle Euphrates. Here the people of a city called Assura had rebelled, murdered their governor, and called in a foreigner to rule over them. Asshur-izir-pal marched hastily against the rebels, who submitted at his approach, delivering up to his mercy both their city and their new king. The latter he bound with fetters and carried with him to Nineveh; the former he treated with almost unexampled severity.[151] Having first plundered the whole place, he gave up the houses of the chief men to his own officers, established an Assyrian governor in the palace, and then, selecting from the inhabitants the most guilty, he crucified some, burnt others, and punished the remainder by cutting off their ears or their noses. We can feel no surprise when we are informed that, while he was thus "arranging" these matters, the remaining kings of the Laki submissively sent in their tribute to the

conqueror, paying it with apparent cheerfulness, though it was "a heavy and much increased burden."

In his third expedition, which was in his second year, Asshur-izir-pal turned his arms to the north, and marched towards the Upper Tigris, where he forced the kings of the Naïri, who had, it appears, regained their independence, to give in their submission, and appointed them an annual tribute in gold, silver, horses, cattle, and other commodities. It was in the course of this expedition that, having ascended to the sources of the Tsupnat river, or Eastern Tigris,[152] Asshur-izir-pal set up his memorial side by side with monuments previously erected on the same site by Tiglath-Pileser and by the first or second Tiglathi-Nin.[153]

Asshur-izir-pal's fourth campaign was towards the south-east. He crossed the Lesser Zab, and, entering the Zagros range, carried fire and sword through its fruitful valleys—pushing his arms further than any of his ancestors, capturing some scores of towns, and accepting or extorting tribute from a dozen petty kings. The furthest extent of his march was probably the district of Zohab across the Shirwan branch of the Diyaleh, to which he gives the name of Edisa.[154] On his return he built, or rather rebuilt, a city, which a Babylonian king called Tsibir had destroyed at a remote period, and gave to his new foundation the name of Dur-Asshur, in grateful acknowledgment of the protection vouchsafed him by "the chief of the gods."

In his fifth campaign the warlike monarch once more directed his steps towards the north. Passing through the country of the Qummukh, and receiving their tribute, he proceeded to war in the eastern portion of the Mons Masius, where he took the cities of Matyat (now Mediyat) and Kapranisa. He then appears to have crossed the Tigris and warred on the flanks of Niphates, where his chief enemy was the people of Kasiyara. Returning thence, he entered the territory of the Naïri, where he declares that he overthrew and destroyed 250 strong walled cities, and put to death a considerable number of the princes.

The sixth campaign of Asshur-izir-pal was in a westerly direction. Starting from Calah or Nimrud, he crossed the Tigris, and, marching through the middle of Mesopotamia a little to the north of the Sinjar range, took tribute from a number of subject towns along the courses of the rivers Jerujer,[155] Khabour, and Euphrates, among which the most important were Sidikan (now Arban), Sirki, and Anat (now Anah). From Anat, apparently his frontier-town in this

direction, he invaded the country of the Tsukhi (Shuhites), captured their city Tsur,[156] and forced them, notwithstanding the assistance which they received from their neighbors the Babylonians,[157] to surrender themselves. He then entered Chaldæa, and chastised the Chaldæans, after which he returned in triumph to his own country.

His seventh campaign was also against the Shuhites. Released from the immediate pressure of his arms, they had rebelled, and had even ventured to invade the Assyrian Empire. The Laki, whose territory adjoined that of the Shuhites towards the north and east, assisted them. The combined army which the allies were able to bring into the field amounted probably to 20,000 men,[158] including a large number of warriors who fought in chariots. Asshur-izir-pal first attacked the cities on the left bank of the Euphrates, which had felt his might on the former occasion; and, having reduced these and punished their rebellion with great severity,[159] he crossed the river on rafts, and fought a battle with the main army of the enemy. In this engagement he was completely victorious, defeating the Tsukhi and their allies with great slaughter, and driving their routed forces headlong into the Euphrates, where great numbers perished by drowning. Six thousand five hundred of the rebels fell in the battle; and the entire country on the right bank of the river, which had escaped invasion in the former campaign, was ravaged furiously with fire and sword by the incensed monarch. The cities and castles were burnt, the males put to the sword, the women, children, and cattle carried off. Two kings of the Laki are mentioned, of whom one escaped, while the other was made prisoner, and conveyed to Assyria by the conqueror. A rate of tribute was then imposed on the land considerably in advance of that to which it had previously been liable. Besides this, to strengthen his hold on the country, the conqueror built two new cities, one on either bank of the Euphrates, naming the city on the left bank after himself, and that on the right bank after the god Asshur. Both of these places were no doubt left well garrisoned with Assyrian soldiers, on whom the conqueror could place entire reliance.

Asshur-izir-pal's eighth campaign was nearly in the same quarter; but its exact scene lay, apparently, somewhat higher up the Euphrates. Hazilu, the king of the Laki, who escaped capture in the preceding expedition, had owed his safety to the refuge given him by the people of Beth-Adina. Asshur-

izir-pal, who seems to have regarded their conduct on this occasion as an insult to himself, and was resolved to punish their presumption, made his eighth expedition solely against this bold but weak people. Unable to meet his forces in the field, they shut themselves up in their chief city, Kabrabi (?), which was immediately besieged, and soon taken and burnt by the Assyrians. The country of Beth-Adina, which lay on the left or east bank of the Euphrates, in the vicinity of the modern Balis, was overrun and added to the empire.[160] Two thousand five hundred prisoners were carried off and settled at Calah.

The most interesting of Asshur-izir-pal's campaigns is the ninth, which was against Syria. Marching across Upper Mesopotamia, and receiving various tributes upon his way, the Assyrian monarch passed the Euphrates on rafts, and, entering the city of Carchemish, received the submission of Sangara, the Hittite prince, who ruled in that town, and of various other chiefs, "who came reverently and kissed his sceptre." He then "gave command to advance towards Lebanon." Entering the territory of the Patena,[161] who adjoined upon the northern Hittites, and held the country about Antioch and Aleppo, he occupied the capital, Kinalua, which was between the Abri (or Afrin) and the Orontes; alarmed the rebel king, Lubarna, so that he submitted, and consented to pay a tribute; and then, crossing the Orontes and destroying certain cities of the Patena, passed along the northern flank of Lebanon, and reached the Mediterranean. Here he erected altars and offered sacrifices to the gods, after which he received the submission of the principal Phœnician states, among which Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, and Aradus may be distinctly recognized. He then proceeded inland, and visited the mountain range of Amanus, where he cut timber, set up a sculptured memorial, and offered sacrifice. After this he returned to Assyria, carrying with him, besides other plunder, a quantity of wooden beams, probably cedar, which he carefully conveyed to Nineveh, to be used in his public buildings.

The tenth campaign of Asshur-izir-pal, and the last which is recorded, was in the region of the Upper Tigris. The geographical details here are difficult to follow. We can only say that, as usual, the Assyrian monarch claims to have overpowered all resistance, to have defeated armies, burnt cities, and carried off vast numbers of prisoners. The "royal city" of the monarch chiefly attacked was Amidi, now Diarbekr,

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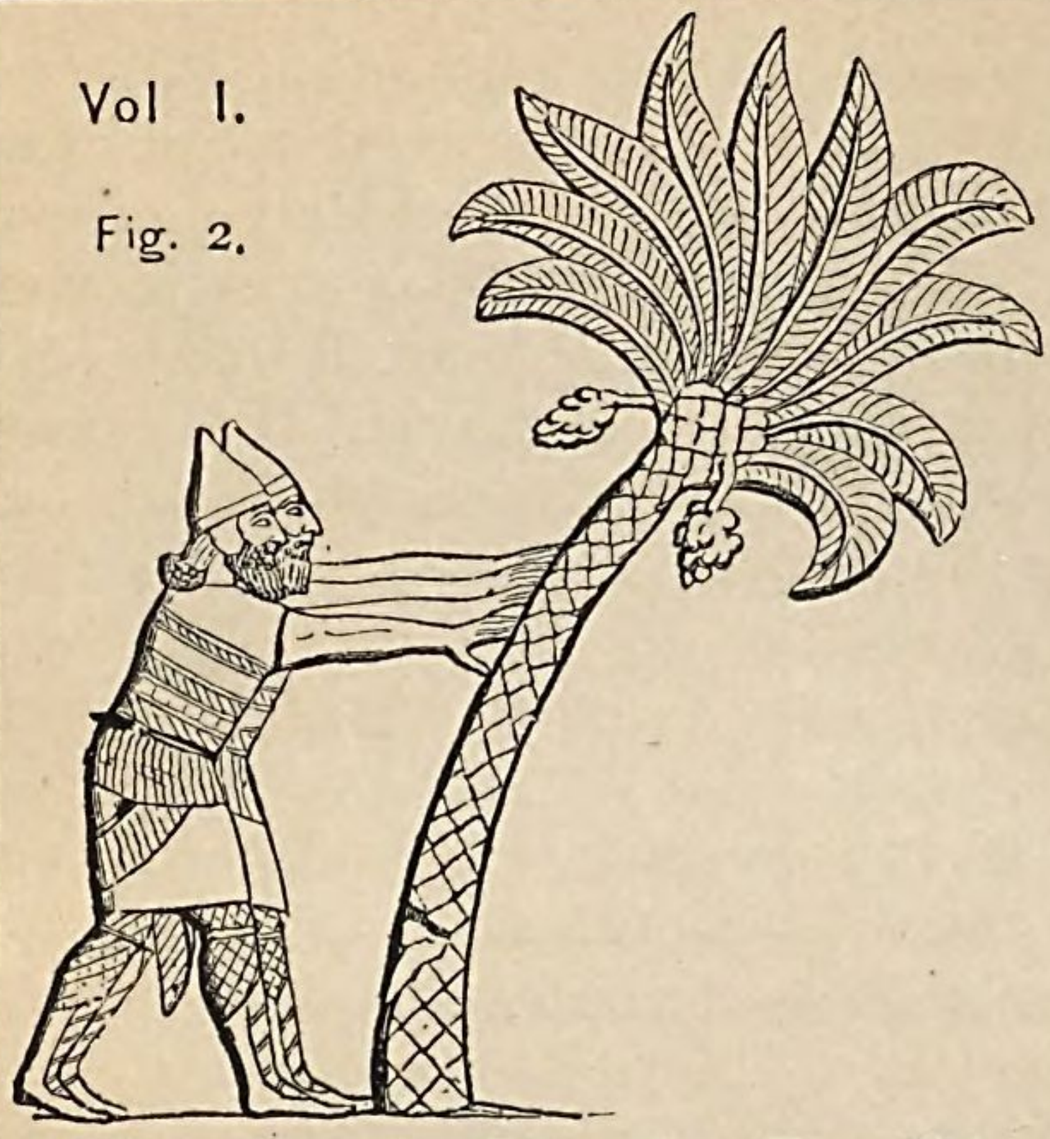
Plate CXI.

Fig. 2.



Soldiers destroying Date-palms (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.

Scribes taking account of the spoil (Khorsabad).

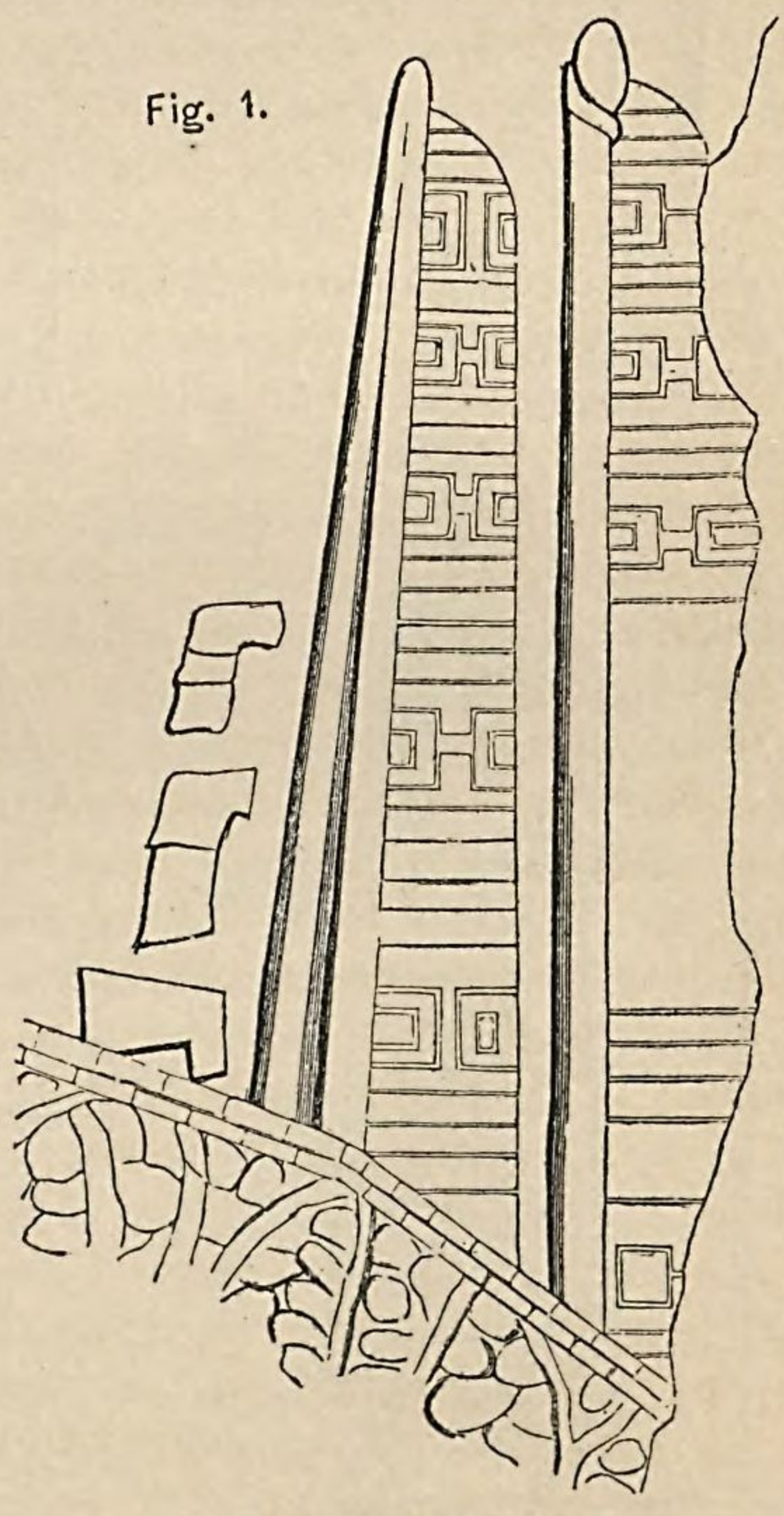
Fig. 4.

Soldier carrying off Spoil from a Temple (Khorsabad).

Fig 5.

Mace-bearer, with attendant, executing a prisoner (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



Assyrian *Balistæ* (Nimrud).

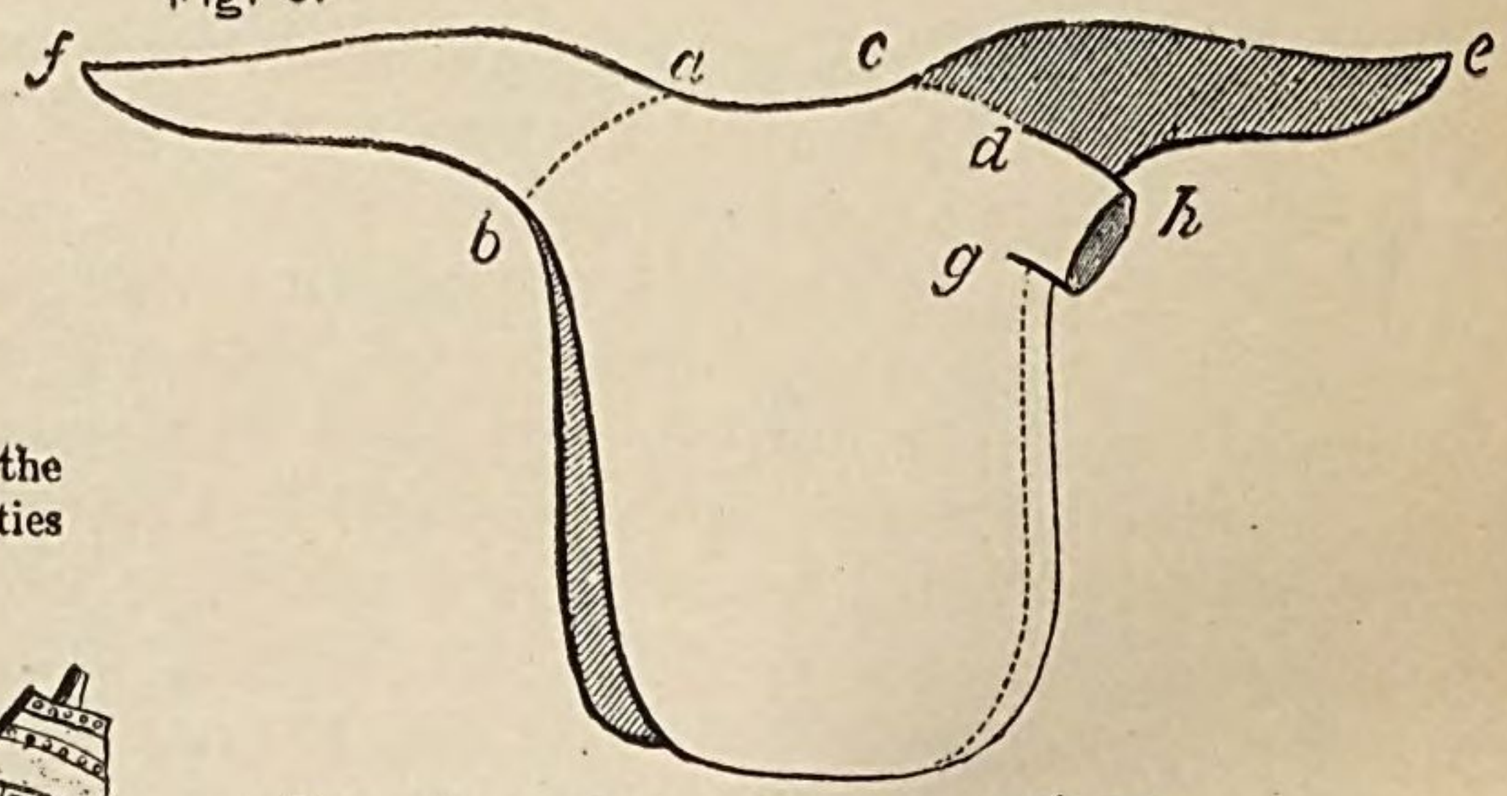
Fig. 1.

Implement used in the destruction of cities (Khorsabad).

Fig 2.

Female Captives, with Children (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Chasuble, or Outer Garment of the King.

Fig. 4.

King in his robes.

Fig. 5.

Swordsman Decapitating a Prisoner (Koyunjik).

which sufficiently marks the main locality of the expedition.[162]

While engaged in these important wars, which were all included within his first six years, Asshur-izir-pal, like his great predecessor, Tiglath-Pileser, occasionally so far unbent as to indulge in the recreation of hunting. He interrupts the account of his military achievements to record, for the benefit of posterity, that on one occasion he slew fifty large wild bulls on the left bank of the Euphrates, and captured eight of the same animals; while, on another, he killed twenty ostriches (?), and took captive the same number. We may conclude, from the example of Tiglath-Pileser,[163] and from other inscriptions of Asshur-izir-pal himself, that the captured animals were conveyed to Assyria either as curiosities, or, more probably, as objects of chase. Asshur-izir-pal's sculptures show that the pursuit of the wild bull was one of his favorite occupations;[164] and as the animals were scarce in Assyria, he may have found it expedient to import them.

Asshur-izir-pal appears, however, to have possessed a menagerie park in the neighborhood of Nineveh, in which were maintained a variety of strange and curious animals. Animals called *pagúts* or *pagáts*—perhaps elephants—were received as tribute from the Phœnicians during his reign, on at least one occasion, and placed in this enclosure, where (he tells us) they throve and bred. So well was his taste for such curiosities known, that even neighboring sovereigns sought to gratify it; and the king of Egypt, a Pharaoh probably of the twenty-second dynasty, sent him a present of strange animals when he was in Southern Syria, as a compliment likely to be appreciated. His love of the chase, which he no doubt indulged to some extent at home, found in Syria, and in the country on the Upper Tigris, its amplest and most varied exercise. In an obelisk inscription, designed especially to commemorate a great hunting expedition into these regions, he tells us that, besides antelopes of all sorts, which he took and sent to Asshur, he captured and destroyed the following animals:—lions, wild sheep, red deer, fallow-deer, wild goats or ibexes, leopards large and small, bears, wolves, jackals, wild boars, ostriches, foxes, hyænas, wild asses, and a few kinds which have not been identified.[165] From another inscription we learn that, in the course of another expedition, which seems to have been in the Mesopotamian desert, he destroyed 360 large lions, 257 large wild cattle, and thirty buffaloes,

while he took and sent to Calah fifteen full-grown lions, fifty young lions, some leopards, several pairs of wild buffaloes and wild cattle, together with ostriches, wolves, red deer, bears, cheetas, and hyænas.[166] Thus in his peaceful hours he was still actively employed, and in the chase of many dangerous beasts was able to exercise the same qualities of courage, coolness, and skill in the use of weapons which procured him in his wars such frequent and such great successes.

Thus distinguished, both as a hunter and as a warrior, Asshur-izir-pal, nevertheless, excelled his predecessors most remarkably in the grandeur of his public buildings and the free use which he made of the mimetic and other arts in their ornamentation. The constructions of the earlier kings at Asshur (or Kileh-Sherghat), whatever merit they may have had, were beyond a doubt far inferior to those which, from the time of Asshur-izir-pal, were raised in rapid succession at Calah, Nineveh, and Beth-Sargina by that monarch and his successors upon the throne. The mounds of Kileh-Sherghat have yielded no bas-reliefs, nor do they show any traces of buildings on the scale of those which, at Nimrud, Koyunjik, and Khorsabad, provoke the admiration of the traveller. The great palace of Asshur-izir-pal was at Calah, which he first raised from a provincial town to be the metropolis of the empire. [Pl. CXLV., Fig. 1.] It was a building 360 feet long by 300 broad, consisting of seven or eight large halls, and a far greater number of small chambers, grouped round a central court 130 feet long and nearly 100 wide. The longest of the halls, which faced towards the north, and was the first room entered by one who approached from the town, was in length 154 and in breadth 33 feet. The others varied between a size little short of this, and a length of 65 with a breadth of less than 20 feet. The chambers were generally square, or nearly so, and in their greatest dimensions rarely exceeded ten yards. The whole palace was raised upon a lofty platform, made of sun-burnt brick, but externally cased on every side with hewn stone. There were two grand façades, one facing the north, on which side there was an ascent to the platform from the town; and the other facing the Tigris,[167] which anciently flowed at the foot of the platform towards the west. On the northern front two or three gateways,[168] flanked with andro-sphinxes,[169] gave direct access to the principal hall or audience chamber, a noble apartment, but too narrow for its length, lined throughout with sculptured slabs representing the vari-

ous actions of the king, and containing at the upper or eastern end a raised stone platform cut into steps, which, it is probable, was intended to support at a proper elevation the carved throne of the monarch.[170] A grand portal in the southern wall of the chamber, guarded on either side by winged human-headed bulls in yellow limestone, conducted into a second hall considerably smaller than the first, and having less variety of ornament,[171] which communicated with the central court by a handsome gateway towards the south; and, towards the east, was connected with a third hall, one of the most remarkable in the palace. This chamber was a better-proportioned room than most, being about ninety feet long by twenty-six wide; it ran along the eastern side of the great court, with which it communicated by two gateways, and, internally, it was adorned with sculptures of a more finished and elaborate character than any other room in the building.[172] Behind this eastern hall was another opening into it, of somewhat greater length, but only twenty feet wide; and this led to five small chambers, which here bounded the palace. South of the Great Court were, again, two halls communicating with each other; but they were of inferior size to those on the north and west, and were far less richly ornamented. It is conjectured that there were also two or three halls on the west side of the court between it and the river;[173] but of this there was no very clear evidence, and it may be doubted whether the court towards the west was not, at least partially, open to the river. Almost every hall had one or two small chambers attached to it, which were most usually at the ends of the halls, and connected with them by large doorways.

Such was the general plan of the palace of Asshur-izir-pal. Its great halls, so narrow for their length, were probably roofed with beams stretching across them from side to side, and lighted by small *louvres* in their roofs after the manner already described elsewhere.[174] Its square chambers may have been domed,[175] and perhaps were not lighted at all, or only by lamps and torches. They were generally without ornamentation.[176] The grand halls, on the contrary, and some of the narrower chambers, were decorated on every side, first with sculptures to the height of nine or ten feet, and then with enamelled bricks, or patterns painted in fresco, to the height, probably, of seven or eight feet more. The entire height of the rooms was thus from sixteen to seventeen or eighteen feet.

The character of Asshur-izir-pal's sculptures has been sufficiently described in an earlier chapter.[177] They have great spirit, boldness, and force; occasionally they show real merit in the design; but they are clumsy in the drawing and somewhat coarse in the execution. What chiefly surprises us in regard to them is the suddenness with which the art they manifest appears to have sprung up, without going through the usual stages of rudeness and imperfection. Setting aside one mutilated statue, of very poor execution,[178] and a single rock tablet,[179] we have no specimens remaining of Assyrian mimetic art more ancient than this monarch.[180] That art almost seems to start in Assyria, like Minerva from the head of Jove, full-grown. Asshur-izir-pal had undoubtedly some constructions of former monarchs to copy from, both in his palatial and in his sacred edifices; the old palaces and temples at Kileh-Sherghat must have had a certain grandeur; and in his architecture this monarch may have merely amplified and improved upon the models left him by his predecessors; but his ornamentation, so far as appears, was his own. The mounds of Kileh-Sherghat have yielded bricks in abundance, but not a single fragment of a sculptured slab.[181] We cannot prove that ornamental bas-reliefs did not exist before the time of Asshur-izir-pal; indeed the rock tablets which earlier monarchs set up were sculptures of this character; but to Asshur-izir-pal seems at any rate to belong the merit of having first adopted bas-reliefs on an extensive scale as an architectural ornament, and of having employed them so as to represent by their means all the public life of the monarch.

The other arts employed by this king in the adornment of his buildings were those of enamelling bricks and painting in fresco upon a plaster. Both involve considerable skill in the preparation of colors, and the former especially implies much dexterity in the management of several very delicate processes.[182]

The sculptures of Asshur-izir-pal, besides proving directly the high condition of mimetic art in Assyria at this time, furnish indirect evidence of the wonderful progress which had been made in various important manufactures. The metallurgy which produced the swords, sword-sheaths, daggers, earrings, necklaces, armlets, and bracelets of this period,[183] must have been of a very advanced description. The coach-building which constructed the chariots, the saddlery which made the harness of the horses, the embroidery which orna-

mented the robes,[184] must, similarly, have been of a superior character. The evidence of the sculptures alone is quite sufficient to show that, in the time of Asshur-izir-pal, the Assyrians were already a great and luxurious people, that most of the useful arts not only existed among them, but were cultivated to a high pitch, and that in dress, furniture, jewelry, etc., they were not very much behind the moderns.

Besides the magnificent palace which he built at Calah, Asshur-izir-pal is known also to have erected a certain number of temples. The most important of these have been already described.[185] They stood at the north-western corner of the Nimrud platform, and consisted of two edifices, one exactly at the angle, comprising the higher tower or *ziggurat*,[186] which stood out as a sort of corner buttress from the great mound, and a shrine with chambers at the tower's base; the other, a little further to the east, consisting of a shrine and chambers without a tower. These temples were richly ornamented both within and without; and in front of the larger one was an erection which seems to show that the Assyrian monarchs, either during their lifetime, or at any rate after their decease, received divine honors from their subjects. On a plain square pedestal about two feet in height was raised a solid block of limestone cut into the shape of an arched frame, and within this frame was carved the monarch in his sacerdotal dress, and with the sacred collar round his neck, while the five principal divine emblems were represented above his head.[187] In front of this figure, marking (apparently) the object of its erection,[188] was a triangular altar with a circular top, very much resembling the tripod of the Greeks.[189] Here we may presume were laid the offerings with which the credulous and the servile propitiated the new god,—many a gift, not improbably, being intercepted on its way to the deity of the temple. [Pl. CXLV., Fig. 2.]

Another temple built by this monarch was one dedicated to Beltis at Nineveh. It was perhaps for the ornamentation of this edifice that he cut "great trees" in Amanus and elsewhere during his Syrian expedition, and had them conveyed across Mesopotamia to Assyria. It is expressly stated that these beams were carried, not to Calah, where Asshur-izir-pal usually resided, but to Nineveh.

A remarkable work, probably erected by this monarch, and set up as a memorial of his reign at the same city, is an obelisk in white stone, now in the British Museum. On this

monument, which was covered on all its four sides with sculptures and inscriptions, now nearly obliterated, Asshur-izir-pal commemorated his wars and hunting exploits in various countries. The obelisk is a monolith, about twelve or thirteen feet high, and two feet broad at the base.[190] It tapers slightly, and, like the Black Obelisk erected by this monarch's son,[191] is crowned at the summit by three steps or gradines. This thoroughly Assyrian ornamentation[192] seems to show that the idea of the obelisk was not derived from Egypt, where the pyramidical apex was universally used, being regarded as essential to this class of ornaments.[193] If we must seek a foreign origin for the invention, we may perhaps find it in the pillars (*στῆλαι* or *κίονες*) which the Phœnicians employed, as ornaments or memorials, from a remote antiquity,[194] objects possibly seen by the monarch who took tribute from Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Byblus, and most of the maritime Syrian cities.[195]

Another most important work of this great monarch was the tunnel and canal already described at length,[196] by which at a vast expenditure of money and labor he brought the water of the Greater Zab to Calah. Asshur-izir-pal mentions this great work as his in his annals; and he was likewise commemorated as its author in the tablet set up in the tunnel by Sennacherib, when, two centuries later, he repaired it and brought it once more into use.

It is evident that Asshur-izir-pal, though he adorned and beautified both the old capital, Asshur, and the now rising city of Nineveh, regarded the town of Calah with more favor than any other, making it the ordinary residence of his court, and bestowing on it his chief care and attention. It would seem that the Assyrian dominion had by this time spread so far to the north that the situation of Asshur (or Kileh-Sherghat) was no longer sufficiently central for the capital. The seat of government was consequently moved forty miles further up the river. At the same time it was transferred from the west bank to the east, and placed in the fertile region of Adiabêné,[197] near the junction of the Greater Zab with the Tigris. Here, in a strong and healthy position, on a low spur from the Jebel Maklub, protected on either side by a deep river, the new capital grew to greatness. Palace after palace rose on its lofty platform, rich with carved woodwork, gilding, painting, sculpture, and enamel, each aiming to outshine its predecessors; while stone lions, sphinxes, obelisks, shrines,

and temple-towers embellished the scene, breaking its monotonous sameness by variety. The lofty *ziggurat* attached to the temple of Nin or Hercules, dominating over the whole, gave unity to the vast mass of palatial and sacred edifices. The Tigris, skirting the entire western base of the mound, glassed the whole in its waves, and, doubling the apparent height, rendered less observable the chief weakness of the architecture. When the setting sun lighted up the view with the gorgeous hues seen only under an eastern sky, Calah must have seemed to the traveller who beheld it for the first time like a vision from fairy-land.

After reigning gloriously for twenty-five years, from B.C. 883 to B.C. 858, this great prince—"the conqueror" (as he styles himself), "from the upper passage of the Tigris to Lebanon and the Great Sea, who has reduced under his authority all countries from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same"[198]—died, probably at no very advanced age,[199] and left his throne to his son, who bore the name of Shalmaneser.

Shalmaneser II., the son of Asshur-izir-pal, who may probably have been trained to arms under his father, seems to have inherited to the full his military spirit, and to have warred with at least as much success against his neighbors. His reign was extended to the unusual length of thirty-five years,[200] during which time he conducted in person no fewer than twenty-three military expeditions, besides entrusting three or four others to a favorite general. It would be a wearisome task to follow out in detail these numerous and generally uninteresting campaigns, where invasion, battle, flight, siege, submission, and triumphant return succeeded one another with monotonous uniformity. The style of the court historians of Assyria does not improve as time goes on. Nothing can well be more dry and commonplace than the historical literature of this period,[201] which recalls the early efforts of the Greeks in this department,[202] and exhibits a decided inferiority to the compositions of Stowe and Holinshed. The historiographer of Tiglath-Pileser I.,[203] between two and three centuries earlier, is much superior, as a writer, to those of the period to which we are come, who eschew all graces of style, contenting themselves with the curtest and dryest of phrases, and with sentences modelled on a single unvarying type.

Instead, therefore, of following in the direct track of the annalist whom Shalmaneser employed to record his exploits, and proceeding to analyze his account of the twenty-seven cam-

paigns belonging to this reign, I shall simply present the reader with the general result in a few words, and then draw his special attention to a few of the expeditions which are of more than common importance.

It appears, then, that Shalmaneser, during the first twenty-seven years of his reign, led in person twenty-three expeditions into the territories of his neighbors, attacking in the course of these inroads, besides petty tribes, the following nations and countries:—Babylonia, Chaldæa, Media, the Zimri, Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia, the country about the head-streams of the Tigris, the Hittites, the Patena, the Tibareni, the Hamathites, and the Syrians of Damascus. He took tribute during the same time from the Phœnician cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus, from the Tsukhi or Shuhites, from the people of Muzr, from the Bartsu or Partsu, who are almost certainly the Persians, and from the Israelites. He thus traversed in person the entire country between the Persian Gulf on the south and Mount Niphates upon the north, and between the Zagros range (or perhaps the Persian desert) eastward, and, westward, the shores of the Mediterranean. Over the whole of this region he made his power felt, and even beyond it the nations feared him and gladly placed themselves under his protection. During the later years of his reign, when he was becoming less fit for warlike toils, he seems in general to have deputed the command of his armies to a subject in whom he had great confidence, a noble named Dayan-Asshur. This chief, who held an important office as early as Shalmaneser's fifth year,[204] was in his twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, thirtieth, and thirty-first employed as commander-in-chief, and sent out, at the head of the main army of Assyria, to conduct campaigns against the Armenians, against the revolted Patena, and against the inhabitants of the modern Kurdistan. It is uncertain whether the king himself took any part in the campaigns of these years. In the native record the first and third persons are continually interchanged,[205] some of the actions related being ascribed to the monarch and others to the general; but on the whole the impression left by the narrative is that the king, in the spirit of a well-known legal maxim,[206] assumes as his own the acts which he has accomplished through his representative. In his twenty-ninth year, however, Shalmaneser seems to have led an expedition in person into Khirki (the Niphates country), where he "overturned, beat to pieces, and consumed with fire the towns, swept the country with his

troops, and impressed on the inhabitants the fear of his presence."

The campaigns of Shalmaneser which have the greatest interest are those of his sixth, eighth, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth, eighteenth, and twenty-first years. Two of these were directed against Babylonia, three against Ben-hadad of Damascus, and two against Khazail (Hazael) of Damascus.

In his eighth year Shalmaneser took advantage of a civil war in Babylonia between King Merodach-sum-adin and a younger brother, Merodach-bel-usati (?), whose power was about evenly balanced, to interfere in the affairs of that country, and under pretence of helping the legitimate monarch, to make himself master of several towns. In the following year he was still more fortunate. Having engaged, defeated, and slain the pretender to the Babylonian crown, he marched on to Babylon itself, where he was probably welcomed as a deliverer, and from thence proceeded into Chaldæa, or the tract upon the coast, which was at this time independent of Babylon, and forced its kings to become his tributaries. "The power of his army," he tells us, "struck terror as far as the sea."

The wars of Shalmaneser in Southern Syria commenced as early as his ninth year. He had succeeded to a dominion in Northern Syria which extended over the Patena, and probably over most of the northern Hittites;[207] and this made his territories conterminous with those of the Phœnicians, the Hamathites, the southern Hittites, and perhaps the Syrians of Damascus.[208] At any rate the last named people felt themselves threatened by the growing power on or near their borders, and, convinced that they would soon be attacked, prepared for resistance by entering into a close league with their neighbors. The king of Damascus, who was the great Ben-hadad, Tsakhulena, king of Hamath, Ahab, king of Israel, the kings of the southern Hittites, those of the Phœnician cities on the coast, and others, formed an alliance, and, uniting their forces,[209] went out boldly to meet Shalmaneser, offering him battle. Despite, however, of this confidence, or perhaps in consequence of it, the allies suffered a defeat. Twenty thousand men fell in the battle. Many chariots and much of the material of war were captured by the Assyrians. But still no conquest was effected. Shalmaneser does not assert that he either received submission or imposed a tribute; and the fact that he did not venture to renew the war for five years seems

to show that the resistance which he had encountered made him hesitate about continuing the struggle.

Five years, however, having elapsed, and the power of Assyria being increased by her successes in Lower Mesopotamia,[210] Shalmaneser, in the eleventh year of his reign, advanced a second time against Hamath and the southern Hittites. Entering their territories unexpectedly, he was at first unopposed, and succeeded in taking a large number of their towns. But the troops of Ben-hadad soon appeared in the field. Phœnicia, apparently, stood aloof, and Hamath was occupied with her own difficulties; but Ben-hadad, having joined the Hittites, again gave Shalmaneser battle; and though that monarch, as usual, claims the victory, it is evident that he gained no important advantage by his success. He had once more to return to his own land without having extended his sway, and this time (as it would seem) without even any trophies of conquest.

Three years later, he made another desperate effort. Collecting his people "in multitudes that were not to be counted," he crossed the Euphrates with above a hundred thousand men.[211] Marching southwards, he soon encountered a large army of the allies, Damascenes, Hamathites, Hittites, and perhaps Phœnicians,[212] the first-named still commanded by the undaunted Ben-hadad. This time the success of the Assyrians is beyond dispute. Not only were the allies put to flight, not only did they lose most of their chariots and implements of war, but they appear to have lost hope, and, formally or tacitly, to have forthwith dissolved their confederacy. The Hittites and Hamathites probably submitted to the conqueror; the Phœnicians withdrew to their own towns, and Damascus was left without allies, to defend herself as she best might, when the tide of conquest should once more flow in this direction.

In the fourth year the flow of the tide came. Shalmaneser, once more advancing southward, found the Syrians of Damascus strongly posted in the fastnesses of the Anti-Lebanon. Since his last invasion they had changed their ruler. The brave and experienced Ben-hadad had perished by the treachery of an ambitious subject,[213] and his assassin, the infamous Hazael, held the throne. Left to his own resources by the dissolution of the old league, this monarch had exerted himself to the utmost in order to repel the attack which he knew was impending. He had collected a very large army, including

above eleven hundred chariots, and, determined to leave nothing to chance, had carefully taken up a very strong position in the mountain range which separated his territory from the neighboring kingdom of Hamath, or valley of Cœle-Syria. Here he was attacked by Shalmaneser, and completely defeated, with the loss of 16,000 of his troops, 1121 of his chariots, a quantity of his war material, and his camp. This blow apparently prostrated him; and when, three years later, Shalmaneser invaded his territory, Hazael brought no army into the field, but let his towns, one after another, be taken and plundered by the Assyrian.[214]

It was probably upon this last occasion, when the spirit of Damascus was cowed, and the Phœnician cities, trembling at the thought of their own rashness in having assisted Hazael and Ben-hadad, hastened to make their submission and to resume the rank of Assyrian tributaries, that the sovereign of another Syrian country, taking warning from the fate of his neighbors, determined to anticipate the subjection which he could not avoid, and, making a virtue of necessity, to place himself under the Assyrian yoke. Jehu, "son of Omri," as he is termed in the Inscription—*i.e.*, successor and supposed descendant of the great Omri who built Samaria[215]—sent as tribute to Shalmaneser a quantity of gold and silver in bullion, together with a number of manufactured articles in the more precious of the two metals. In the sculptures which represent the Israelitish ambassadors presenting this tribute to the great king,[216] these articles appear carried in the hands, or on the shoulders, of the envoys, but they are in general too indistinctly traced for us to pronounce with any confidence upon their character. [Pl. CXLVI., Fig. 1.]

Shalmaneser had the same taste as his father for architecture and the other arts. He completed the *ziggurat* of the Great Temple of Nin at Calah, which his father had left unfinished, and not content with the palace of that monarch, built for himself a new and (probably) more magnificent residence on the same lofty platform, at the distance of about 150 yards.[217] This edifice was found by Mr. Layard in so ruined a condition, through the violence which it had suffered, apparently at the hands of Esarhaddon,[218] that it was impossible either to trace its plan or to form a clear notion of its ornamentation.[219] Two gigantic winged bulls, partly destroyed, served to show that the grand portals of the chambers were similar in character and design to those of the earlier monarch, while

from a number of sculptured fragments it was sufficiently plain that the walls had been adorned with bas-reliefs of the style used in Asshur-izir-pal's edifice. The only difference observable was in the size and subjects of the sculptures, which seemed to have been on a grander scale and more generally mythological than those of the North-West palace.[220]

The monument of Shalmaneser which has attracted most attention in this country is an obelisk in black marble, similar in shape and general arrangement to that of Asshur-izir-pal, already described, but of a handsomer and better material. This work of art was discovered in a prostrate position under the *débris* which covered up Shalmaneser's palace. It contained bas-reliefs in twenty compartments, five on each of its four sides; the space above, between, and below them being covered with cuneiform writing, sharply inscribed in a minute character. The whole was in most excellent preservation.[221] The bas-reliefs represent the monarch, accompanied by his vizier and other chief officers, receiving the tribute of five nations, whose envoys are ushered into the royal presence by officers of the court, and prostrate themselves at the Great King's feet ere they present their offerings. The gifts brought are, in part, objects carried in the hand—gold, silver, copper in bars and cubes, goblets, elephants' tusks, tissues, and the like—in part, animals such as horses, camels, monkeys and baboons of different kinds, stags, lions, wild bulls, antelopes, and—strangest of all—the rhinoceros and the elephant. One of the nations, as already mentioned,[222] is that of the Israelites. The others are, first, the people of Kirzan, a country bordering on Armenia,[223] who present gold, silver, copper, horses, and camels, and fill the four highest compartments[224] with a train of nine envoys; secondly, the Muzri, or people of Muzr, a country nearly in the same quarter,[225] who are represented in the four central compartments, with six envoys conducting various wild animals; thirdly, the Tsukhi, or Shuhites, from the Euphrates, to whom belong the four compartments below the Muzri, which are filled by a train of thirteen envoys, bringing two lions, a stag, and various precious articles, among which bars of metal, elephants' tusks, and shawls or tissues are conspicuous; and lastly, the Patena, from the Orontes, who fill three of the lowest compartments with a train of twelve envoys bearing gifts like those of the Israelites.

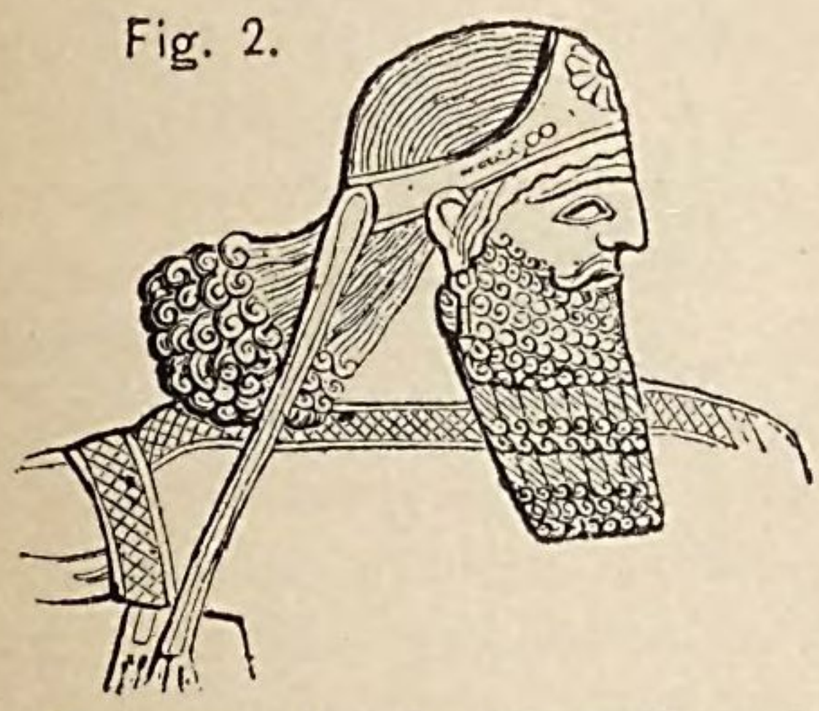
Besides this interesting monument, there are very few remains of art which can be ascribed to Shalmaneser's time

Fig. 1.

Tiara of the later period (Kovunjik).

Tiara of the earlier period (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



Fillet worn by the King (Nimrud).

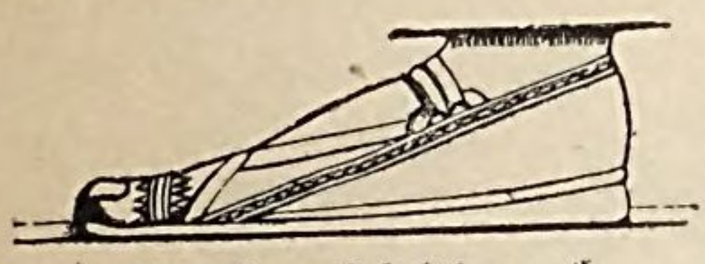
Fig. 3.

Royal sandal (time of Sargon).

Fig. 4

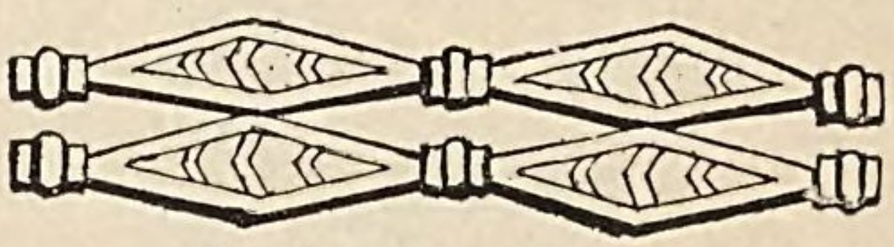
Royal Shoe (time of Sennacherib).

Fig. 5.



Royal sandal (time of Sardanapalus I.).

Fig. 6.

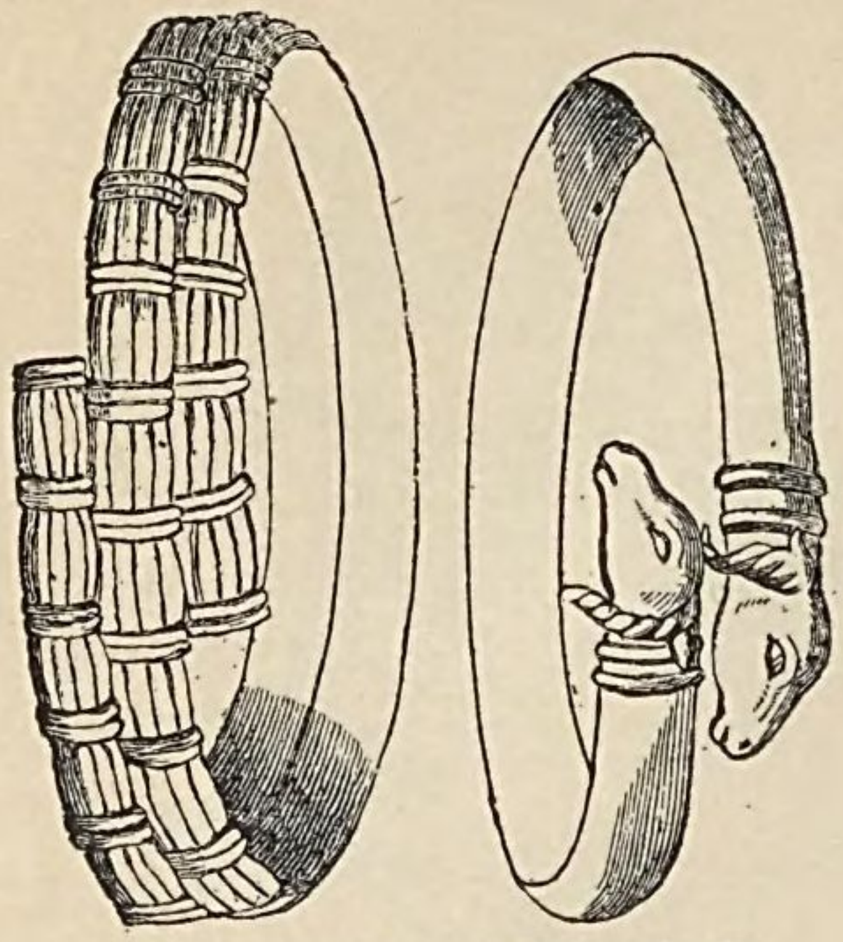


Royal necklace (Nimrud).

Fig. 7

Royal collar (Nimrud).

Fig 1.

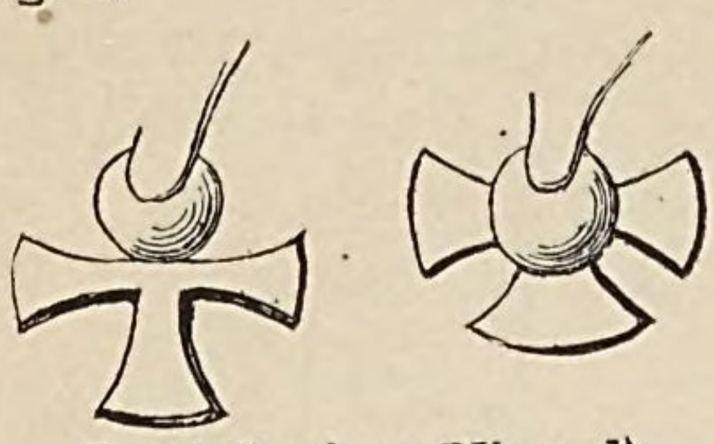


Royal-Armlets (Khorsabad).

Fig. 4

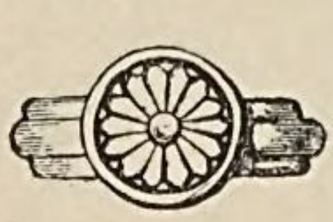
Early King in his War-costume
(Nimrud).

Fig. 2.

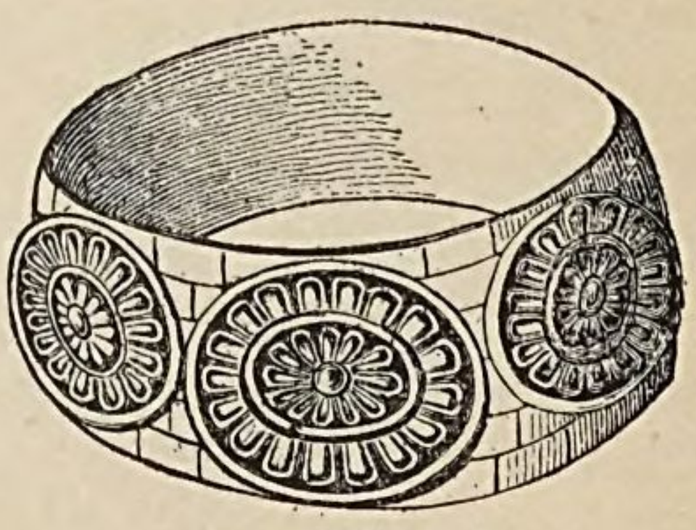


Royal Earrings (Nimrud)

Fig 3.



Royal Bracelets
(Khorsabad and Koyunjik).



Royal Bracelet
(Khorsabad).

with any confidence.[226] The sculptures found on the site of his palace belonged to a later monarch,[227] who restored and embellished it. His own bas-reliefs were torn from their places by Esarhaddon, and by him defaced and used as materials in the construction of a new palace. We are thus left almost without materials for judging of the progress made by art during Shalmaneser's reign. Architecture, it may be conjectured, was modified to a certain extent, precious woods being employed more frequently and more largely than before; a fact of which we seem to have an indication in the frequent expeditions made by Shalmaneser into Syria, for the single purpose of cutting timber in its forests.[228] Sculpture, to judge from the obelisk, made no advance. The same formality, the same heaviness of outline, the same rigid adherence to the profile in all representations both of man and beast, characterize the reliefs of both reigns equally, so far as we have any means of judging.

Shalmaneser seems to have held his court ordinarily at Calah, where he built his palace and set up his obelisk; but sometimes he would reside for a time at Nineveh or at Asshur.[229] He does not appear to have built any important edifice at either of these two cities, but at the latter he left a monument which possesses some interest. This is the stone statue, now in a mutilated condition, representing a king seated, which was found by Mr. Layard at Kileh-Sherghat, and of which some notice has already been taken.[230] Its proportions are better than those of the small statue of the monarch's father, standing in his sacrificial dress, which was found at Nimrud;[231] and it is superior to that work of art, in being of the size of life; but either its execution was originally very rude, or it must have suffered grievously by exposure, for it is now wholly rough and unpolished.

The later years of Shalmaneser appear to have been troubled by a dangerous rebellion.[232] The infirmities of age were probably creeping upon him. He had ceased to go out with his armies; and had handed over a portion of his authority to the favorite general who was entrusted with the command of his forces year after year.[233] The favor thus shown may have provoked jealousy and even alarm. It may have been thought that the legitimate successor was imperilled by the exaltation of a subject whose position would enable him to ingratiate himself with the troops, and who might be expected, on the death of his patron, to make an effort to place the

crown on his own head. Fears of this kind may very probably have so worked on the mind of the heir apparent as to determine him not to await his father's demise, but rather to raise the standard of revolt during his lifetime, and to endeavor, by an unexpected *coup-de-main*, to anticipate and ruin his rival. Or, possibly, Asshur-danin-pal, the eldest son of Shalmaneser, like too many royal youths, may have been impatient of the long life of his father, and have conceived the guilty desire, with which our fourth Henry is said to have taxed his first-born, a "hunger for the empty chair" of which the aged monarch,[234] still held possession. At any rate, whatever may have been the motive that urged him on, it is certain that Asshur-danin-pal rebelled against his sire's authority, and, raising the standard of revolt, succeeded in carrying with him a great part of the kingdom. At Asshur, the old metropolis, which may have hoped to lure back the Court by its subservience, at Arbela in the Zab region, at Amidi on the Upper Tigris, at Tel-Apni near the site of Orfa, and at more than twenty other fortified places, Asshur-danin-pal was proclaimed king, and accepted by the inhabitants for their sovereign. Shalmaneser must have felt himself in imminent peril of losing his crown. Under these circumstances he called to his assistance his second son Shamas-Vul, and placing him at the head of such of his troops as remained firm to their allegiance, invested him with full power to act as he thought best in the existing emergency. Shamas-Vul at once took the field, attacked and reduced the rebellious cities one after another, and in a little time completely crushed the revolt and re-established peace throughout the empire. Asshur-danin-pal, the arch conspirator, was probably put to death; his life was justly forfeit; and neither Shamas-Vul nor his father is likely to have been withheld by any inconvenient tenderness from punishing treason in a near relative, as they would have punished it in any other person. The suppressor of the revolt became the heir of the kingdom; and when, shortly afterwards,[235] Shalmaneser died, the piety or prudence of his faithful son was rewarded by the rich inheritance of the Assyrian Empire.

Shalmaneser reigned, in all, thirty-five years, from B.C. 858 to B.C. 823. His successor, Shamas-Vul, held the throne for thirteen years, from B.C. 823 to B.C. 810. Before entering upon the consideration of this latter monarch's reign, it will be well to cast your eyes once more over the Assyrian Empire,

such as it has now become, and over the nations with which its growth had brought it into contact. Considerable changes had occurred since the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., the Assyrian boundaries having been advanced in several directions, while either this progress, or the movements of races beyond the frontier, had brought into view many new and some very important nations.

The chief advance which the "Terminus" of the Assyrians had made was towards the west and the north-west. Instead of their dominion in this quarter being bounded by the Euphrates, they had established their authority over the whole of Upper Syria, over Phœnicia, Hamath, and Samaria, or the kingdom of the Israelites. These countries were not indeed reduced to the form of provinces; on the contrary, they still retained their own laws, administration, and native princes; but they were henceforth really subject to Assyria, acknowledging her suzerainty, paying her an annual tribute, and giving a free passage to her armies through their territories. The limit of the Assyrian Empire towards the west was consequently at this time the Mediterranean, from the Gulf of Iskanderun to Cape Carmel, or perhaps we should say to Joppa.[236] Their north-western boundary was the range of Taurus next beyond Amanus, the tract between the two belonging to the Tibareni (Tubal), who had submitted to become tributaries.[237] Northwards, little if any progress had been made. The chain of Niphates—"the high grounds over the affluents of the Tigris and Euphrates"—where Shalmaneser set up "an image of his majesty,"[238] seems still to be the furthest limit. In other words, Armenia is unconquered,[239] the strength of the region and the valor of its inhabitants still protecting it from the Assyrian arms. Towards the east some territory seems to have been gained, more especially in the central Zagros region, the district between the Lower Zab and Holwan, which at this period bore the name of Hupuska;[240] but the tribes north and south of this tract were still for the most part unsubdued.[241] The southern frontier may be regarded as wholly unchanged; for although Shalmaneser warred in Babylonia, and even took tribute on one occasion from the petty kings of the Chaldæan towns, he seems to have made no permanent impression in this quarter. The Tsukhi or Shuhites are still the most southern of his subjects.[242]

The principal changes which time and conquest had made among the neighbors of Assyria were the following. Towards

the west she was brought into contact with the kingdom of Damascus, and, through her tributary Samaria, with Judæa. On the north-west she had new enemies in the *Quïn*,[243] (Coans?) who dwelt on the further side of Amanus, near the Tibareni, in a part of the country afterwards called Cilicia, and the Cilicians themselves, who are now first mentioned. The Moschi seem to have withdrawn a little from this neighborhood, since they no longer appear either among Assyria's enemies or her tributaries. On the north all minor powers had disappeared; and the Armenians (*Urarda*) were now Assyria's sole neighbors. Towards the east she had come into contact with the *Mannai*, or Minni, about Lake Urumiyeh, with the Kharkhar in the Van region and in north-western Kurdistan, with the Bartsu or Persians[244] and the Mada or Medes in the country east of Zagros, the modern province of Ardelan, and with the Tsimri, or Zimri,[245] in Upper Luristan. Among all her fresh enemies, she had not, however, as yet found one calculated to inspire any serious fear. No new organized monarchy presented itself. The tribes and nations upon her borders were still either weak in numbers or powerless from their intestine divisions; and there was thus every reason to expect a long continuance of the success which had naturally attended a large centralized state in her contests with small kingdoms or loosely-united confederacies. Names celebrated in the after history of the world, as those of the Medes and Persians, are now indeed for the first time emerging into light from the complete obscurity which has shrouded them hitherto; and tinged as they are with the radiance of their later glories, they show brightly among the many insignificant tribes and nations with which Assyria has been warring for centuries; but it would be a mistake to suppose that these names have any present importance in the narrative, or represent powers capable as yet of contending on equal terms with the Assyrian Empire, or even of seriously checking the progress of her successes. The Medes and Persians are at this period no more powerful than the Zimri, the Minni, the Urarda,[246] or than half a dozen others of the border nations, whose appellations sound strange in the ears even of the advanced student. Neither of the two great Arian peoples had as yet a capital city, neither was united under a king; separated into numerous tribes, each under its chief, dispersed in scattered towns and villages, poorly fortified or not fortified at all, they were in the same condition as the

Vol. I.

Heads of Eunuchs (Nimrud).

Plate CXV.

Fig 2.

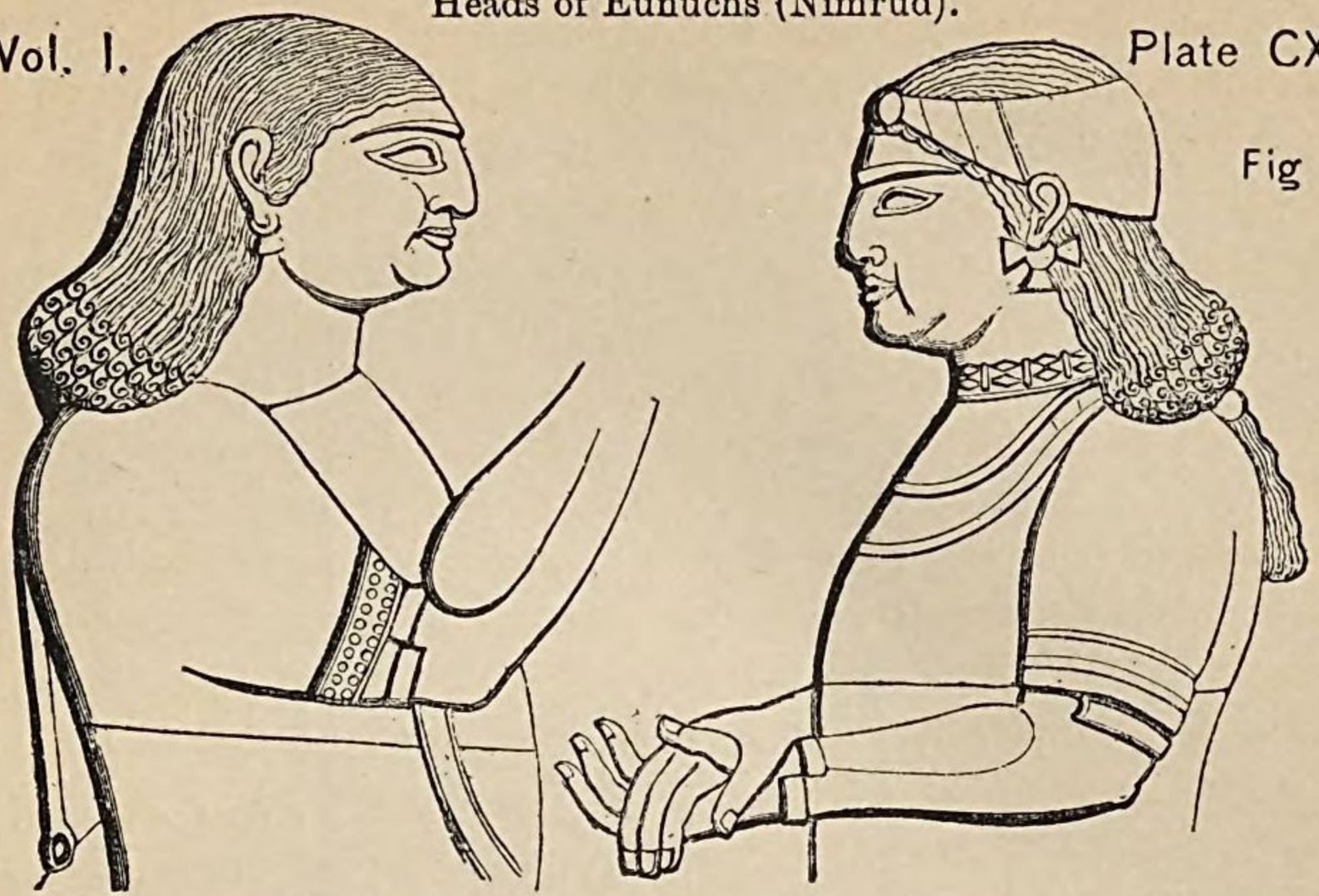


Fig. 1.

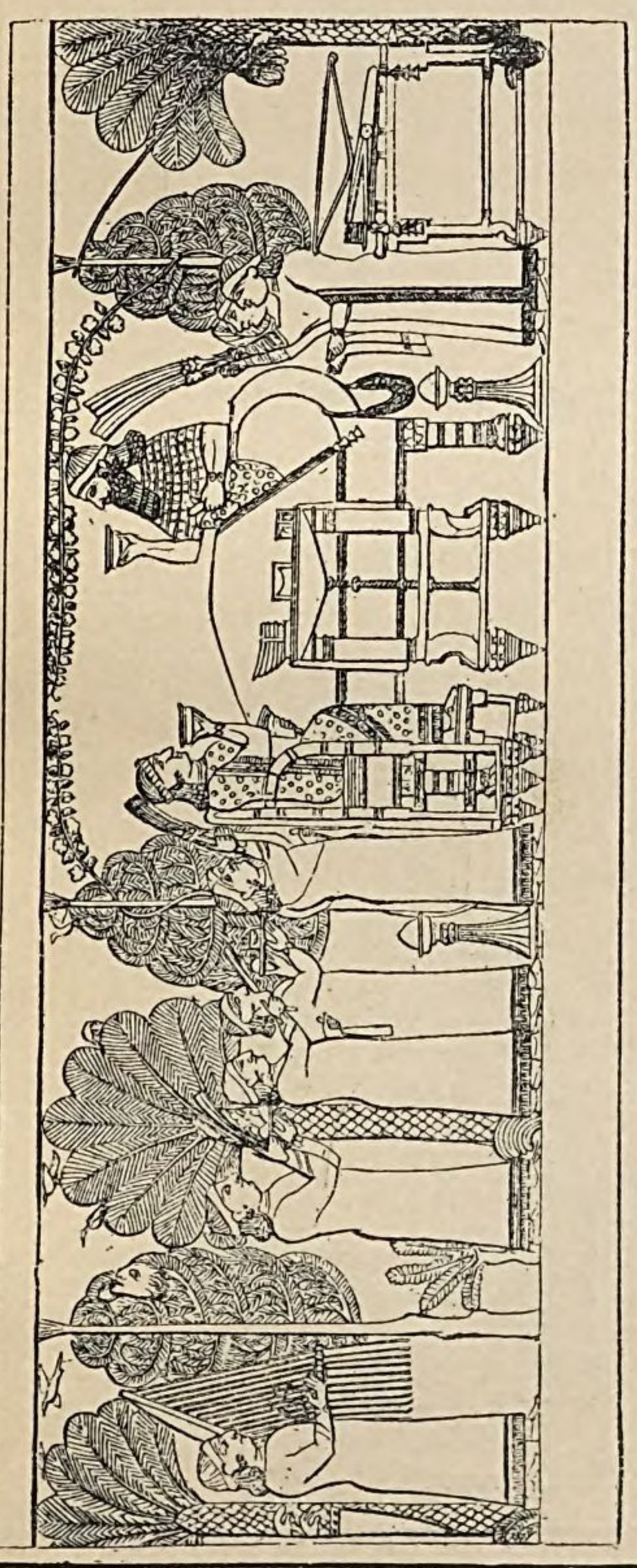
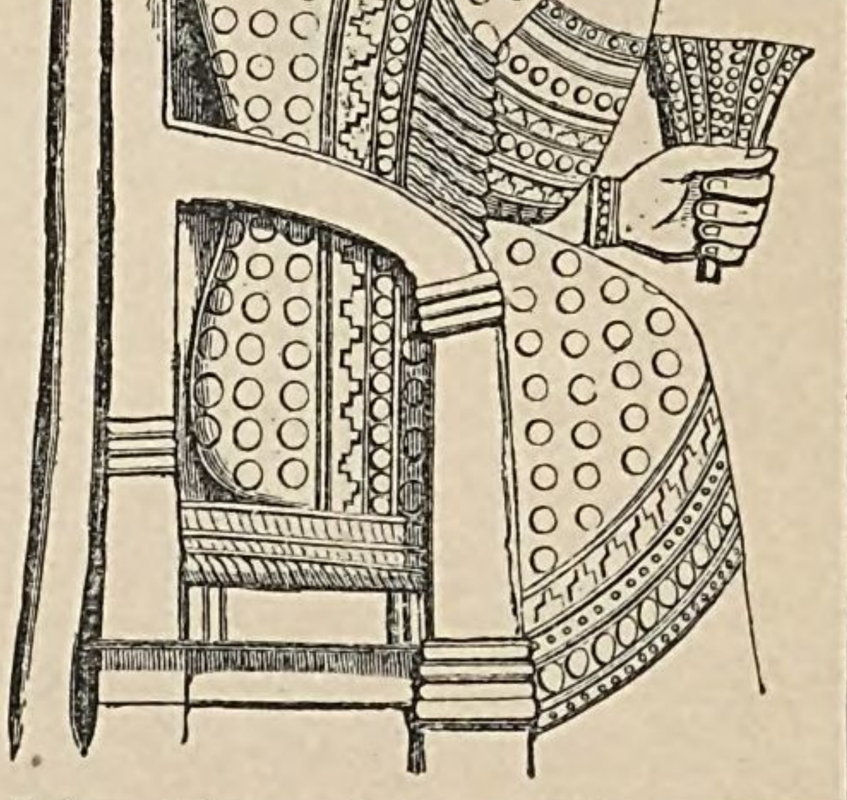


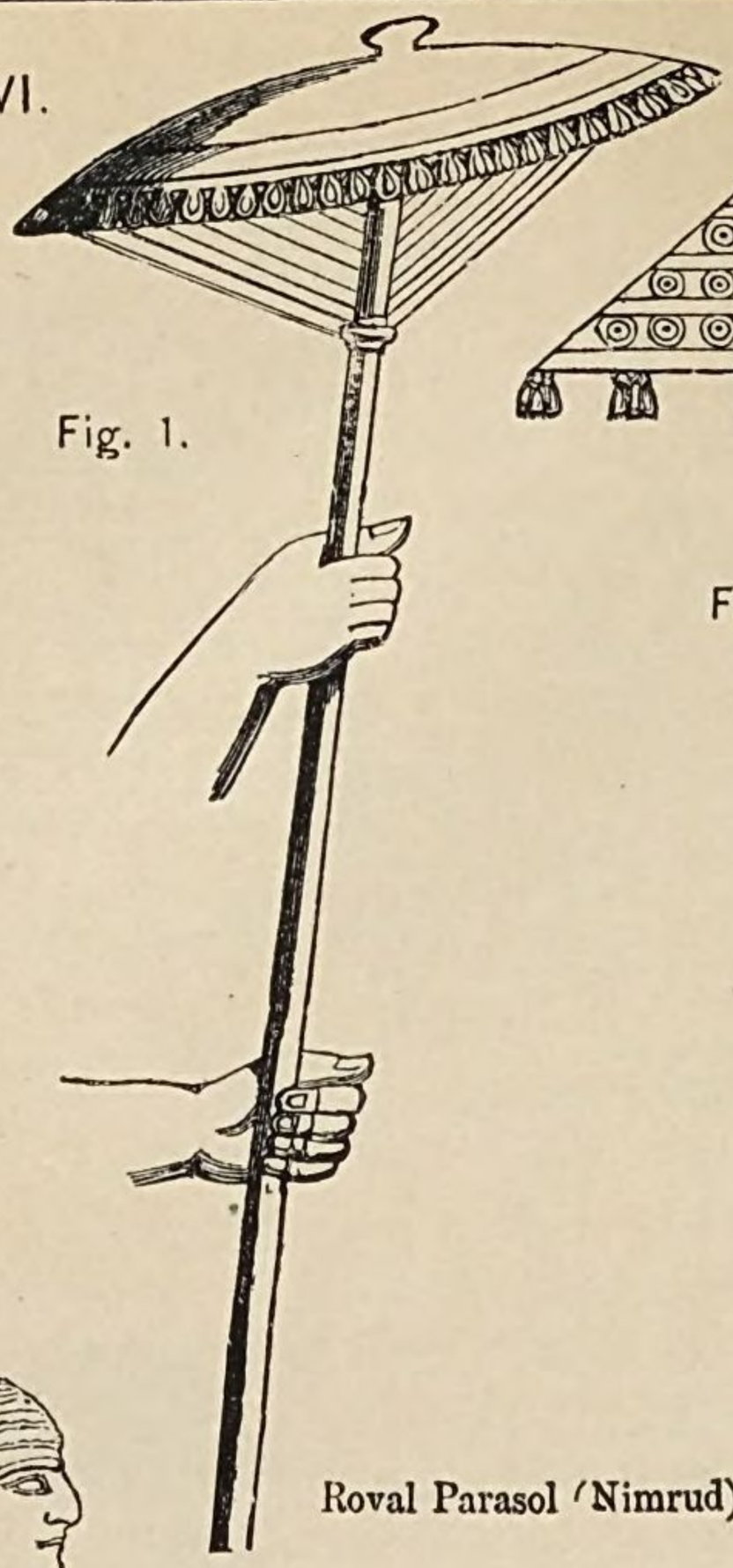
Fig 3



King, Queen, and Attendants (Koyunjik).

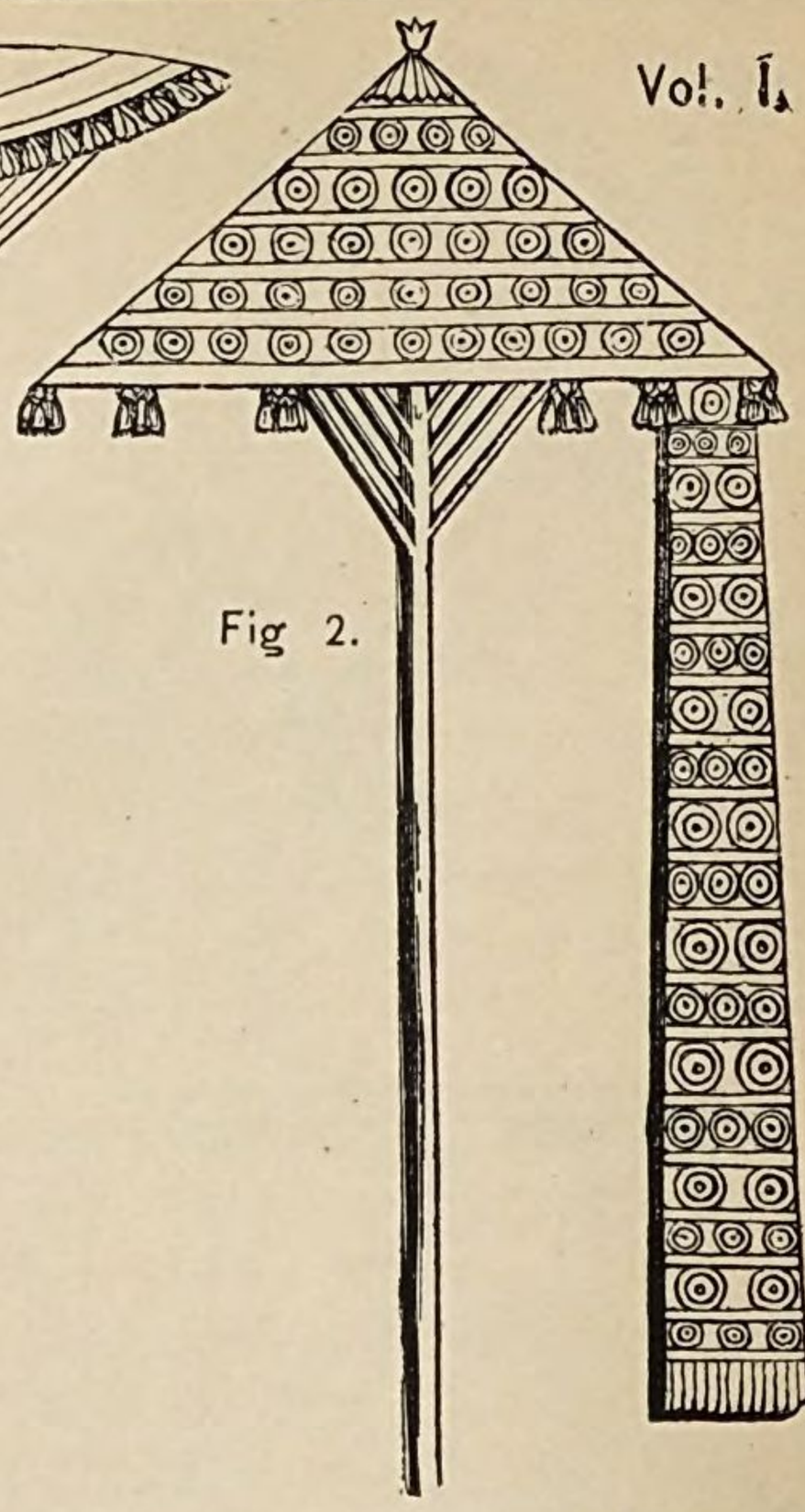
Enlarged figure of the queen (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



Roval Parasol (Nimrud).

Fig 2.



Royal parasol (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.

The chief Eunuch (?)--Nimrud.

Fig. 4.

Head-dress of the Vizier (Khorsabad).

Naïri, the Qummukh, the Patena, the Hittites, and the other border races whose relative weakness Assyria had abundantly proved in a long course of wars wherein she had uniformly been the victor.

The short reign of Shamas-Vul II. presents but little that calls for remark. Like Shalmaneser II., he resided chiefly at Calah, where, following the example of his father and grandfather, he set up an obelisk (or rather a stele) in commemoration of his various exploits. This monument, which is covered on three sides with an inscription in the hieratic or cursive character,[247] contains an opening invocation to Nin or Hercules, conceived in the ordinary terms, the genealogy and titles of the king, an account of the rebellion of Asshur-danin-pal, together with its suppression,[248] and Shamas-Vul's own annals for the first four years of his reign. From these we learn that he displayed the same active spirit as his two predecessors, carrying his arms against the Naïri on the north, against Media and Arazias on the east, and against Babylonia on the south. The people of Hupuska, the Minni, and the Persians (Bartsu) paid him tribute. His principal success was that of his fourth campaign, which was against Babylon. He entered the country by a route often used,[249] which skirted the Zagros mountain range for some distance, and then crossed the flat, probably along the course of the Diyaleh, to the southern capital. The Babylonians, alarmed at his advance, occupied a strongly fortified place on his line of route, which he besieged and took after a vigorous resistance, wherein the blood of the garrison was shed like water. Eighteen thousand were slain; three thousand were made prisoners; the city itself was plundered and burnt, and Shamas-Vul pressed forward against the flying enemy. Hereupon the Babylonian monarch, Merodach-belatzu-ikbi, collecting his own troops and those of his allies, the Chaldæans, the Aramæans or Syrians, and the Zimri—a vast host—met the invader on the river Daban[250]—perhaps a branch of the Euphrates—and fought a great battle in defence of his city. He was, however, defeated by the Assyrians, with the loss of 5000 killed, 2000 prisoners, 100 chariots, 200 tents, and the royal standard and pavilion. What further military or political results the victory may have had is uncertain. Shamas-Vul's annals terminate abruptly at this point,[251] and we are left to conjecture the consequences of the campaign and battle. It is possible that they were in the highest degree important;

for we find, in the next reign, that Babylonia, which has so long been a separate and independent kingdom, is reduced to the condition of a tributary, while we have no account of its reduction by the succeeding monarch, whose relations with the Babylonians, so far as we know, were of a purely peaceful character.

The stele of Shamas-Vul contains one allusion to a hunting exploit, by which we learn that this monarch inherited his grandfather's partiality for the chase. He found wild bulls at the foot of Zagros when he was marching to invade Babylonia, and delaying his advance to hunt them, was so fortunate as to kill several.

We know nothing of Shamas-Vul as a builder, and but little of him as a patron of art. He seems to have been content with the palaces of his father and grandfather, and to have been devoid of any wish to outshine them by raising edifices which should throw theirs into the shade. In his stele he shows no originality; for it is the mere reproduction of a monument well known to his predecessors, and of which we have several specimens from the time of Asshur-izir-pal downwards. It consists of a single figure in relief—a figure representing the king dressed in his priestly robes, and wearing the sacred emblems round his neck, standing with the right arm upraised, and enclosed in the customary arched frame. This figure, which is somewhat larger than life, is cut on a single solid block of stone, and then placed on another broader block, which serves as a pedestal. It closely resembles the figure of Asshur-izir-pal, whereof a representation has been already given.[252]

The successor of Shamas-Vul was his son Vul-lush, the third monarch of that name, who ascended the throne B.C. 810, and held it for twenty-nine years, from B.C. 810 to B.C. 781. The memorials which we possess of this king's reign are but scanty. They consist of one or two slabs found at Nimrud, of a short dedicatory inscription on duplicate statues of the god Nebo brought from the same place, of some brick inscriptions from the mound of Nebbi Yunus, and of the briefest possible notices of the quarters in which he carried on war, contained in one copy of the Canon. As none of these records are in the shape of annals except the last, and as only these and the slab notices are historical, it is impossible to give any detailed account of this long and apparently important reign. We can only say that Vul-lush III. was as warlike a monarch

as any of his predecessors, and that his efforts seem to have extended the Assyrian dominion in almost every quarter. He made seven expeditions across the Zagros range into Media, two into the Van country, and three into Syria. He tells us that in one of these expeditions he succeeded in making himself master of the great city of Damascus, whose kings had defied (as we have seen) the repeated attacks of Shalmaneser. He reckons as his tributaries in these parts, besides Damascus, the cities of Tyre and Sidon, and the countries of Khumri or Samaria, of Palestine or Philistia, and of Hudum (Idumæa or Edom). On the north and east he received tokens of submission from the Naïri, the Minni, the Medes, and the Partsu, or Persians. On the south, he exercised a power, which seems like that of a sovereign, in Babylonia; where homage was paid him by the Chaldæans, and where, in the great cities of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha (or Tiggaba), he was allowed to offer sacrifice to the gods Bel, Nebo, and Nergal.[253] There is, further, some reason to suspect that, before quitting Babylonia, he established one of his sons as viceroy over the country; since he seems to style himself in one place "the king to whose son Asshur, the chief of the gods, has granted the kingdom of Babylon."

It thus appears that by the time of Vul-lush III., or early in the eighth century B.C., Assyria had with one hand grasped Babylonia, while with the other she had laid hold of Philistia and Edom. She thus touched the Persian Gulf on the one side, while on the other she was brought into contact with Egypt. At the same time she had received the submission of at least some portion of the great nation of the Medes, who were now probably moving southwards from Azerbijan and gradually occupying the territory which was regarded as Media Proper by the Greeks and Romans. She held Southern Armenia, from Lake Van to the sources of the Tigris; she possessed all Upper Syria, including Commagêné and Amanus; she had tributaries even on the further side of that mountain range; she bore sway over the whole Syrian coast from Issus to Gaza; her authority was acknowledged, probably, by all the tribes and kingdoms between the coast and the desert,[254] certainly by the Phœnicians, the Hamathites, the Patena, the Hittites, the Syrians of Damascus, the people of Israel, and the Idumæans, or people of Edom. On the east she had reduced almost all the valleys of Zagros, and had tributaries in the great upland on the eastern side of the range. On the

south, if she had not absorbed Babylonia, she had at least made her influence paramount there. The full height of her greatness was not indeed attained till a century later; but already the "tall cedar" was "exalted above all the trees of the field; his boughs were multiplied; his branches had become long; and under his shadow dwelt great nations."[255]

Not much is known of Vul-lush III. as a builder, or as a patron of art. He calls himself the "restorer of noble buildings which had gone to decay," an expression which would seem to imply that he aimed rather at maintaining former edifices in repair than at constructing new ones. He seems, however, to have built some chambers on the mound of Nimrud, between the north-western and the south-western palaces, and also to have had a palace at Nineveh on the mound now called Nebbi Yunus. The Nimrud chambers were of small size and poorly ornamented; they contained no sculptures; the walls were plastered and then painted in fresco with a variety of paterns.[256] They may have been merely guard-rooms, since they appear to have formed a portion of a high tower.[257] The palace at Nebbi Yunus was probably a more important work; but the superstitious regard of the natives for the supposed tomb of Jonah has hitherto frustrated all attempts made by Europeans to explore that mass of ruins.[258]

Among all the monuments recovered by recent researches, the only works of art assignable to the reign of Vul-lush are two rude statues of the god Nebo, almost exactly resembling one another.[259] From the representation of one of them, given on a former page of this volume,[260] the reader will see that the figures in question have scarcely any artistic merit. The head is disproportionately large, the features, so far as they can be traced, are coarse and heavy, the arms and hands are poorly modelled, and the lower part is more like a pillar than the figure of a man. We cannot suppose that Assyrian art was incapable, under the third Vul-lush, of a higher flight than these statues indicate; we must therefore regard them as conventional forms, reproduced from old models, which the artist was bound to follow. It would seem, indeed, that while in the representation of animals and of men of inferior rank, Assyrian artists were untrammelled by precedent, and might aim at the highest possible perfection, in religious subjects, and in the representation of kings and nobles, they were limited, by law or custom, to certain ancient forms and

modes of expression, which we find repeated from the earliest to the latest times with monotonous uniformity.

If these statues, however, are valueless as works of art, they have yet a peculiar interest for the historian, as containing the only mention which the disentombed remains have furnished of one of the most celebrated names of antiquity—a name which for many ages vindicated to itself a leading place, not only in the history of Assyria, but in that of the world.[261] To the Greeks and Romans Semiramis was the foremost of women, the greatest queen who had ever held a sceptre, the most extraordinary conqueror that the East had ever produced. Beautiful as Helen or Cleopatra, brave as Tomyris, lustful as Messalina, she had the virtues and vices of a man rather than a woman, and performed deeds scarcely inferior to those of Cyrus or Alexander the Great. It is an ungrateful task to dispel illusions, more especially such as are at once harmless and venerable for their antiquity; but truth requires the historian to obliterate from the pages of the past this well-known image, and to substitute in its place a very dull and prosaic figure—a Semiramis no longer decked with the prismatic hues of fancy, but clothed instead in the sober garments of fact. The Nebo idols are dedicated, by the Assyrian officer who had them executed, "to his lord Vul-lush and his lady *Sammuramit*;[262] from whence it would appear to be certain, in the first place, that that monarch was married to a princess who bore this world-renowned name, and, secondly, that she held a position superior to that which is usually allowed in the East to a queen-consort. An inveterate Oriental prejudice requires the rigid seclusion of women; and the Assyrian monuments, thoroughly in accord with the predominant tone of Eastern manners, throw a veil in general over all that concerns the weaker sex, neither representing to us the forms of the Assyrian women in the sculptures, nor so much as mentioning their existence in the inscriptions.[263] Very rarely is there an exception to this all but universal reticence. In the present instance, and in about two others, the silence usually kept is broken; and a native woman comes upon the scene to tantalize us by her momentary apparition. The glimpse that we here obtain does not reveal much. Beyond the fact that the principal queen of Vul-lush III. was named Semiramis, and the further fact, implied in her being mentioned at all, that she had a recognized position of authority in the country, we can only conclude, conjecturally, from the exact parallelism of the phrases

used, that she bore sway conjointly with her husband, either over the whole or over a part of his dominions. Such a view explains, to some extent, the wonderful tale of the Ninian Semiramis, which was foisted into history by Ctesias; for it shows that he had a slight basis of fact to go upon. It also harmonizes, or may be made to harmonize, with the story of Semiramis as told by Herodotus, who says that she was a Babylonian queen, and reigned five generations before Nitocris,[264] or about B.C. 755.[265] For it is quite possible that the Sammuramit married to Vul-lush III. was a Babylonian princess, the last descendant of a long line of kings, whom the Assyrian monarch wedded to confirm through her his title to the southern provinces; in which case a portion of his subjects would regard her as their legitimate sovereign, and only recognize his authority as secondary and dependent upon hers. The exaggeration in which Orientals indulge, with a freedom that astonishes the sober nations of the West, would seize upon the unusual circumstance of a female having possessed a conjoint sovereignty, and would gradually group round the name a host of mythic details,[266] which at last accumulated to such an extent that, to prevent the fiction from becoming glaring, the queen had to be thrown back into mythic times, with which such details were in harmony. The Babylonian wife of Vul-lush III., who gave him his title to the regions of the south, and reigned conjointly with him both in Babylonia and Assyria, became first a queen of Babylon, ruling independently and alone,[267] and then an Assyrian empress, the conqueror of Egypt and Ethiopia,[268] the invader of the distant India,[269] the builder of Babylon,[270] and the constructor of all the great works which were anywhere to be found in Western Asia.[271] The grand figure thus produced imposed upon the uncritical ancients, and was accepted even by the moderns for many centuries. At length the school of Heeren[272] and Niebuhr,[273] calling common sense to their aid, pronounced the figure a myth. It remained for the patient explorers of the field of Assyrian antiquity in our own day to discover the slight basis of fact on which the myth was founded, and to substitute for the shadowy marvel of Ctesias a very prosaic and commonplace princess, who, like Atossa or Elizabeth of York, strengthened her husband's title to his crown, but who never really made herself conspicuous by either great works or by exploits.

With Vul-lush III. the glories of the Nimrud line of mon-

archs come to a close, and Assyrian history is once more shrouded in a partial darkness for a space of nearly forty years, from B.C. 781 to B.C. 745. The Assyrian Canon shows us that three monarchs bore sway during this interval—Shalmaneser III., who reigned from B.C. 781 to B.C. 771, Asshur-dayan III., who reigned from B.C. 771 to B.C. 753, and Asshur-lush, who held the throne from the last-mentioned date to B.C. 745, when he was succeeded by the second Tiglath-Pileser. The brevity of these reigns, which average only twelve years apiece, is indicative of troublous times, and of a disputed, or, at any rate, a disturbed succession. The fact that none of the three monarchs left buildings of any importance, or, so far as appears, memorials of any kind, marks a period of comparative decline, during which there was a pause in the magnificent course of Assyrian conquests, which had scarcely known a check for above a century.[274] The causes of the temporary inaction and apparent decline of a power which had so long been steadily advancing, would form an interesting subject of speculation to the political philosopher; but they are too obscure to be investigated here, where our space only allows us to touch rapidly on the chief known facts of the Assyrian history.

One important difficulty presents itself at this point of the narrative, in an apparent contradiction between the native records of the Assyrians and the casual notices of their history contained in the Second Book of Kings. The Biblical Pul—the "king of Assyria" who came up against the land of Israel and received from Menahem a thousand talents of silver, "that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand,"[275] is unnoticed in the native inscriptions, and even seems to be excluded from the royal lists by the absence of any name at all resembling his in the proper place in the famous Canon.[276] Pul appears in Scripture to be the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser. At any rate, as his expedition against Menahem is followed within (at the utmost) thirty-two years[277] by an expedition of Tiglath-Pileser against Pekah, his last year (if he was indeed a king of Assyria) cannot have fallen earlier than thirty-two years before Tiglath-Pileser's first. In other words, if the Hebrew numbers are historical some portion of Pul's reign must necessarily fall into the interval assigned by the Canon to the kings for which it is the sole authority—Shalmaneser III., Asshur-dayan III., and Asshur-lush. But these names are so wholly unlike the name of Pul

that no one of them can possibly be regarded as its equivalent, or even as the original from which it was corrupted. Thus the Assyrian records do not merely omit Pul, but exclude him; and we have to inquire how this can be accounted for, and who the Biblical Pul is, if he is not a regular and recognized Assyrian monarch.

Various explanations of the difficulty have been suggested. Some would regard Pul as a general of Tiglath-Pileser (or of some earlier Assyrian king), mistaken by the Jews for the actual monarch. Others would identify him with Tiglath-Pileser himself.[278] But perhaps the most probable supposition is, that he was a pretender to the Assyrian crown, never acknowledged at Nineveh, but established in the western (and southern[279]) provinces so firmly, that he could venture to conduct an expedition into Lower Syria, and to claim there the fealty of Assyria's vassals. Or possibly he may have been a Babylonian monarch, who in the troublous times that had now evidently come upon the northern empire, possessed himself of the Euphrates valley, and thence descended upon Syria and Palestine. Berosus, it must be remembered, represented Pul as a *Chaldæan* king;[280] and the name itself, which is wholly alien to the ordinary Assyrian type,[281] has at least one counterpart among known Babylonian names.[282]

The time of Pul's invasion may be fixed by combining the Assyrian and the Hebrew chronologies within very narrow limits. Tiglath-Pileser relates that he took tribute from Menahem in a war which lasted from his fourth to his eighth year, or from B.C. 742 to B.C. 738. As Menahem only reigned ten years, the earliest date that can be assigned to Pul's expedition will be B.C. 752,[283] while the latest possible date will be B.C. 746, the year before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser. In any case the expedition falls within the eight years assigned by the Assyrian Canon to the reign of Asshur-lush, Tiglath-Pileser's immediate predecessor.

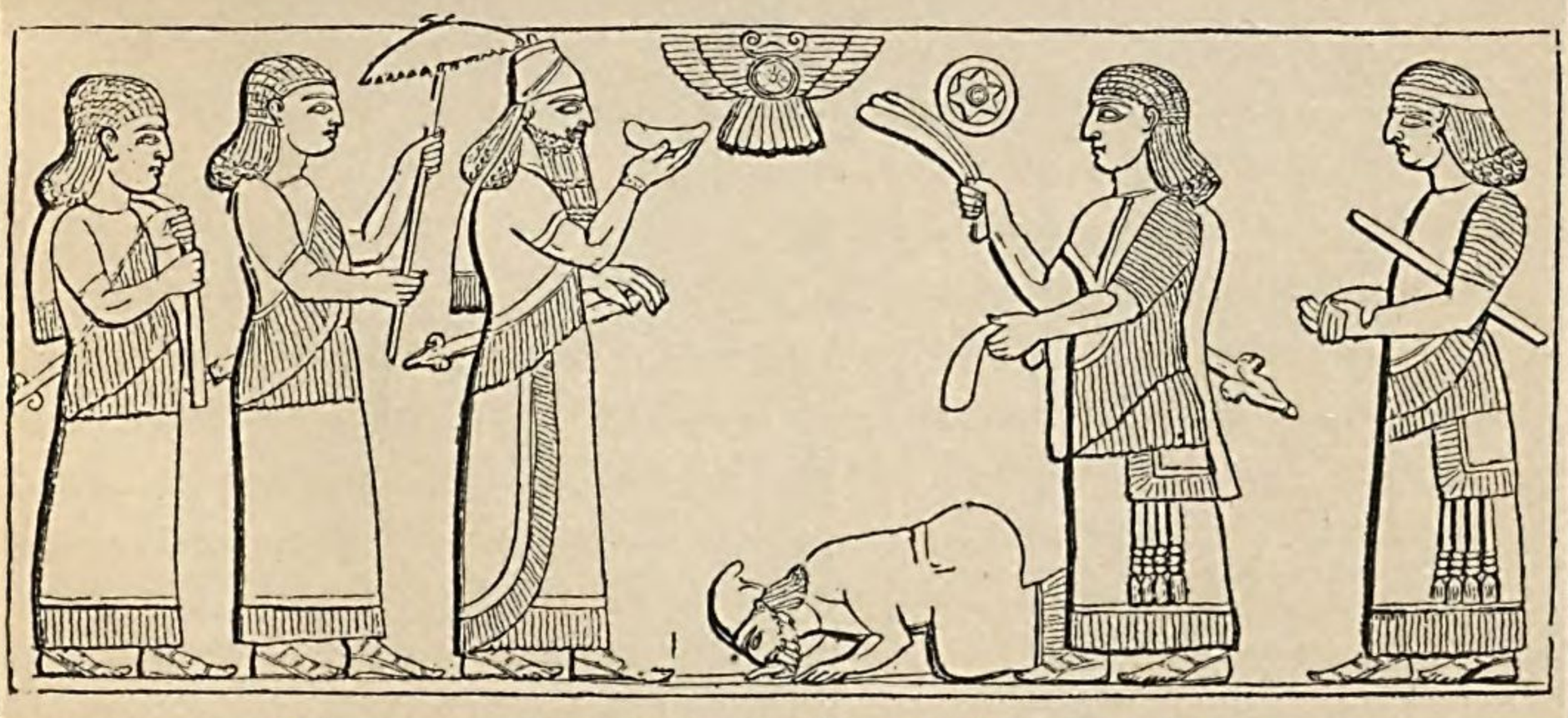
It is remarkable that into this interval falls also the famous era of Nabonassar,[284] which must have marked some important change, dynastic or other, at Babylon. The nature of this change will be considered more at length in the Babylonian section. At present it is sufficient to observe that, in the declining condition of Assyria under the kings who followed Vul-lush III., there was naturally a growth of power and independence among the border countries. Babylon, repenting of the submission which she had made either to Vul-lush III.

Fig 1.

Costume of the Vizier.
(Time of Sennacherib.)

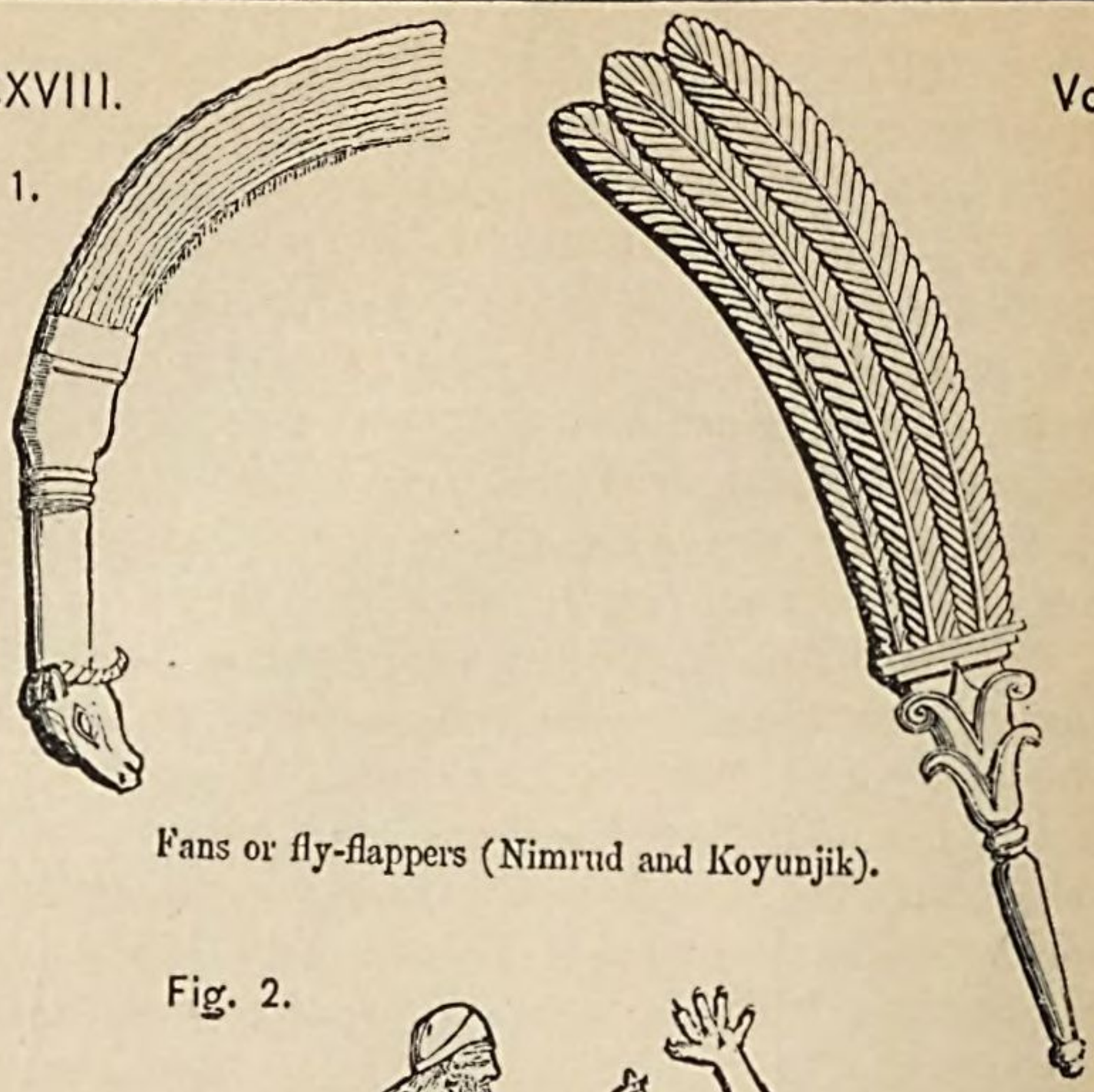
Costume of the Vizier.
(Time of Asshur-idanni-pal.)

Fig 2.



Prisoners presented by the Chief Eunuch (Nimrud obelisk).

Fig 1.



Fans or fly-flappers (Nimrud and Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3. King killing a Lion (Nimrud).

King, with attendants, spearing a lion (Koyunjik).

or to his father, Shamas-Vul II., once more vindicated her right to freedom, and resumed the position of a separate and hostile monarchy. Samaria, Damascus, Judæa, ceased to pay tribute. Enterprising kings, like Jeroboam II. and Menahem, taking advantage of Assyria's weakness, did not content themselves with merely throwing off her yoke, but proceeded to enlarge their dominions at the expense of her feudatories.[285] Judging of the unknown from the known, we may assume that on the north and east there were similar defections to those on the west and south—that the tribes of Armenia and of the Zagros range rose in revolt, and that the Assyrian boundaries were thus contracted in every quarter.[286]

At the same time, within the limits of what was regarded as the settled Empire, revolts began to occur. In the reign of Asshur-dayan III. (B.C. 771–753), no fewer than three important insurrections are recorded—one at a city called Libzu, another at Arapkha, the chief town of Arrapachitis, and a third at Gozan, the chief city of Gauzanitis or Mygdonia. Attempts were made to suppress these revolts; but it may be doubted whether they were successful. The military spirit had declined; the monarchs had ceased to lead out their armies regularly year by year, preferring to pass their time in inglorious ease at their rich and luxurious capitals. Asshur-dayan III., during nine years of his eighteen, remained at home, undertaking no warlike enterprise. Asshur-lush, his successor, displayed even less of military vigor. During the eight years of his reign he took the field twice only, passing six years in complete inaction. At the end of this time, Calah, the second city in the kingdom, revolted; and the revolution was brought about which ushered in the splendid period of the Lower Empire.

It was probably during the continuance of the time of depression,[287] when an unwarlike monarch was living in inglorious ease amid the luxuries and refinements of Nineveh, and the people, sunk in repose, gave themselves up to vicious indulgences more hateful in the eye of God than even the pride and cruelty which they were wont to exhibit in war, that the great capital was suddenly startled by a voice of warning in the streets—a voice which sounded everywhere, through corridor, and lane, and square, bazaar and caravanserai, one shrill monotonous cry—"Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown."[288] A strange wild man, clothed in a rough garment of skin,[289] moving from place to place, announced to the

inhabitants their doom. None knew who he was or whence he had come; none had ever beheld him before; pale, haggard, travel-stained, he moved before them like a visitant from another sphere; and his lips still framed the fearful words—"Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown." Had the cry fallen on them in the prosperous time, when each year brought its tale of victories, and every nation upon their borders trembled at the approach of their arms, it would probably have been heard with apathy or ridicule, and would have failed to move the heart of the nation. But coming, as it did, when their glory had declined; when their enemies, having been allowed a breathing space, had taken courage and were acting on the offensive in many quarters; when it was thus perhaps quite within the range of probability that some one of their numerous foes might shortly appear in arms before the place, it struck them with fear and consternation. The alarm communicated itself from the city to the palace; and his trembling attendants "came and told the king of Nineveh," who was seated on his royal throne in the great audience-chamber, surrounded by all the pomp and magnificence of his court. No sooner did he hear, than the heart of the king was touched, like that of his people; and he "arose from his throne, and laid aside his robe from him, and covered himself with sackcloth and sat in ashes."[290] Hastily summoning his nobles, he had a decree framed, and "caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh, by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything; let them not feed, nor drink water: but let man and beast[291] be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands."[292] Then the fast was proclaimed, and the people of Nineveh, fearful of God's wrath, put on sackcloth "from the greatest of them even to the least of them."[293] The joy and merriment, the revelry and feasting of that great city were changed into mourning and lamentation; the sins that had provoked the anger of the Most High ceased; the people humbled themselves; they "turned from their evil way,"[294] and by a repentance, which, if not deep and enduring, was still real and unfeigned, they appeased for the present the Divine wrath. Vainly the prophet sat without the city, on its eastern side, under his booth woven of boughs,[295] watching, waiting, hoping (apparently) that the doom which he had announced would

come, in spite of the people's repentance. God was more merciful than man. He had pity on the "great city," with its "six score thousand persons that could not discern between their right hand and their left,"[296] and, sparing the penitents, left their town to stand unharmed for more than another century.

The circumstances under which Tiglath-Pileser II. ascended the throne in the year B.C. 745 are unknown to us. No confidence can be placed in the statement of Bion[297] and Polyhistor,[298] which seems to have been intended to refer to this monarch, whom they called Belêtaras—a corruption perhaps of the latter half of the name[299]—that he was, previously to his elevation to the royal dignity, a mere vine-dresser, whose occupation was to keep in order the gardens of the king. Similar tales of the low origin of self-raised and usurping monarchs are too common in the East, and are too often contradicted by the facts, when they become known to us,[300] for much credit to attach to the story told by these late writers, the earlier of whom must have written five or six hundred years after Tiglath-Pileser's time.[301] We might, however, conclude, without much chance of mistake, from such a story being told, that the king intended acquired the throne irregularly; that either he was not of the blood royal, or that, being so, he was at any rate not the legitimate heir. And the conclusion at which we should thus arrive is confirmed by the monarch's inscriptions; for though he speaks repeatedly of "the kings his fathers," and even calls the royal buildings at Calah "the palaces of his fathers," yet he never mentions his actual father's name in any record that has come down to us. Such a silence is so contrary to the ordinary practice of Assyrian monarchs, who glory in their descent and parade it on every possible occasion, that, where it occurs, we are justified in concluding the monarch to have been an usurper, deriving his title to the crown, not from his ancestry or from any law of succession, but from a successful revolution, in which he played the principal part. It matters little that such a monarch, when he is settled upon the throne, claims, in a vague and general way, connection with the kings of former times. The claim may often have a basis of truth; for in monarchies where polygamy prevails, and the kings have numerous daughters to dispose of, almost all the nobility can boast that they are of the blood royal. Where the claim is in no sense true, it will still be made; for it flatters the vanity of the monarch, and there is no one to gainsay it.

Only in such cases we are sure to find a prudent vagueness—an assertion of the fact of the connection, expressed in general terms, without any specification of the particulars on which the supposed fact rests.

On obtaining the crown—whatever the circumstances under which he obtained it—Tiglath-Pileser immediately proceeded to attempt the restoration of the Empire by engaging in a series of wars, now upon one, now upon another frontier, seeking by his unwearied activity and energy to recover the losses suffered through the weakness of his predecessors, and to compensate for their laches by a vigorous discharge of all the duties of the kingly office. The order of these wars, which formerly it was impossible to determine, is now fixed by means of the Assyrian Canon, and we may follow the course of the expeditions conducted by Tiglath-Pileser II. with as much confidence and certainty as those of Tiglath-Pileser I., Asshur-izir-pal, or the second Shalmaneser. It is scarcely necessary, however, to detain the reader by going through the entire series. The interest of Tiglath-Pileser's military operations attaches especially to his campaigns in Babylonia and in Syria, where he is brought into contact with persons otherwise known to us. His other wars are comparatively unimportant. Under these circumstances it is proposed to consider in detail only the Babylonian and Syrian expeditions, and to dismiss the others with a few general remarks on the results which were accomplished by them.

Tiglath-Pileser's expeditions against Babylon were in his first and in his fifteenth years, B.C. 745 and 731. No sooner did he find himself settled upon the throne, than he levied an army, and marched against Southern Mesopotamia,[302] which appears to have been in a divided and unsettled condition. According to the Canon of Ptolemy, Nabonassar then ruled in Babylon. Tiglath-Pileser's annals confuse the accounts of his two campaigns; but the general impression which we gather from them is that, even in B.C. 745, the country was divided up into a number of small principalities, the sea-coast being under the dominion of Merodach-Baladan, who held his court in his father's city of Bit-Yakin;[303] while in the upper region there were a number of petty princes, apparently independent, among whom may be recognized names which seem to occur later in Ptolemy's list,[304] among the kings of Babylon to whom he assigns short reigns in the interval between Nabonassar and Mardocempalus (Merodach-Baladan). Tiglath-Pile-

ser attacked and defeated several of these princes, taking the towns of Kur-Galzu (now Akkerkuf), and Sippara or Sepharvaim, together with many other places of less consequence in the lower portion of the country, after which he received the submission of Merodach-Baladan, who acknowledged him for suzerain, and consented to pay an annual tribute. Tiglath-Pileser upon this assumed the title of "King of Babylon" (B.C. 729), and offered sacrifice to the Babylonian gods in all the principal cities.[305]

The first Syrian war of Tiglath-Pileser was undertaken in his third year (B.C. 743), and lasted from that year to his eighth. In the course of it he reduced to subjection Damascus, which had regained its independence,[306] and was under the government of Rezin; Samaria, where Menahem, the adversary of Pul, was still reigning; Tyre, which was under a monarch bearing the familiar name of Hiram;[307] Hamath, Gebal, and the Arabs bordering upon Egypt, who were ruled by a queen[308] called Khabiba. He likewise met and defeated a vast army under Azariah (or Uzziah), king of Judah, but did not succeed in inducing him to make his submission. It would appear by this that Tiglath-Pileser at this time penetrated deep into Palestine, probably to a point which no Assyrian king but Vul-lush III. had reached previously. But it would seem, at the same time, that his conquests were very incomplete; they did not include Judæa or Philistia, Idumæa, or the tribes of the Hauran; and they left untouched the greater number of the Phœnician cities. It causes us, therefore, no surprise to find that in a short time, B.C. 734, he renewed his efforts in this quarter, commencing by an attack on Samaria, where Pekah was now king, and taking "Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carrying them captive to Assyria,"[309] thus "lightly afflicting the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali,"[310] or the more northern portion of the Holy Land, about Lake Merom, and from that to the Sea of Gennesareth.

This attack was followed shortly (B.C. 733) by the most important of Tiglath-Pileser's Syrian wars. It appears that the common danger, which had formerly united the Hittites, Hamathites, and Damascenes in a close alliance,[311] now caused a league to be formed between Damascus and Samaria, the sovereigns of which—Pekah and Rezin—made an attempt to add Judæa to their confederation, by declaring war against

Ahaz, attacking his territory, and threatening to substitute in his place as king of Jerusalem a creature of their own, "the son of Tabeal."[312] Hard pressed by his enemies, Ahaz applied to Assyria, offering to become Tiglath-Pileser's "servant"—*i.e.*, his vassal and tributary—if he would send troops to his assistance, and save him from the impending danger.[313] Tiglath-Pileser was not slow to obey this call. Entering Syria at the head of an army, he fell first upon Rezin, who was defeated, and fled to Damascus, where Tiglath-Pileser besieged him for two years, at the end of which time he was taken and slain.[314] Next he attacked Pekah, entering his country on the north-east, where it bordered upon the Damascene territory, and overrunning the whole of the Trans-Jordanic provinces, together (apparently) with some portion of the Cis-Jordanic region. The tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, who had possessed the country between the Jordan and the desert from the time of Moses, were seized and carried away captive by the conqueror, who placed them in Upper Mesopotamia, on the affluents of the Bilikh and the Khabour,[315] from about Harran to Nisibis.[316] Some cities situated on the right bank of the Jordan, in the territory of Issachar, but belonging to Manasseh, were at the same time seized and occupied. Among these, Megiddo in the great plain of Esdraelon, and Dur or Dor upon the coast,[317] some way below Tyre, were the most important. Dur was even thought of sufficient consequence to receive an Assyrian governor at the same time with the other principal cities of Southern Syria.[318]

After thus chastising Samaria, Tiglath-Pileser appears to have passed on to the south, where he reduced the Philistines and the Arab tribes, who inhabited the Sinaitic desert as far as the borders of Egypt. Over these last he set, in lieu of their native queen, an Assyrian governor. He then returned towards Damascus, where he held a court, and invited the neighboring states and tribes to send in their submission. The states and tribes responded to his invitation. Tiglath-Pileser, before quitting Syria, received submission and tribute not only from Ahaz, king of Judah,[319] but also from Mit'enna,[320] king of Tyre; Pekah, king of Samaria; Khanun, king of Gaza; and Mitinti, king of Ascalon; from the Moabites, the Ammonites, the people of Arvad or Aradus, and the Idumæans. He thus completely re-established the power of Assyria in this quarter,[321] once more recovering to the Empire the entire tract between

the coast and the desert from Mount Amanus on the north to the Red Sea and the confines of Egypt.

One further expedition was led or sent by Tiglath-Pileser into Syria, probably in his last year. Disturbances having occurred from the revolt of Mit'enna of Tyre and the murder of Pekah of Israel by Hoshea, an Assyrian army marched westward, in B.C. 728, to put them down. The Tyrian monarch at once submitted; and Hoshea, having entered into negotiations, agreed to receive investiture into his kingdom at the hands of the Assyrians, and to hold it as an Assyrian territory. On these terms peace was re-established, and the army of Tiglath-Pileser retired and recrossed the Euphrates.

Besides conducting these various campaigns, Tiglath-Pileser employed himself in the construction of some important works at Calah, which was his usual and favorite residence. He repaired and adorned the palace of Shalmaneser II., in the centre of the Nimrud mound; and he built a new edifice at the south-eastern corner of the platform, which seems to have been the most magnificent of his erections. Unfortunately, in neither case were his works allowed to remain as he left them. The sculptures with which he adorned Shalmaneser's palace were violently torn from their places by Esar-haddon, and, after barbarous ill-usage,[322] were applied to the embellishment of his own residence by that monarch. The palace which he built at the south-eastern corner of the Nimrud mound was first ruined by some invader, and then built upon by the last Assyrian king. Thus the monuments of Tiglath-Pileser II. come to us in a defaced and unsatisfactory condition, rendering it difficult for us to do full justice either to his architectural conceptions or to his taste in ornamentation. We can see, however, by the ground plan of the building which Mr. Loftus uncovered beneath the ruins of Mr. Layard's south-east palace,[323] that the great edifice of Tiglath-Pileser was on a scale of grandeur little inferior to that of the ancient palaces, and on a plan very nearly similar. The same arrangement of courts and halls and chambers, the same absence of curved lines or angles other than right angles, the same narrowness of rooms in comparison with their length, which have been noted in the earlier buildings,[324] prevailed also in those of this king. With regard to the sculptures with which, after the example of the former monarchs, he ornamented their walls, we can only say they seem to have been characterized by simplicity of treatment—the absence of all

ornamentation, except fringes, from the dresses, the total omission of backgrounds, and (with few exceptions) the limitation of the markings to the mere outlines of forms. The drawing is rather freer and more spirited than that of the sculptures of Asshur-izir-pal; animal forms, as camels, oxen, sheep, and goats, are more largely introduced, and there is somewhat less formality in the handling.[325] But the change is in no respect very decided, or such as to indicate an era in the progress of art.

Tiglath-Pileser appears, by the Assyrian Canon, to have had a reign of eighteen years. He ascended the throne in B.C. 745, and was succeeded in B.C. 727 by Shalmaneser, the fourth monarch who had borne that appellation.

It is uncertain whether Shalmaneser IV. was related to Tiglath-Pileser or not. As, however, there is no trace of the succession having been irregular or disputed, it is most probable that he was his son. He ascended the throne in B.C. 727, and ceased to reign in B.C. 722, thus holding the royal power for less than six years. It was probably very soon after his accession, that, suspecting the fidelity of Samaria, he "came up" against Hoshea, king of Israel, and, threatening him with condign punishment, so terrified him that he made immediate submission.[326] The arrears of tribute were rendered, and the homage due from a vassal to his lord was paid; and Shalmaneser either returned into his own country or turned his attention to other enterprises.[327] But shortly afterwards he learnt that Hoshea, in spite of his submission and engagements, was again contemplating defection; and, conscious of his own weakness, was endeavoring to obtain a promise of support from an enterprising monarch who ruled in the neighboring country of Egypt.[328] The Assyrian conquests in this quarter had long been tending to bring them into collision with the great power of Eastern Africa, which had once held,[329] and always coveted,[330] the dominion of Syria. Hitherto such relations as they had had with the Egyptians appear to have been friendly. The weak and unwarlike Pharaohs who about this time bore sway in Egypt had sought the favor of the neighboring Asiatic power by demanding Assyrian princesses in marriage and affecting Assyrian names for their offspring.[331] But recently an important change had occurred.[332] A brave Ethiopian prince had descended the valley of the Nile at the head of a swarthy host, had defeated the Egyptian levies, had driven the reigning

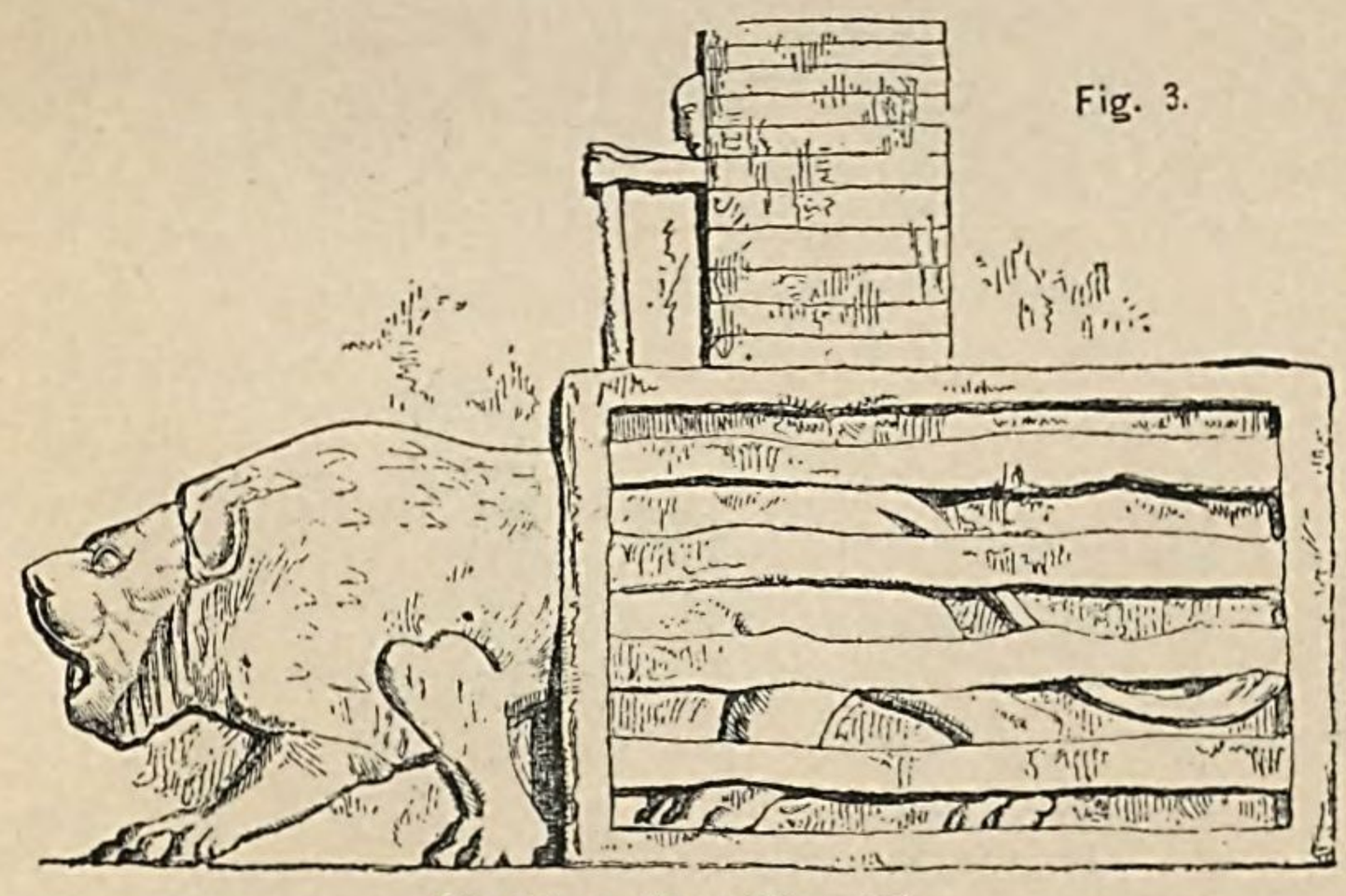
Fig. 1.

Hound held in leash (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.

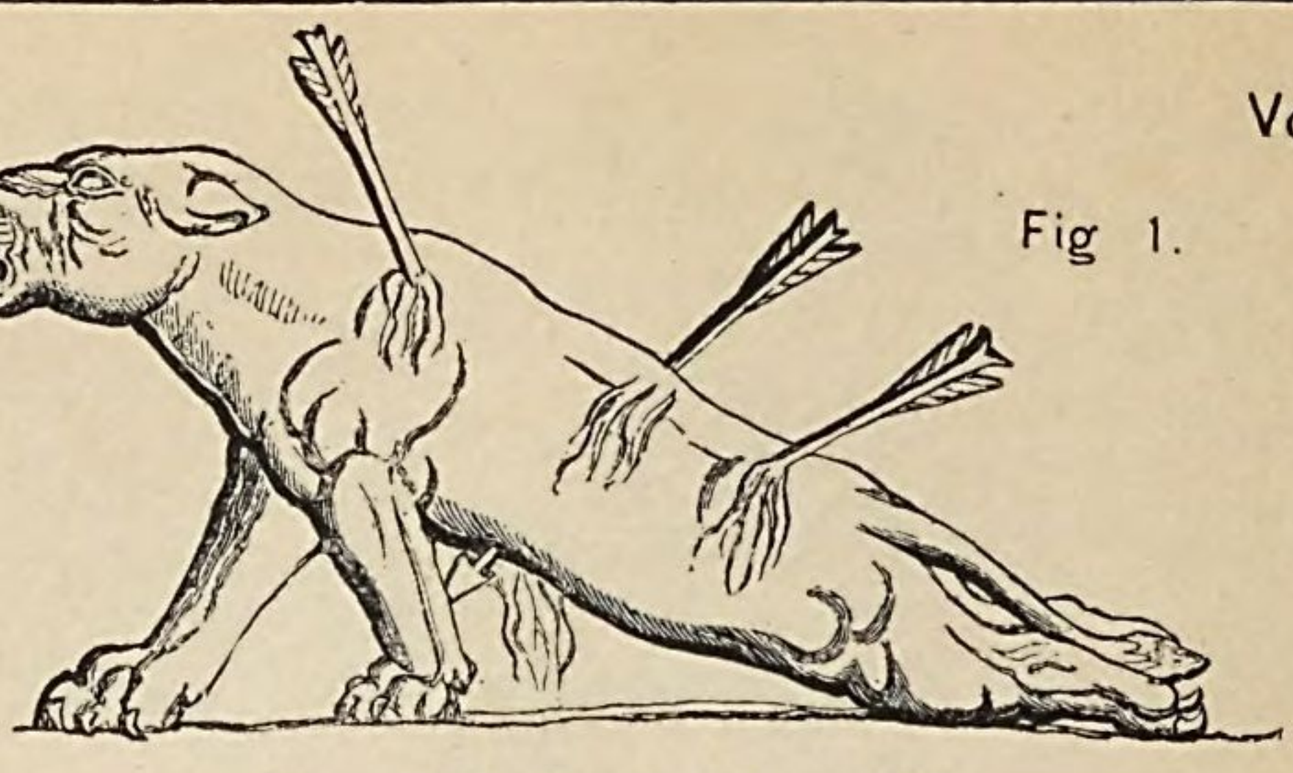
King, with attendant, stabbing a lion (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



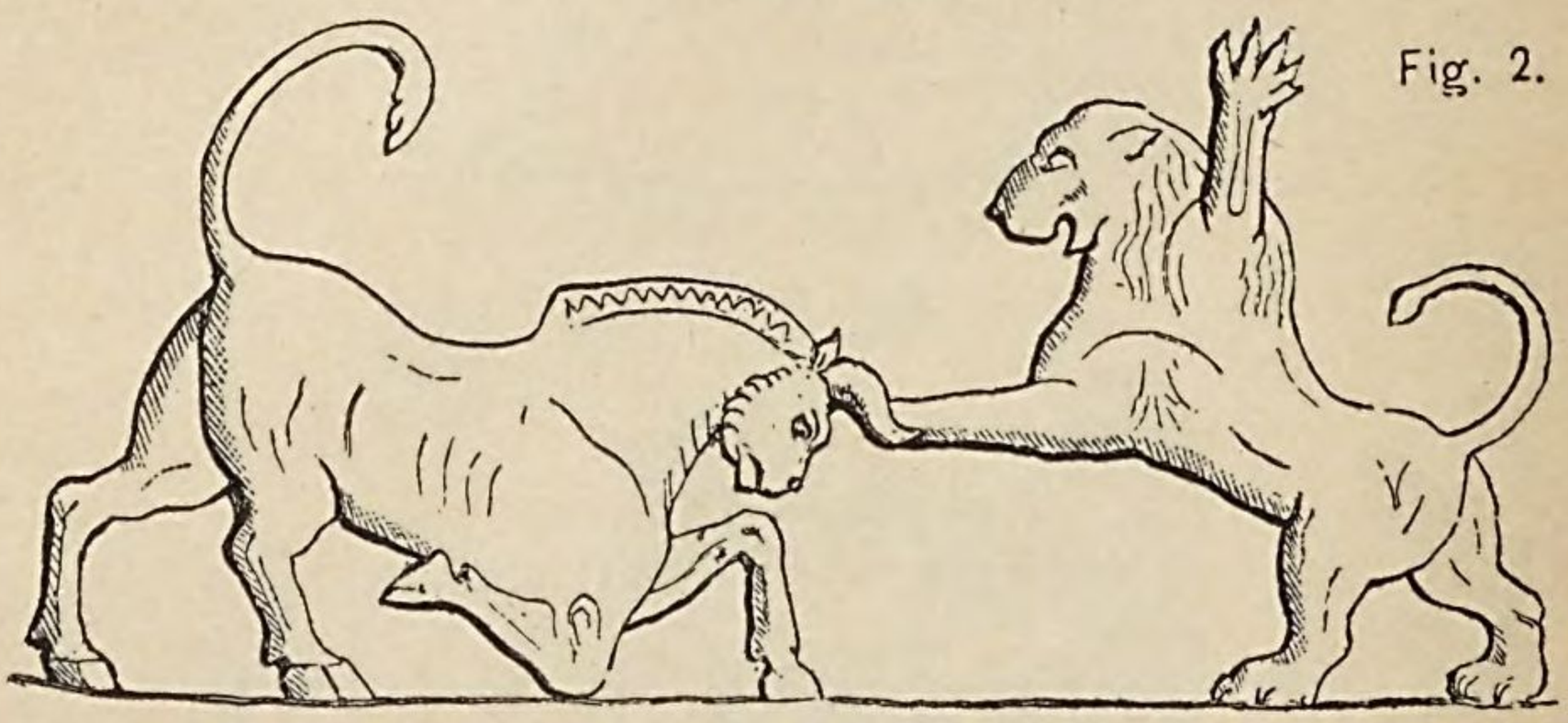
Lion let out of trap (Koyunjik).

Fig 1.



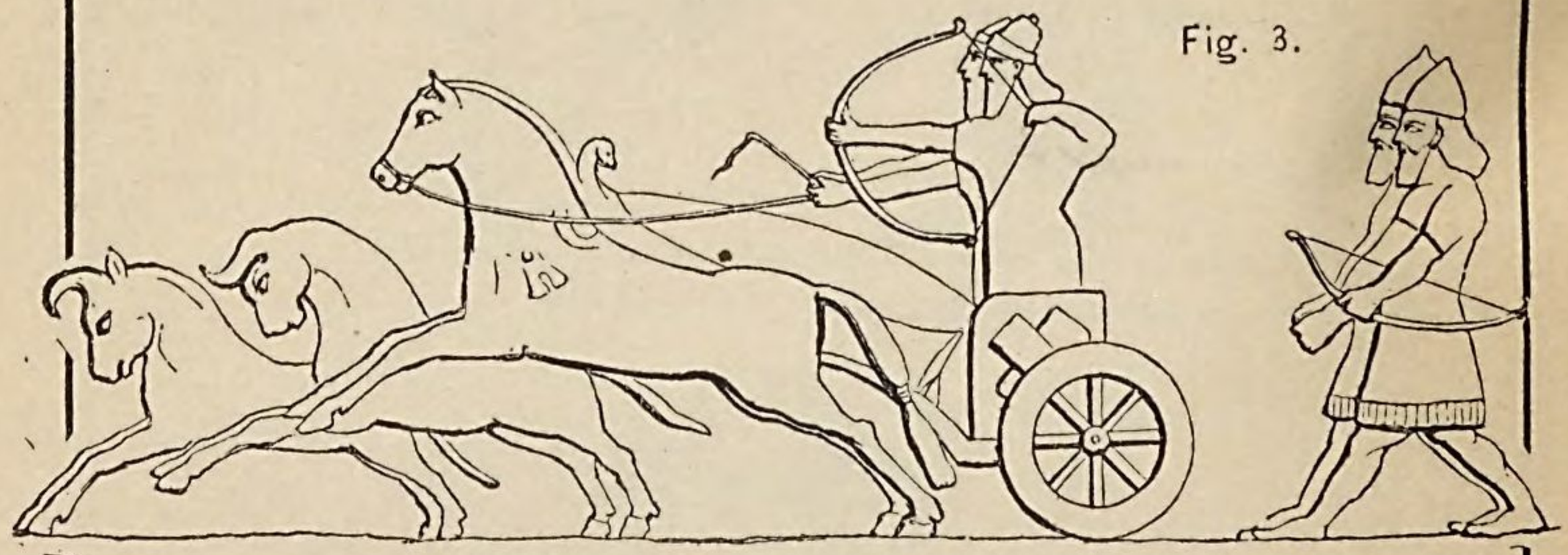
Wounded Lioness (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



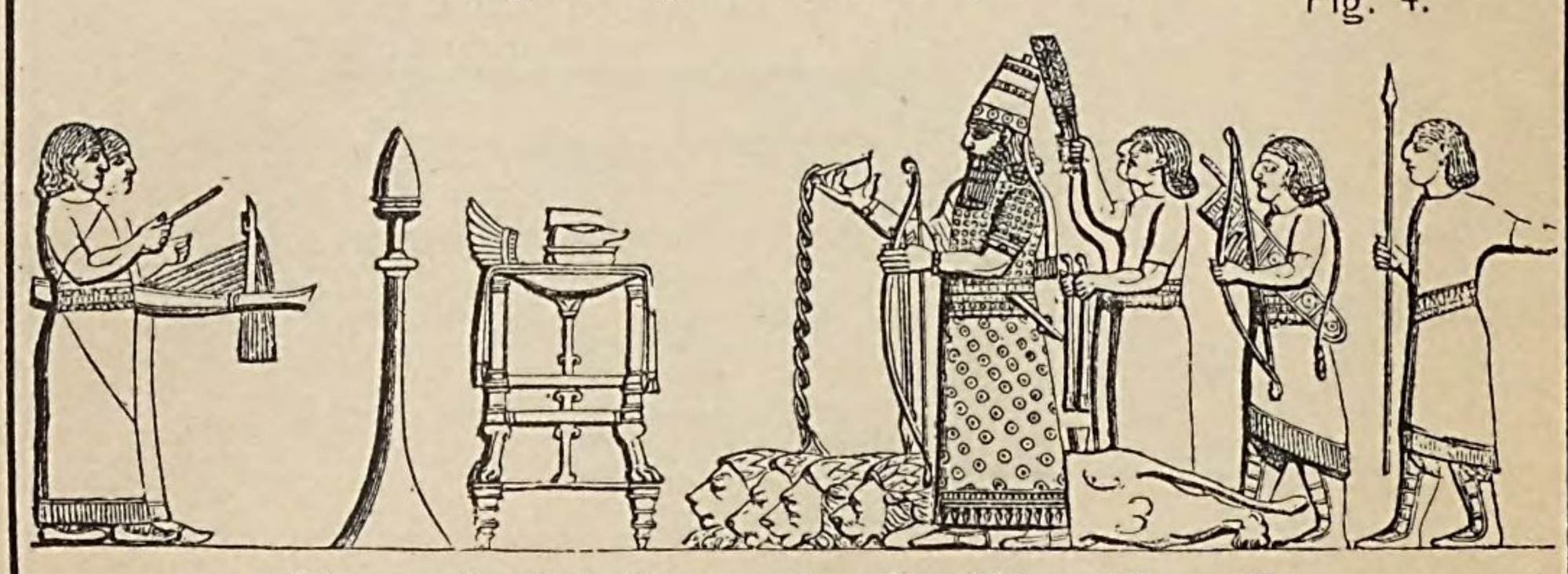
Fight of Lion and Bull (Nimrud).

Fig. 3.



King hunting the Wild Bull (Nimrud).

Fig. 4.



King pouring Libation over four Dead Lions (Koyunjik).

monarch into the marshes of the Delta, or put him to a cruel death,[333] and had established his own dominion firmly, at any rate over the upper country. Shebek the First bore sway in Memphis in lieu of the blind Bocchoris;[334] and Hoshea, seeing in this bold and enterprising king the natural foe of the Assyrians,[335] and therefore his own natural ally and friend, "sent messengers" with proposals, which appear to have been accepted; for on their return Hoshea revolted openly, withheld his tribute, and declared himself independent. Shalmaneser, upon this, came up against Samaria for the second time, determined now to punish his vassal's perfidy with due severity. Apparently, he was unresisted; at any rate, Hoshea fell into his power, and was seized, bound, and shut up in prison. A year or two later[336] Shalmaneser made his third and last expedition into Syria. What was the provocation given him, we are not told; but this time, he "came up *throughout all the land*,"[337] and, being met with resistance, he laid formal siege to the capital. The siege commenced in Shalmaneser's fourth year, B.C. 724, and was protracted to his sixth, either by the efforts of the Egyptians, or by the stubborn resistance of the inhabitants. At last, in B.C. 722, the town surrendered, or was taken by storm;[338] but before this consummation had been reached, Shalmaneser's reign would seem to have come to an end in consequence of a successful revolution.

While he was conducting these operations against Samaria, either in person or by means of his generals, Shalmaneser appears to have been also engaged in hostilities with the Phœnician towns. Like Samaria, they had revolted at the death of Tiglath-Pileser; and Shalmaneser, consequently, marched into Phœnicia at the beginning of his reign, probably in his first year, overran the entire country,[339] and forced all the cities to resume their position of dependence. The island Tyre, however, shortly afterwards shook off the yoke. Hereupon Shalmaneser "returned"[340] into these parts, and collecting a fleet from Sidon, Palæ-Tyrus, and Akko, the three most important of the Phœnician towns after Tyre, proceeded to the attack of the revolted place. His vessels were sixty in number, and were manned by eight hundred Phœnician rowers, co-operating with, probably, a smaller number of unskilled Assyrians.[341] Against this fleet the Tyrians, confiding in their maritime skill, sent out a force of twelve vessels only, which proved, however, quite equal to the occasion; for the assailants were dispersed and driven off, with the loss of 500 prisoners.

Shalmaneser, upon this defeat, retired, and gave up all active operations, contenting himself with leaving a body of troops on the mainland, over against the city, to cut off the Tyrians from the supplies of water which they were in the habit of drawing from the river Litany, and from certain aqueducts which conducted the precious fluid from springs in the mountains. The Tyrians, it is said, held out against this pressure for five years, satisfying their thirst with rain water, which they collected in reservoirs. Whether they then submitted, or whether the attempt to subdue them was given up, is uncertain, since the quotation from Menander, which is our sole authority for this passage of history, here breaks off abruptly.[342]

The short reign of Shalmaneser IV. was, it is evident, sufficiently occupied by the two enterprises of which accounts have now been given—the complete subjugation of Samaria, and the attempt to reduce the island Tyre. Indeed, it is probable that neither enterprise had been conducted when a dynastic revolution, caused by the ambition of a subject, brought the unhappy monarch's reign to an untimely end. The conquest of Samaria is claimed by Sargon as an event of his first year; and the resistance of the Tyrians, if it really continued during the full space assigned to it by Menander, must have extended beyond the term of Shalmaneser's reign, into the first or second year of his successor.[343] It was probably the prolonged absence of the Assyrian monarch from his capital, caused by the obstinacy of the two cities which he was attacking, that encouraged a rival to come forward and seize the throne; just as in the Persian history we shall find the prolonged absence of Cambyses in Egypt produce a revolution and change of dynasty at Susa. In the East, where the monarch is not merely the chief but the sole power in the state, the moving spring whose action must be continually exerted to prevent the machinery of government from standing still, it is always dangerous for the reigning prince to be long away from his metropolis. The Orientals do not use the language of mere unmeaning compliment when they compare their sovereigns with the sun,[344] and speak of them as imparting light and life to the country and people over which they rule. In the king's absence all languishes; the course of justice is suspended; public works are stopped; the expenditure of the Court, on which the prosperity of the capital mainly depends, being withdrawn, trade stagnates, the highest branches

suffering most; artists are left without employment; workmen are discharged; wages fall; every industry is more or less deranged, and those engaged in it suffer accordingly; nor is there any hope of a return of prosperity until the king comes home. Under these circumstances a general discontent prevails; and the people, anxious for better times, are ready to welcome any pretender who will come forward, and, on any pretext whatever, declare the throne vacant, and claim to be its proper occupant. If Shalmaneser continued to direct in person the siege of Samaria during the three years of its continuance, we cannot be surprised that the patience of the Ninevites was exhausted, and that in the third year they accepted the rule of the usurper who boldly proclaimed himself king.

What right the new monarch put forward, what position he had previously held, what special circumstances, beyond the mere absence of the rightful king, facilitated his attempts, are matters on which the monuments throw no light, and on which we must therefore be content to be ignorant. All that we can see is, that either personal merit or official rank and position must have enabled him to establish himself; for he certainly did not derive any assistance from his birth, which must have been mediocre, if not actually obscure. It is the custom of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings to glory in their ancestry, and when the father has occupied a decently high position, the son declares his sire's name and rank at the commencement of each inscription;[345] but Sargon never, in any record, names his father, nor makes the slightest allusion to his birth and descent, unless it be in vague phrases, wherein he calls the former kings of Assyria, and even those of Babylonia, his ancestors.[346] Such expressions seem to be mere words of course, having no historical value: and it would be a mistake even to conclude from them that the new king intended seriously to claim the connection of kindred with the monarchs of former times.

It has been thought, indeed, that Sargon, instead of cloaking his usurpation under some decent plea of right, took a pride in boldly avowing it. The name Sargon has been supposed to be one which he adopted as his royal title at the time of his establishment upon the throne, intending by the adoption to make it generally known that he had acquired the crown, not by birth or just claim, but by his own will and the consent of the people. Sargon, or Sar-gina, as the native name is read,[347] means "the firm" or "well-established king," and (it has been

argued) "shows the usurper."[348] The name is certainly unlike the general run of Assyria royal titles;[349] but still, as it is one which is found to have been previously borne by at least one private person in Assyria,[350] it is perhaps best to suppose that it was the monarch's real original appellation, and not assumed when he came to the throne; in which case no argument can be founded upon it.

Military success is the best means of confirming a doubtful title to the leadership of a warlike nation. No sooner, therefore, was Sargon accepted by the Ninevites as king than he commenced a series of expeditions, which at once furnished employment to unquiet spirits, and gave the prestige of military glory to his own name. He warred successively in Susiana, in Syria, on the borders of Egypt, in the tract beyond Amanus, in Melitêné and southern Armenia, in Kurdistan, in Media, and in Babylonia. During the first fifteen years of his reign, the space which his annals cover,[351] he kept his subjects employed in a continual series of important expeditions, never giving himself, nor allowing them, a single year of repose. Immediately upon his accession he marched into Susiana, where he defeated Humbanigas, the Elamitic king, and Merodach-Baladan, the old adversary of Tiglath-Pileser, who had revolted and established himself as king over Babylonia. Neither monarch was, however, reduced to subjection, though an important victory was gained, and many captives taken, who were transported into the country of the Hittites. In the same year, B.C. 722, he received the submission of Samaria, which surrendered, probably, to his generals, after it had been besieged two full years. He punished the city by depriving it of the qualified independence which it had enjoyed hitherto, appointing instead of a native king an Assyrian officer to be its governor, and further carrying off as slaves 27,280 of the inhabitants. On the remainder, however, he contented himself with re-imposing the rate of tribute to which the town had been liable before its revolt.[352] The next year, B.C. 721, he was forced to march in person into Syria in order to meet and quell a dangerous revolt. Yahubid (or Ilu-bid), king of Hamath—a usurper, like Sargon himself—had rebelled, and had persuaded the cities of Arpad, Zimira,[353] Damascus, and Samaria to cast in their lot with his, and to form a confederacy, by which it was imagined that an effectual resistance might be offered to the Assyrian arms. Not content merely to stand on the defensive in their several towns, the allies took the field: and a battle was fought at Kar-

kar or Gargar (perhaps one of the many Aroers[354]), where the superiority of the Assyrian troops was once more proved, and Sargon gained a complete victory over his enemies. Yahu-bid himself was taken and beheaded; and the chiefs of the revolt in the other towns were also put to death.

Having thus crushed the rebellion and re-established tranquillity throughout Syria, Sargon turned his arms towards the extreme south, and attacked Gaza, which was a dependency of Egypt. The exact condition of Egypt at this time is open to some doubt. According to Manetho's numbers, the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty had not yet begun to reign.[355] Bocchoris the Saite occupied the throne, a humane but weak prince, of a contemptible presence, and perhaps afflicted with blindness.[356] No doubt such a prince would tempt the attack of a powerful neighbor; and, so far, probability might seem to be in favor of the Manethonian dates. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that Egypt had lately taken an aggressive attitude, incompatible with a time of weakness; she had intermeddled between the Assyrian crown and its vassals, by entering into a league with Hoshea; and she had extended her dominion over a portion of Philistia,[357] thereby provoking a collision with the Great Power of the East. Again, it is worthy of note that the name of the Pharaoh who had dealings with Hoshea, if it does not seem at first sight very closely to resemble the Egyptian Shebek, is, at any rate, a possible representative of that word,[358] while no etymological skill can force it into agreement with any other name in this portion of the Egyptian lists. Further, it is to be remarked that at this point of the Assyrian annals, a Shebek appears in them,[359] holding a position of great authority in Egypt, though not dignified with the title of king. These facts furnish strong grounds for believing that the Manethonian chronology, which can be proved to be in many points incorrect,[360] has placed the accession of the Ethiopians somewhat too late, and that that event occurred really as early as B.C. 725 or B.C. 730.

At the same time, it must be allowed that all difficulty is not removed by this supposition. The Shebek (*Sibahé* or *Sibaki*) of the Assyrian record bears an inferior title, and not that of king.[361] He is also, apparently, contemporary with another authority in Egypt, who is recognized by Sargon as the true "Pharaoh," or native ruler.[362] Further, it is not till eight or nine years later that any mention is made of Ethiopia as having an authority over Egypt, or as in any way brought into

contact with Sargon. The proper conclusion from these facts seems to be that the Ethiopians established themselves gradually; that in B.C. 720, Shebek or Sabaco, though master of a portion of Egypt, had not assumed the royal title, which was still borne by a native prince of little power—Bocchoris, or Sethos—who held his court somewhere in the Delta; and that it was not till about the year B.C. 712 that this shadowy kingdom passed away, that the Ethiopian rule was extended over the whole of Egypt, and that Sabaco assumed the full rank of an independent monarch.

If this be the true solution of the difficulty which has here presented itself, we must conclude that the first actual collision between the powers of Egypt and Assyria took place at a time very unfavorable to the former. Egypt was, in fact, divided against itself, the fertile tract of the Delta being under one king, the long valley of the Nile under another. If war was not actually going on, jealousy and suspicion, at any rate, must have held the two sovereigns apart; and the Assyrian monarch, coming at such a time of intestine feud, must have found it comparatively easy to gain a triumph in this quarter.

The armies of the two great powers met at the city of Rapikh, which seems to be the Raphia of the Greeks and Romans,[363] and consequently the modern *Refah*—a position upon the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, about half-way between Gaza and the Wady-el-Arish, or "River of Egypt." Here the forces of the Philistines, under Khanun, king of Gaza, and those of Shebek, the Tar-dan (or perhaps the Sultan[364]) of Egypt, had effected a junction, and awaited the approach of the invader. Sargon, having arrived, immediately engaged the allied army, and succeeded in defeating it completely, capturing Khanun, and forcing Shebek to seek safety in flight. Khanun was deprived of his crown and carried off to Assyria by the conqueror.[365]

Such was the result of the first combat between the two great powers of Asia and Africa. It was an omen of the future, though it was scarcely a fair trial of strength. The battle of Raphia foreshadowed truly enough the position which Egypt would hold among the nations from the time that she ceased to be isolated, and was forced to enter into the struggle for pre-eminence, and even for existence, with the great kingdoms of the neighboring continent. With rare and brief exceptions, Egypt has from the time of Sargon succumbed to the superior might of whatever power has been dominant in Western Asia, owning it for lord, and submitting, with a good or bad grace,

to a position involving a greater or less degree of dependence. Tributary to the later Assyrian princes, and again, probably, to Nebuchadnezzar, she had scarcely recovered her independence when she fell under the dominion of Persia. Never successful, notwithstanding all her struggles, in thoroughly shaking off this hated yoke, she did but exchange her Persian for Greek masters, when the empire of Cyrus perished. Since then, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, and Turks have, each in their turn, been masters of the Egyptian race, which has paid the usual penalty of precocity in the early exhaustion of its powers.

After the victories of Aroer and Raphia, the Assyrian monarch appears to have been engaged for some years in wars of comparatively slight interest towards the north and the north-east. It was not till B.C. 715, five years after his first fight with the Egyptians, that he again made an expedition towards the south-west, and so came once more into contact with nations to whose fortunes we are not wholly indifferent. His chief efforts on this occasion were directed against the peninsula of Arabia. The wandering tribes of the desert, tempted by the weak condition to which the Assyrian conquest had reduced Samaria, made raids, it appears, into the territory at their pleasure, and carried off plunder. Sargon determined to chastise these predatory bands, and made an expedition into the interior, where "he subdued the uncultivated plains of the remote Arabia, which had never before given tribute to Assyria," and brought under subjection the Thamudites,[366] and several other Arab tribes, carrying off a certain number and settling them in Samaria itself, which thenceforth contained an Arab element in its population.[367] Such an effect was produced on the surrounding nations by the success of this inroad, that their princes hastened to propitiate Sargon's favor by sending embassies, and excepting the position of Assyrian tributaries. The reigning Pharaoh, whoever he may have been, It-hamar, king of the Sabæans, and Tsamsi,[368] queen of the Arabs, thus humbled themselves, sending presents,[369] and probably entering into engagements which bound them for the future.

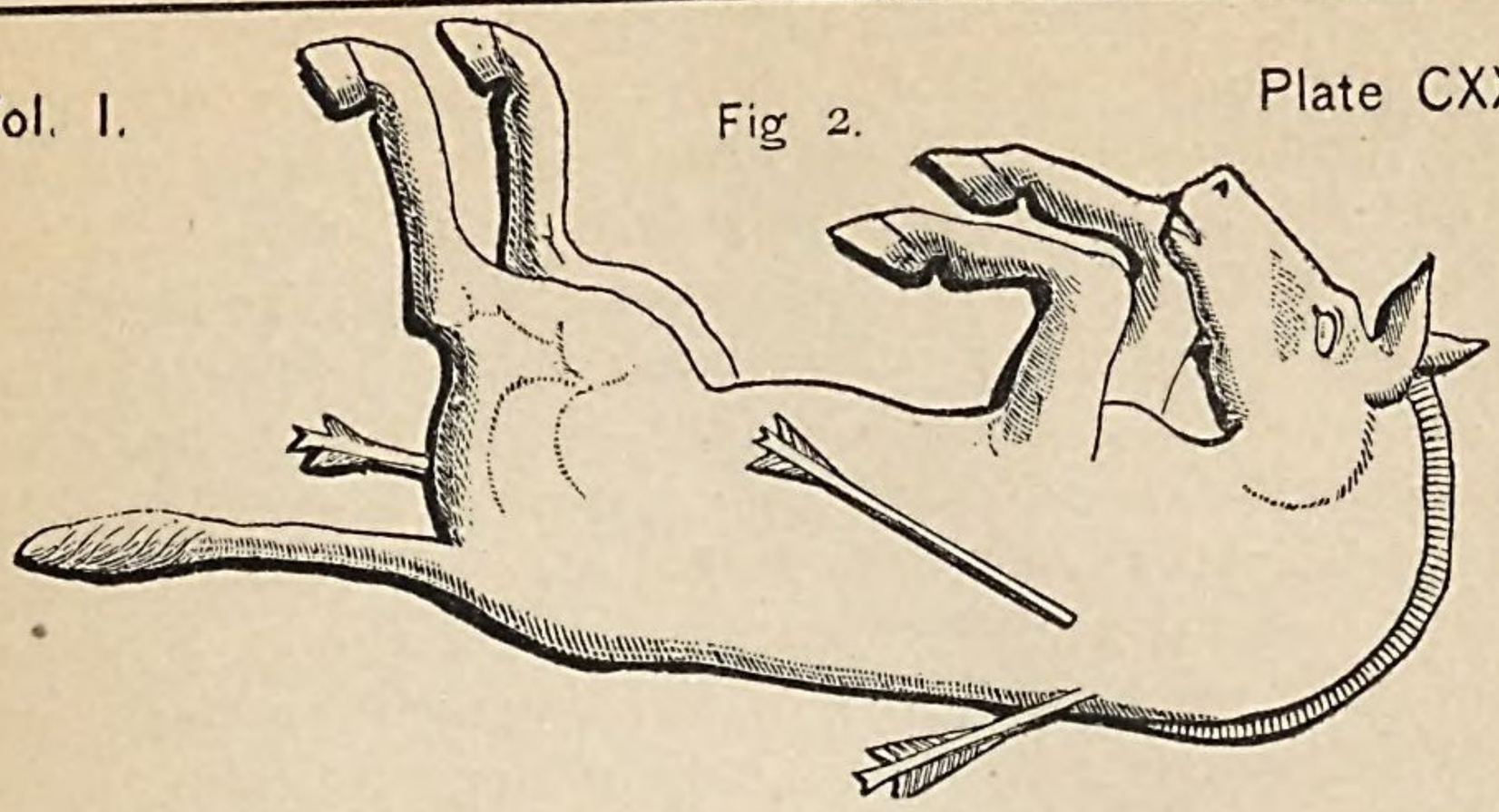
Four years later (B.C. 711) Sargon led a third expedition into these parts, regarding it as important to punish the misconduct of the people of Ashdod. Ashdod had probably submitted after the battle of Raphia, and had been allowed to retain its native prince, Azuri. This prince, after awhile, revolted, withheld his tribute, and proceeded to foment rebellion against Assyria

among the neighboring monarchs; whereupon Sargon deposed him, and made his brother Akhimit king in his place. The people of Ashdod, however, rejected the authority of Akhimit, and chose a certain Yaman, or Yavan, to rule over them, who strengthened himself by alliances with the other Philistine cities, with Judæa, and with Edom. Immediately upon learning this, Sargon assembled his army, and proceeded to Ashdod to punish the rebels; but, before his arrival, Yaman had fled away, and "escaped to the dependencies of Egypt, which" (it is said) "were under the rule of Ethiopia."[370] Ashdod itself, trusting in the strength from which it derived its name,[371] resisted; but Sargon laid siege to it and in a little time forced it to surrender.[372] Yaman fled to Egypt, but his wife and children were captured and, together with the bulk of the inhabitants, were transported into Assyria, while their place was supplied by a number of persons who had been made prisoners in Sargon's eastern wars. An Assyrian governor was set over the town.

The submission of Ethiopia followed. Ashdod, like Samaria, had probably been encouraged to revolt by promises of foreign aid. Sargon's old antagonist, Shebek, had recently brought the whole of Egypt under his authority, and perhaps thought the time had come when he might venture once more to measure his strength against the Assyrians. But Sargon's rapid movements and easy capture of the strong Ashdod terrified him, and produced a change of his intentions. Instead of marching into Philistia and fighting a battle, he sent a suppliant embassy, surrendered Yaman, and deprecated Sargon's wrath.[373] The Assyrian monarch boasts that the king of Meroë, who dwelt in the desert, and had never sent ambassadors to any of the kings his predecessors, was led by the fear of his majesty to direct his steps towards Assyria and humbly bow down before him.

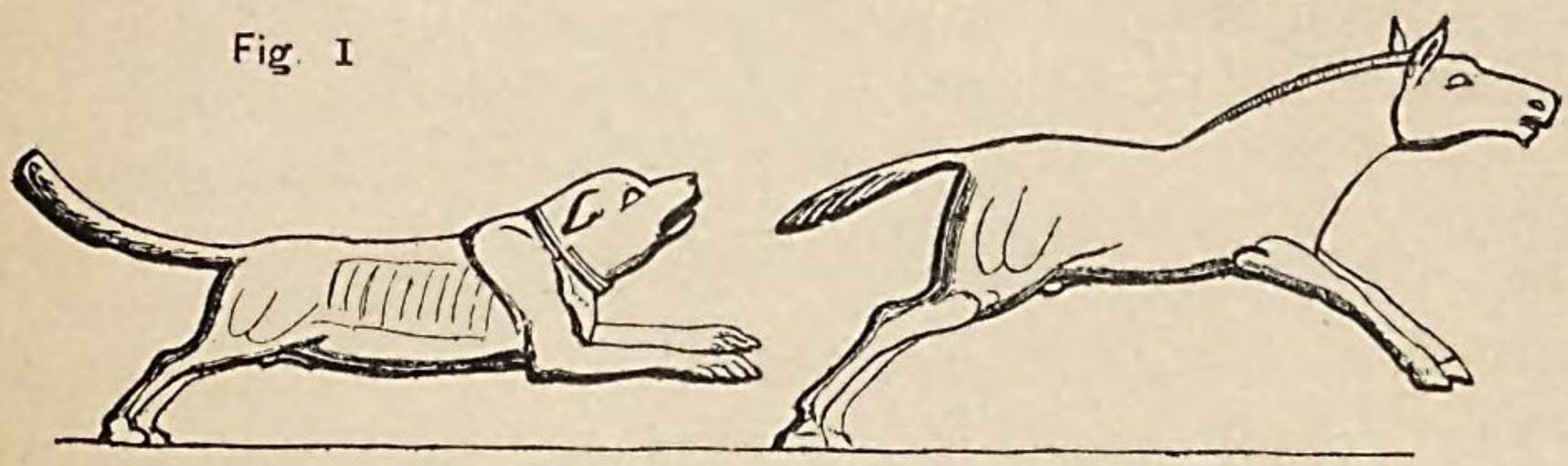
At the opposite extremity of his empire, Sargon soon afterwards gained victories which were of equal or greater importance. Having completely reduced Syria, humiliated Egypt, and struck terror into the tribes of the north and east, he determined on a great expedition against Babylon. Merodach-Baladan had now been twelve years in quiet possession of the kingdom.[374] He had established his court at Babylon, and, suspecting that the ambition of Sargon would lead him to attempt the conquest of the south he had made preparations for resistance by entering into close alliance with the Susianians

Fig 2.



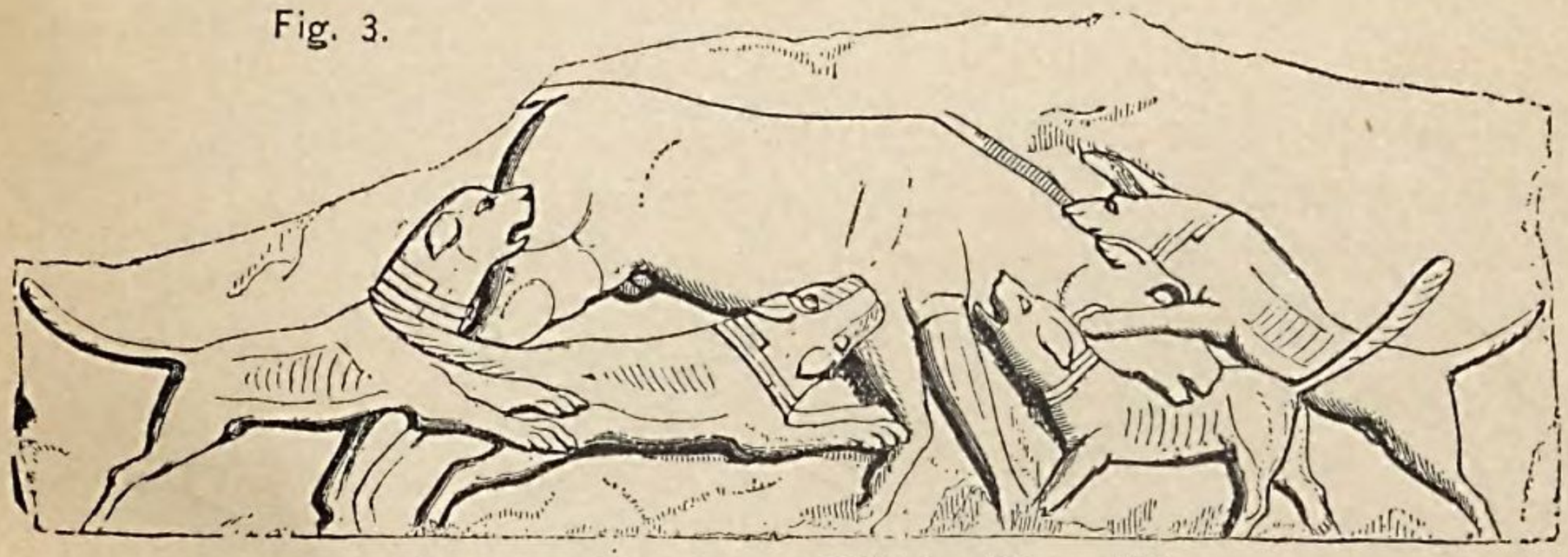
Dead wild ass (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1



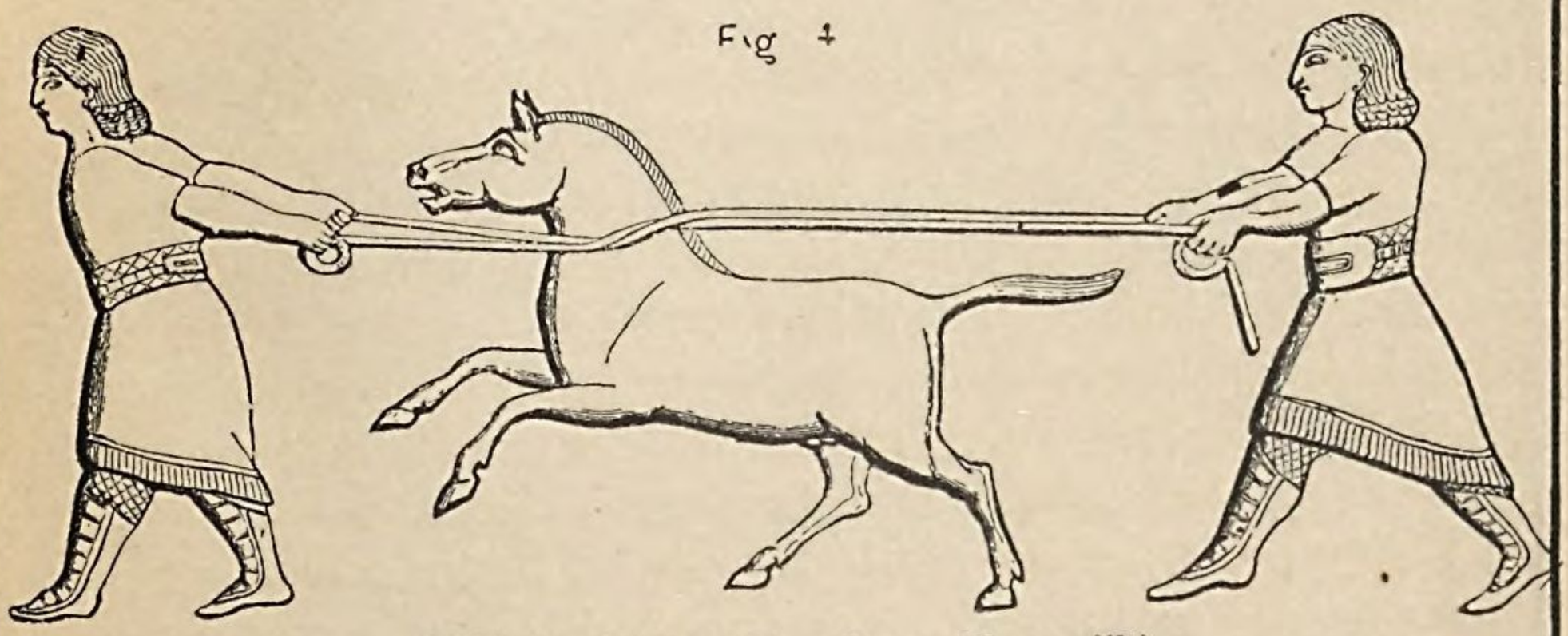
Hound chasing a wild ass colt (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



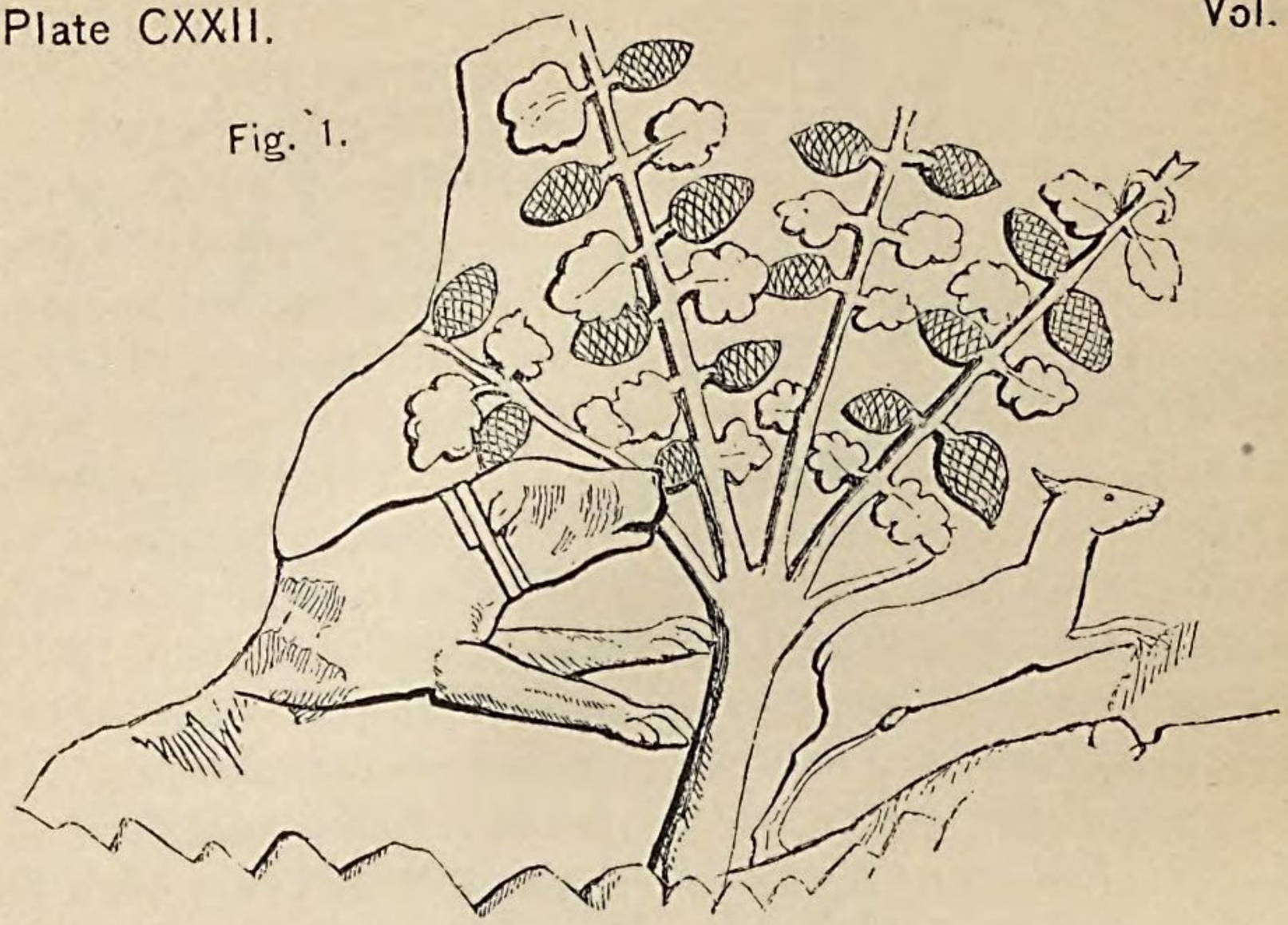
Hounds pulling down a Wild Ass (Koyunjik).

Fig 4



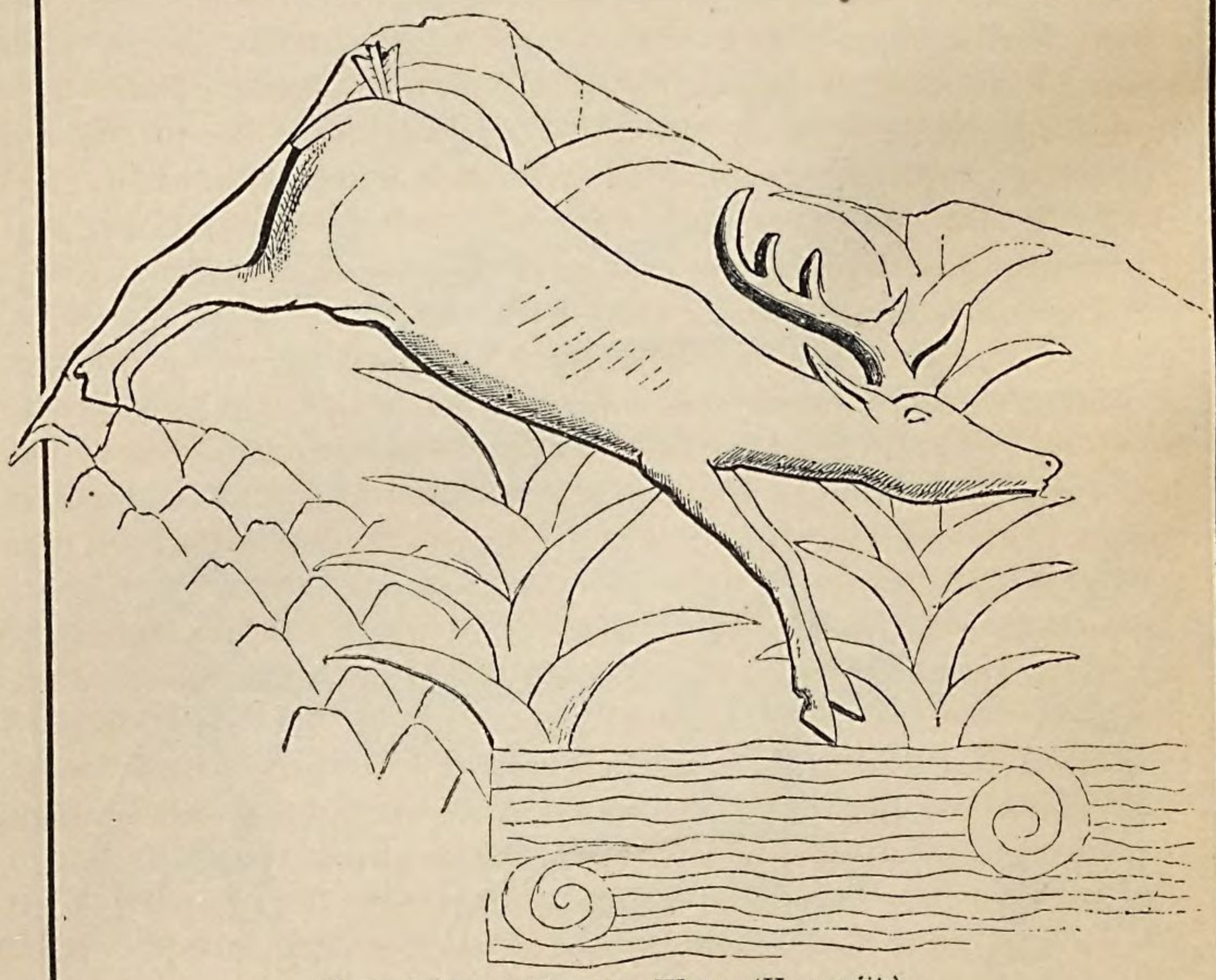
Wild Ass taken with a Rope (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



Hound chasing a doe (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Hunted Stag taking the Water (Koyunjik).

under Sutruk-Nakhunta on the one hand, and with the Aramæan tribes above Babylonia on the other. Still, when Sargon advanced against him, instead of giving him battle, or even awaiting him behind the walls of the capital, he at once took to flight.[375] Leaving garrisons in the more important of the inland towns, and committing their defence to his generals, he himself hastened down to his own city of Beth-Yakin,[376] which was on the Euphrates, near its mouth, and, summoning the Aramæans to his assistance,[377] prepared for a vigorous resistance in the immediate vicinity of his native place. Posting himself in the plain in front of the city, and protecting his front and left flank with a deep ditch, which he filled with water from the Euphrates, he awaited the advance of Sargon, who soon appeared at the head of his troops, and lost no time in beginning the attack. We cannot follow with any precision the exact operations of the battle, but it appears that Sargon fell upon the Babylonian troops, defeated them, and drove them into their own dyke, in which many of them were drowned, at the same time separating them from their allies, who, on seeing the disaster, took to flight, and succeeded in making their escape. Merodach-Baladan, abandoning his camp, threw himself with the poor remains of his army into Beth-Yakin, which Sargon then besieged and took. The Babylonian monarch fell into the hands of his rival, who plundered his palace and burnt his city, but generously spared his life. He was not, however, allowed to retain his kingdom, the government of which was assumed by Sargon himself, who is the Arceanus of Ptolemy's Canon.[378]

The submission of Babylonia was followed by the reduction of the Aramæans, and the conquest of at least a portion of Susiana. To the Susianian territory Sargon transported the Commukha from the Upper Tigris, placing the mixed population under a governor, whom he made dependent on the viceroy of Babylon.[379]

The Assyrian dominion was thus firmly established on the shores of the Persian Gulf. The power of Babylon was broken. Henceforth the Assyrian rule is maintained over the whole of Chaldæa and Babylonia, with few and brief interruptions, to the close of the Empire. The reluctant victim struggles in his captor's grasp, and now and then for a short space shakes it off; but only to be seized again with a fiercer gripe, until at length his struggles cease, and he resigns himself to a fate which he has come to regard as inevitable. During the last

fifty years of the Empire, from B.C. 680 to B.C. 625, the province of Babylon was almost as tranquil as any other.

The pride of Sargon received at this time a gratification which he is not able to conceal, in the homage which was paid to him by sovereigns who had only heard of his fame, and who were safe from the attacks of his armies. While he held his court at Babylon, in the year B.C. 708 or 707, he gave audience to two embassies from two opposite quarters, both sent by islanders dwelling (as he expresses it) "*in the middle* of the seas" that washed the outer skirts of his dominions.[380] Upir, king of Asmun, who ruled over an island in the Persian Gulf, —Khareg, perhaps, or Bahrein,—sent messengers, who bore to the Great King the tribute of the far East. Seven Cyprian monarchs, chiefs of a country which lay "at the distance of seven days from the coast, in the sea of the setting sun," offered him by their envoys the treasures of the West.[381] The very act of bringing presents implied submission; and the Cypriots not only thus admitted his suzerainty, but consented to receive at his hands and to bear back to their country a more evident token of subjection. This was an effigy of the Great King carved in the usual form, and accompanied with an inscription recording his name and titles, which was set up at Idalium, nearly in the centre of the island, and made known to the Cypriots the form and appearance of the sovereign whom it was not likely that they would ever see.[382]

The expeditions of Sargon to the north and north-east had results less splendid than those which he undertook to the south-west and the south; but it may be doubted whether they did not more severely try his military skill and the valor of his soldiers. The mountain tribes of Zagros, Taurus, and Niphates,—Medes, Armenians, Tibareni, Moschi, etc.,—were probably far braver men and far better soldiers than the levies of Egypt, Susiana, and Babylon. Experience, moreover, had by this time taught the tribes the wisdom of uniting against the common foe, and we find Ambris the Tibarenian in alliance with Mita the Moschian, and Urza the Armenian, when he ventures to revolt against Sargon. The submission of the northern tribes was with difficulty obtained by a long and fierce struggle, which—so far as one belligerent was concerned —terminated in a compromise. Ambris was deposed,[383] and his country placed under an Assyrian governor; Mita[384] consented, after many years of resistance, to pay a tribute; Urza was defeated, and committed suicide, but the general pacifica-

tion of the north was not effected until a treaty was made with the king of Van, and his good-will purchased by the cession to him of a considerable tract of country which the Assyrians had previously taken from Urza.[385]

On the side of Media the resistance offered to the arms of Sargon seems to have been slighter, and he was consequently able to obtain a far more complete success. Having rapidly overrun the country, he seized a number of the towns and "annexed them to Assyria,"[386] or, in other words, reduced a great portion of Media into the form of a province. He also built in one part of the country a number of fortified posts. He then imposed a tribute on the natives, consisting entirely of horses, which were perhaps required to be of the famous Nisæan breed.[387]

After his fourteenth year, B.C. 708, Sargon ceased to lead out his troops in person, employing instead the services of his generals. In the year B.C. 707 a disputed succession gave him an opportunity of interference in Illib, a small country bordering on Susiana. Nibi, one of the two pretenders to the throne, had applied for aid to Sutruk-Nakhunta, king of Elam, who held his court at Susa,[388] and had received the promise of his favor and protection. Upon this, the other claimant, who was named Ispabara, made application to Sargon, and was readily received into alliance. Sargon sent to his assistance "seven captains with seven armies," who engaged the troops of Sutruk-Nakhunta, defeated them, and established Ispabara on the throne.[389] In the following year, however, Sutruk-Nakhunta recovered his laurels, invading Assyria in his turn, and capturing cities which he added to the kingdom of Susiana.

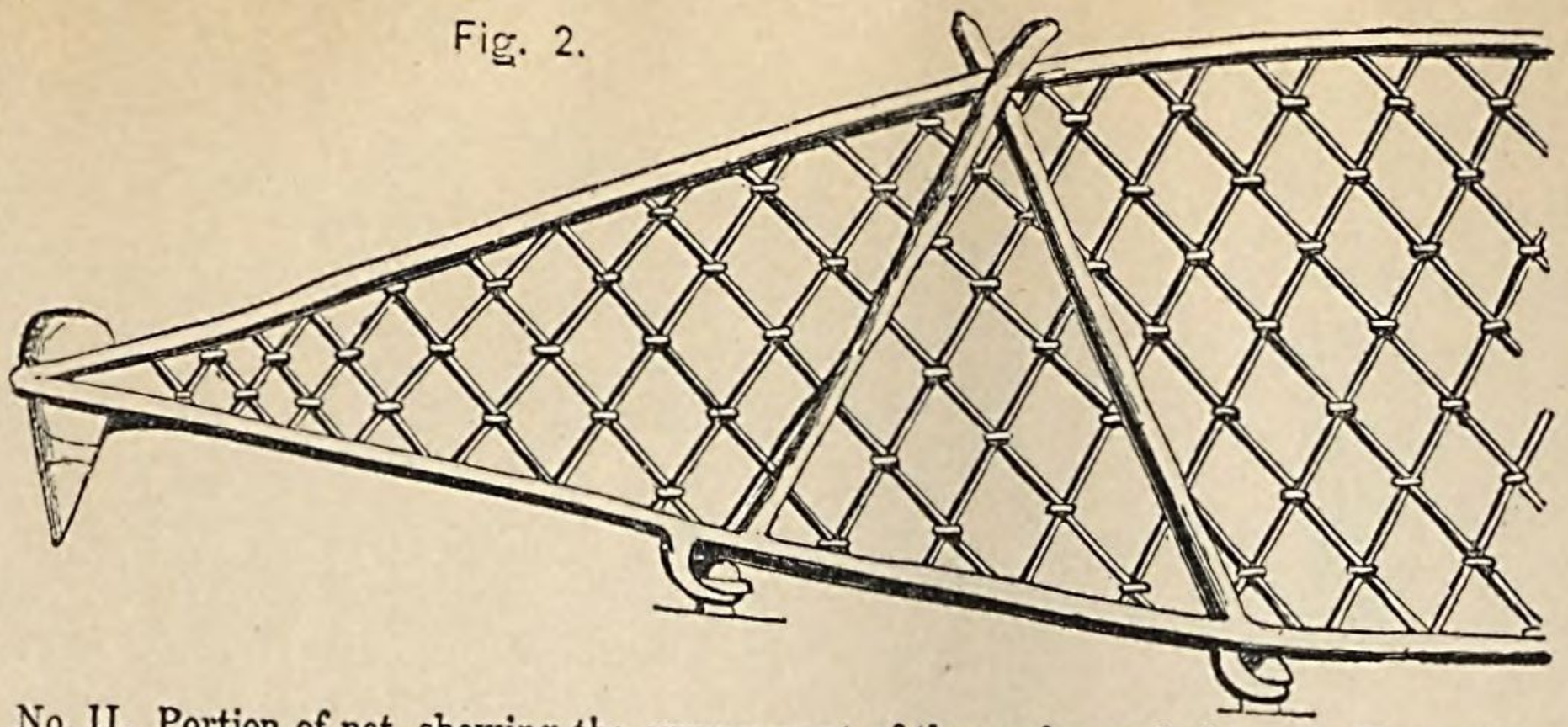
In all his wars Sargon largely employed the system of wholesale deportation. The Israelites were removed from Samaria, and planted partly in Gozan or Mygdonia, and partly in the cities recently taken from the Medes.[390] Hamath and Damascus were peopled with captives from Armenia and other regions of the north. A portion of the Tibareni were carried captive to Assyria, and Assyrians were established in the Tibarenian country. Vast numbers of the inhabitants of the Zagros range were also transported to Assyria; Babylonians, Cuthæans, Sepharvites, Arabians, and others, were placed in Samaria; men from the extreme east (perhaps Media) in Ashdod. The Commukha were removed from the extreme north to Susiana; and Chaldæans were brought from the extreme south to supply their place. Everywhere Sargon 'changed

the abodes" of his subjects,[391] his aim being, as it would seem, to weaken the stronger races by dispersion, and to destroy the spirit of the weaker ones by severing at a blow all the links which attach a patriotic people to the country it has long inhabited. The practice had not been unknown to previous monarchs,[392] but it had never been employed by any so generally or on so grand a scale as it was by this king.

From this sketch of Sargon's wars, we may now proceed to a brief consideration of his great works. The magnificent palace which he erected at Khorsabad was by far the most important of his constructions. Compared with the later, and even with the earlier buildings of a similar kind erected by other kings, it was not remarkable for its size. But its ornamentation was unsurpassed by that of any Assyrian edifice, with the single exception of the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik. Covered with sculptures, both internally and externally, generally in two lines, one over the other, and, above this, adorned with enamelled bricks, arranged in elegant and tasteful patterns; approached by noble flights of steps and through splendid propylæa; having the advantage, moreover, of standing by itself, and of not being interfered with by any other edifice, it had peculiar beauties of its own, and may be pronounced in many respects the most interesting of the Assyrian buildings. United to this palace was a town enclosed by strong walls, which formed a square two thousand yards each way. Allowing fifty square yards to each individual, this space would have been capable of accommodating 80,000 persons. The town, like the palace, seems to have been entirely built by Sargon, who imposed on it his own name, an appellation which it retained beyond the time of the Arab conquest.[393]

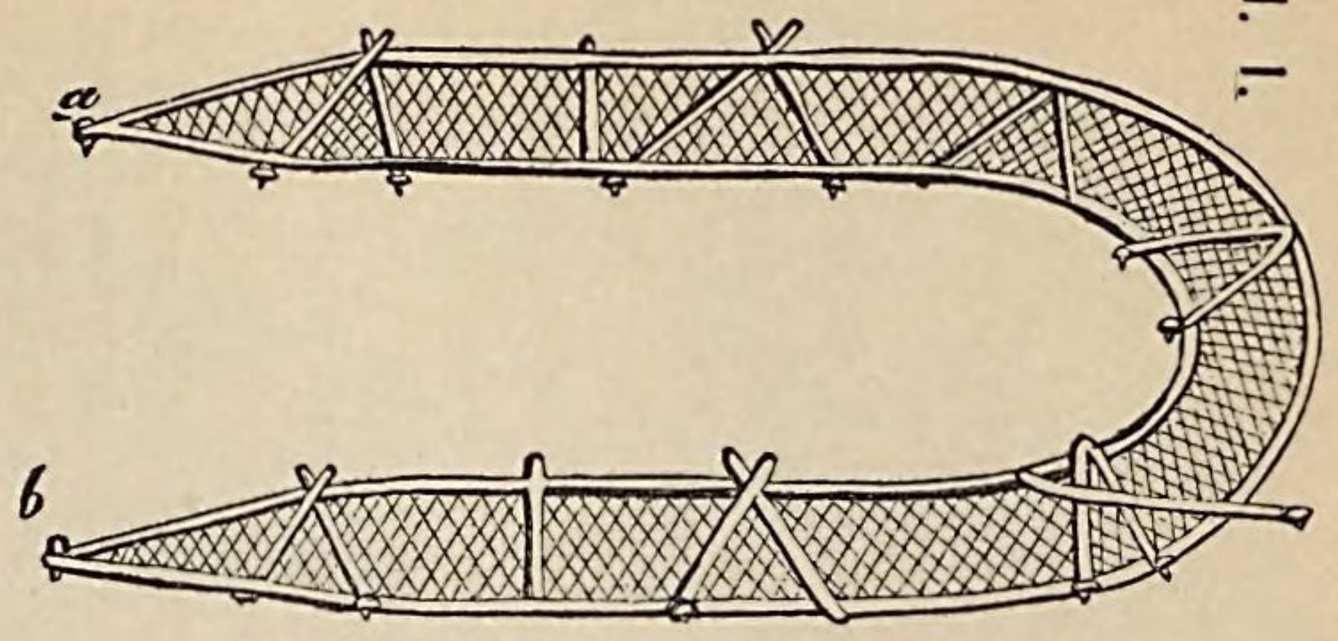
It is not easy to understand the exact object of Sargon in building himself this new residence. Dur-Sargina was not the Windsor or Versailles of Assyria—a place to which the sovereign could retire for country air and amusements from the bustle and heat of the metropolis. It was, as we have said, a town, and a town of considerable size, being very little less than half as large as Nineveh itself. It is true that it possessed the advantage of a nearer vicinity to the mountains than Nineveh; and had Sargon been, like several of his predecessors, "a mighty hunter," we might have supposed that the greater facility of obtaining sport in the woods and valleys of the Zagros chain formed the attraction which led him to prefer the region where he built his town to the banks of the Tigris.

Fig. 2.



No. II. Portion of net, showing the arrangement of the meshes and the pegs (Koyunjik).

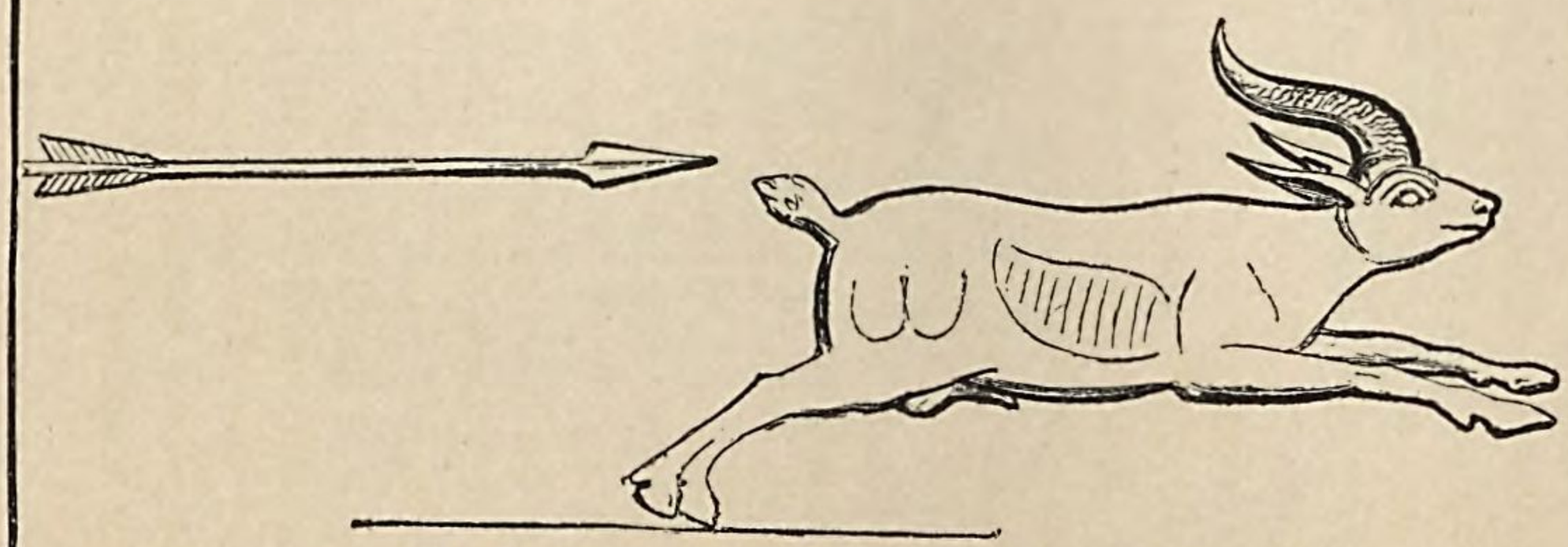
Fig 1.



No. I. Net spread to take deer (Koyunjik).

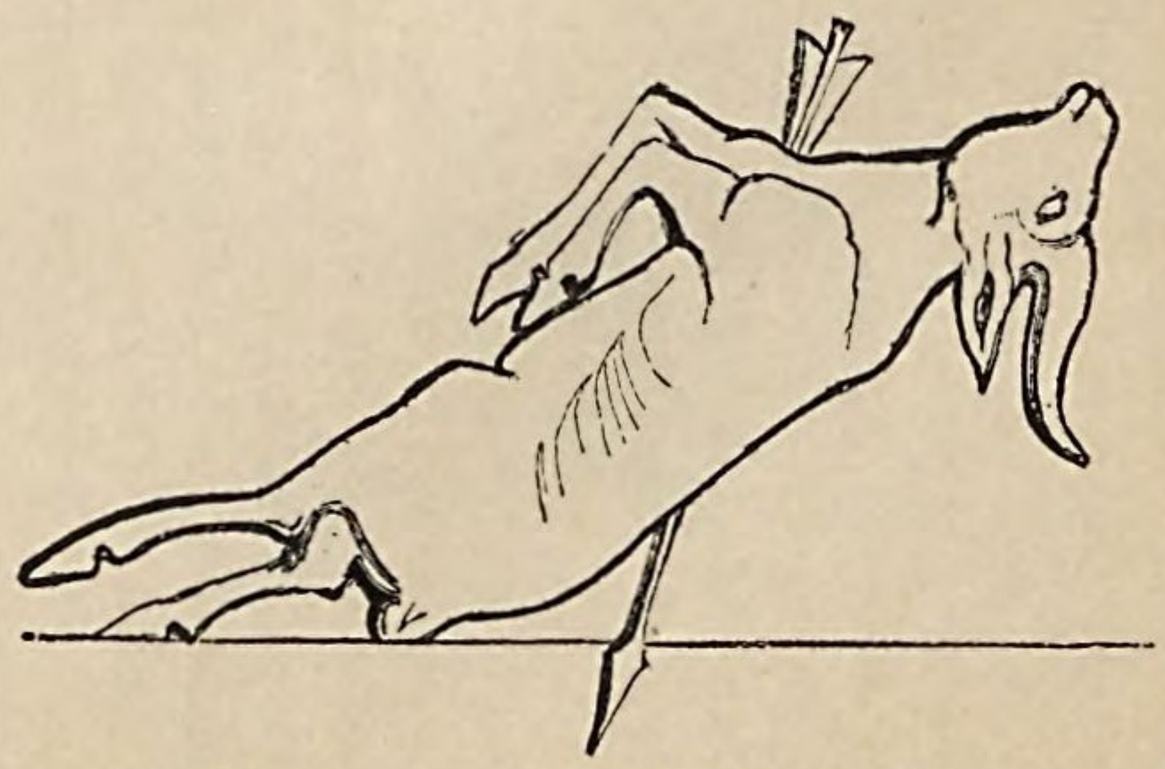
Vol. I.

Fig. 3.



No. I.—Hunted Ibex flying at full speed.

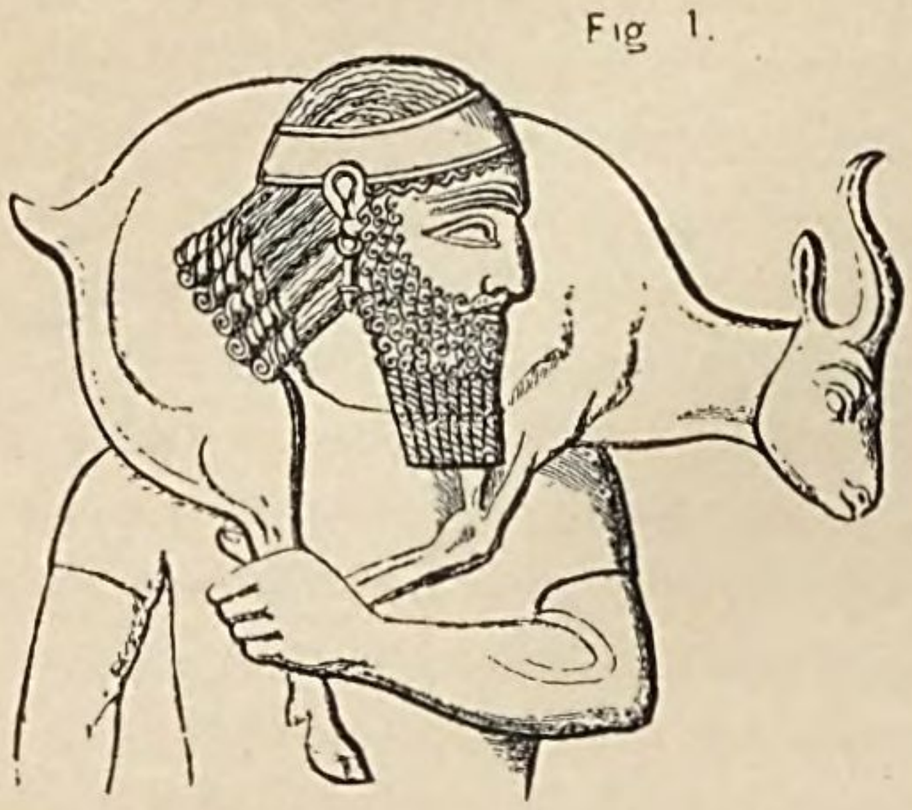
Fig. 4.



No. II.—Ibex transfixed with Arrow—falling.

Plate CXXIII.

Fig 1.



Sportsman carrying a gazelle (Khorsabad).

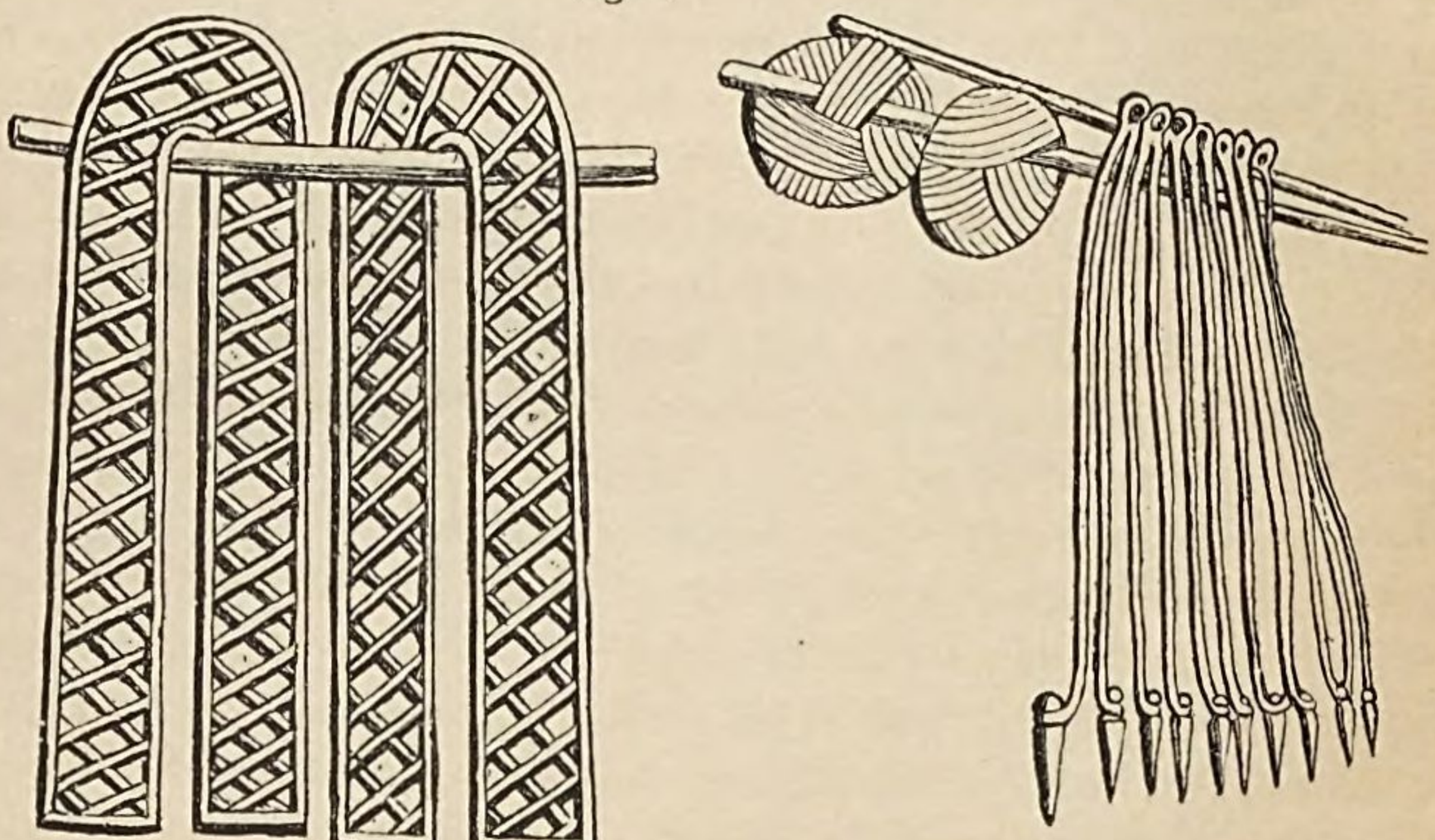
Fig 2.

Sportsman shooting (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.

Greyhound and Hare, from a bronze bowl (Nimrud).

Fig. 4.



Nets, pegs, and balls of string (Koyunjik).

But all the evidence that we possess seems to show that this monarch was destitute of any love for the chase;[394] and seemingly we must attribute his change of abode either to mere caprice, or to a desire to be near the mountains for the sake of cooler water, purer air, and more varied scenery. It is no doubt true, as M. Oppert observes,[395] that the royal palace at Nineveh was at this time in a ruinous state; but it could not have been more difficult or more expensive to repair it than to construct a new palace, a new mound, and a new town, on a fresh site.

Previously to the construction of the Khorsabad palace, Sargon resided at Caleh.[396] He there repaired and renovated the great palace of Asshur-izir-pal, which had been allowed to fall to decay.[397] At Nineveh he repaired the walls of the town, which were ruined in many places, and built a temple to Nebo and Merodach; while in Babylonia he improved the condition ot the embankments, by which the distribution of the waters was directed and controlled.[398] He appears to have been to a certain extent a patron of science, since a large number of the Assyrian scientific tablets are proved by the dates upon them to have been written in his day.[399]

The progress of mimetic art under Sargon is not striking: but there are indications of an advance in several branches of industry, and of an improved taste in design and in ornamentation. Transparent glass seems now to have been first brought into use,[400] and intaglios to have been first cut upon hard stones.[401] The furniture of the period is greatly superior in design to any previously represented,[402] and the modelling of sword-hilts, maces, armlets, and other ornaments is peculiarly good.[403] The enamelling of bricks was carried under Sargon to its greatest perfection; and the shape of vases, goblets, and boats shows a marked improvement upon the works of former times.[404] The advance in animal forms, traceable in the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser II., continues; and the drawing of horses' heads, in particular, leaves little to desire.[405]

After reigning gloriously over Assyria for seventeen years, and for the last five of them over Babylonia also, Sargon died, leaving his crown to the most celebrated of all the Assyrian monarchs, his son Sennacherib, who began to reign B.C. 705. The long notices which we possess of this monarch in the books of the Old Testament, his intimate connection with the Jews, the fact that he was the object of a preternatural exhibition of the Divine displeasure, and the remarkable circumstance that

this miraculous interposition appears under a thin disguise in the records of the Greeks, have always attached an interest to his name which the kings of this remote period and distant region very rarely awaken. It has also happened, curiously enough, that the recent Mesopotamian researches have tended to give to Sennacherib a special prominence over other Assyrian monarchs, more particularly in this country, our great excavator having devoted his chief efforts to the disinterment of a palace of this king's construction, which has supplied to our National Collection almost one-half of its treasures. The result is, that while the other sovereigns who bore sway in Assyria are generally either wholly unknown, or float before the mind's eye as dim and shadowy forms, Sennacherib stands out to our apprehension as a living and breathing man, the impersonation of all that pride and greatness which we assign to the Ninevite kings, the living embodiment of Assyrian haughtiness, Assyrian violence, and Assyrian power. The task of setting forth the life and actions of this prince, which the course of the history now imposes on its compiler, if increased in interest, is augmented also in difficulty, by the grandeur of the ideal figure which has possession of men's minds.

The reign of Sennacherib lasted twenty-four years, from B.C. 705 to B.C. 681. The materials which we possess for his history consist of a record written in his fifteenth[406] year, describing his military expeditions and his buildings up to that time;[407] of the Scriptural notices to which reference has already been made;[408] of some fragments of Polyhistor preserved by Eusebius;[409] and of the well-known passage of Herodotus which contains a mention of his name.[410] From these documents we shall be able to make out in some detail the chief actions of the earlier portion of his reign, but they fail to supply any account of his later years, unless we may assign to that portion of his life some facts mentioned by Polyhistor, to which there is no allusion in the native records.

It seems probable that troubles both abroad and at home greeted the new reign. The Canon of Ptolemy shows a two years' interregnum at Babylon (from B.C. 704 to B.C. 702) exactly coinciding[411] with the first two years of Sennacherib. This would imply a revolt of Babylon from Assyria soon after his accession, and either a period of anarchy or a rapid succession of pretenders, none of whom held the throne for so long a time as a twelvemonth.[412] Polyhistor gives us certain details,

from which we gather that there were at least three monarchs in the interval left blank by the Canon [413]—first, a brother of Sennacherib, whose name is not given; secondly, a certain Hagisa, who wore the crown only a month; and, thirdly, Merodach-Baladan, who had escaped from captivity, and, having murdered Hagisa, resumed the throne of which Sargon had deprived him six or seven years before.[414] Sennacherib must apparently have been so much engaged with his domestic affairs that he could not devote his attention to these Babylonian matters till the second year after his accession.[415] In B.C. 703 he descended on the lower country and engaged the troops of Merodach-Baladan, which consisted in part of native Babylonians, in part of Susianians, sent to his assistance by the king of Elam.[416] Over this army Sennacherib gained a complete victory near the city of Kis, after which he took Babylon, and overran the whole of Chaldæa, plundering (according to his own account) seventy-six large towns and 420 villages.[417] Merodach-Baladan once more made his escape, flying probably to Susiana, where we afterwards find his sons living as refugees.[418] Sennacherib, before quitting Babylon, appointed as tributary king an Assyrian named Belipni, who seems to be the Belibus of Ptolemy's Canon, and the Elibus of Polyhistor.[419] On his return from Babylonia he invaded and ravaged the territory of the Aramæan tribes on the middle Euphrates—the Tumuna, Ruhua, Gambulu, Khindaru, and Pukudu [420] (Pekod?), the Nabatu or Nabathæans, the Hagaranu or Hagarenes,[421] and others, carrying into captivity more than 200,000 of the inhabitants, besides great numbers of horses, camels, asses, oxen, and sheep.[422]

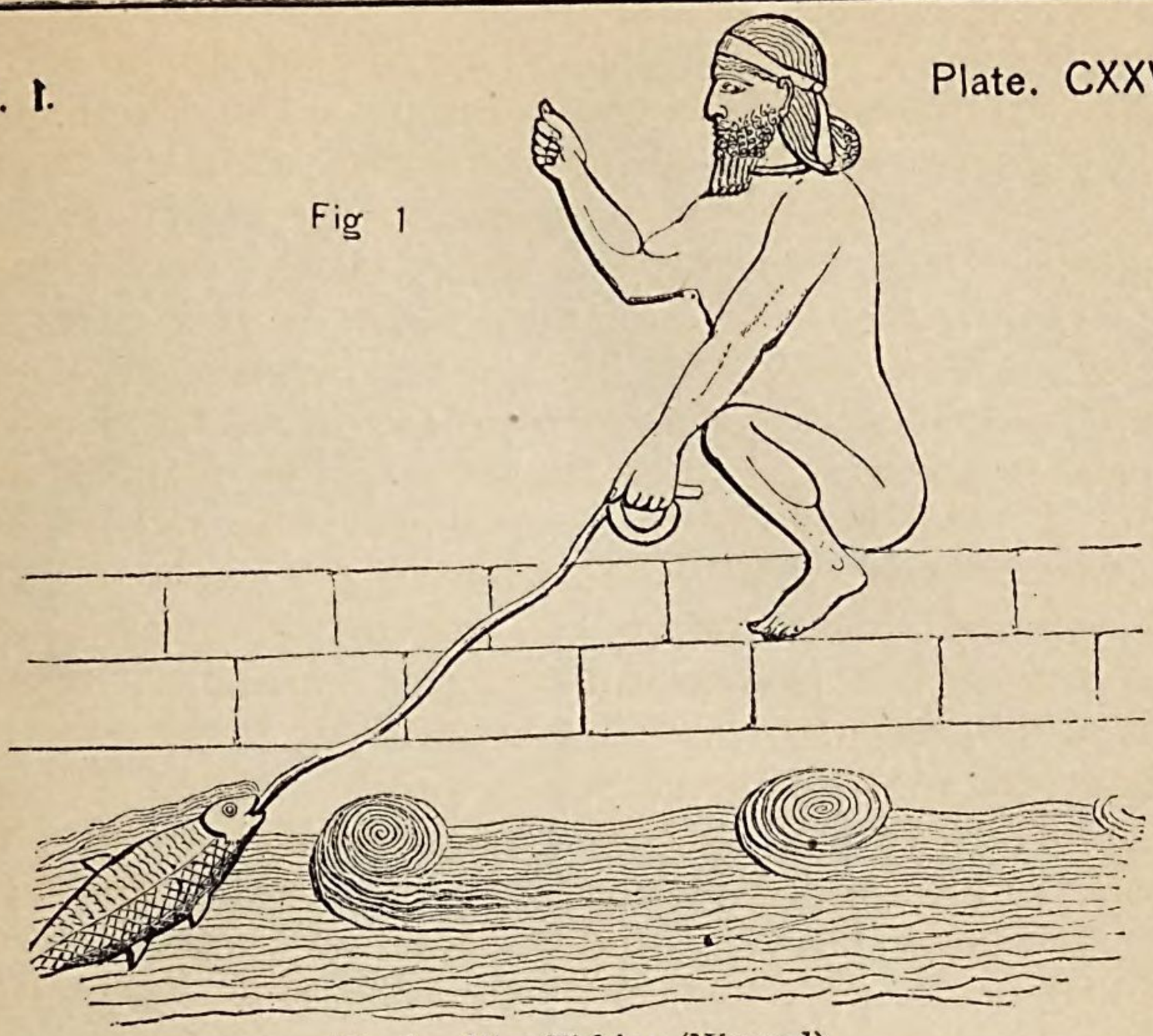
In the following year, B.C. 702, Sennacherib made war on the tribes in Zagros, forcing Ispabara, whom Sargon had established in power,[423] to fly from his country, and conquering many cities and districts, which he attached to Assyria, and placed under the government of Assyrian officers.[424]

The most important of all the expeditions contained in Sennacherib's records is that of his fourth year, B.C. 701, in which he attacked Luliya king of Sidon, and made his first expedition against Hezekiah king of Judah. Invading Syria with a great host, he made Phœnicia the first object of his attack. There Luliya—who seems to be the Elulæus of Menander,[425] though certainly not the Elulæus of Ptolemy's Canon,[426]—had evidently raised the standard of revolt, probably during the early years of Sennacherib, when domestic troubles seem to

have occupied his attention. Luliya had, apparently, established his dominion over the greater part of Phœnicia, being lord not only of Sidon, or, as it is expressed in the inscription, of Sidon the greater and Sidon the less, but also of Tyre, Ecdippa, Akko, Sarepta, and other cities. However, he did not venture to await Sennacherib's attack, but, as soon as he found the expedition was directed against himself, he took to flight, quitting the continent and retiring to an island in the middle of the sea—perhaps the island Tyre, or more probably Cyprus. Sennacherib did not attempt any pursuit, but was content to receive the submission of the various cities over which Luliya had ruled, and to establish in his place, as tributary monarch, a prince named Tubal. He then received the tributes of the other petty monarchs of these parts, among whom are mentioned Abdilihat king of Arvad, Hurus-milki king of Byblus, Mitinti king of Ashdod,[427] Puduel king of Beth-Ammon, a king of Moab, a king of Edom, and (according to some writers[428]) a "Menahem king of Samaria." After this Sennacherib marched southwards to Ascalon, where the king, Sidka, resisted him, but was captured, together with his city, his wife, his children, his brothers, and the other members of his family. Here again a fresh prince was established in power, while the rebel monarch was kept a prisoner and transported into Assyria. Four towns dependent upon Ascalon, viz., Hazor, Joppa, Beneberak, and Beth-Dagon,[429] were soon afterwards taken and plundered.

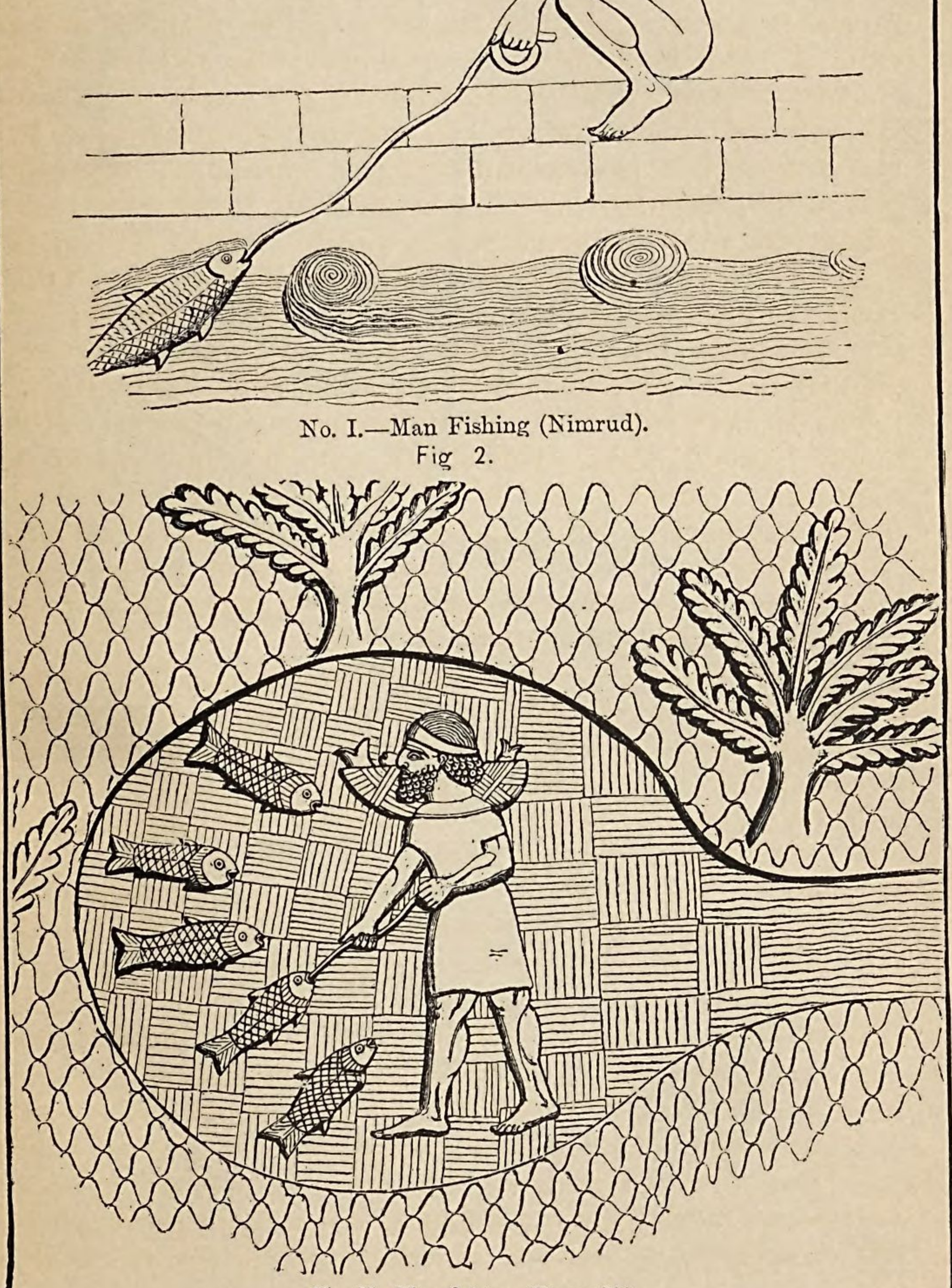
Sennacherib now pressed on against Egypt. The Philistine city of Ekron had not only revolted from Assyria, expelling its king, Padi, who was opposed to the rebellion, but had entered into negotiations with Ethiopia and Egypt, and had obtained a promise of support from them. The king of Ethiopia was probably the second Shebek (or Sabaco) who is called Sevechus by Manetho, and is said to have reigned either twelve or fourteen years.[430] The condition of Egypt at the time was peculiar. The Ethiopian monarch seems to have exercised the real sovereign power; but native princes were established under him who were allowed the title of king, and exercised a real though delegated authority over their several cities and districts.[431] On the call of Ekron both princes and sovereign had hastened to its assistance, bringing with them an army consisting of chariots, horsemen, and archers, so numerous that Sennacherib calls it "a host that could not be numbered." The second great battle[432] between the Assyrians and the

Fig 1



No. I.—Man Fishing (Nimrud).

Fig 2.

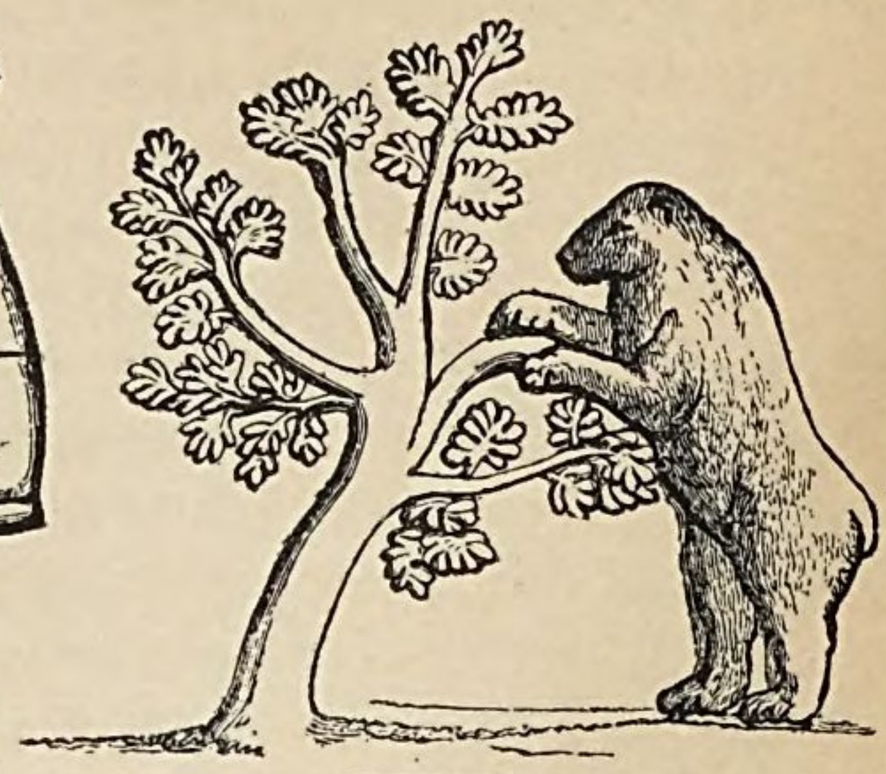


No. II. Man fishing (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3

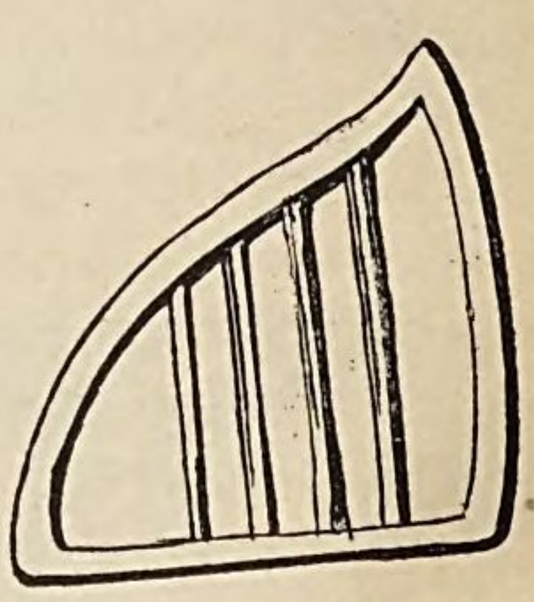
Ancient Assyrian Harp and Harper (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.



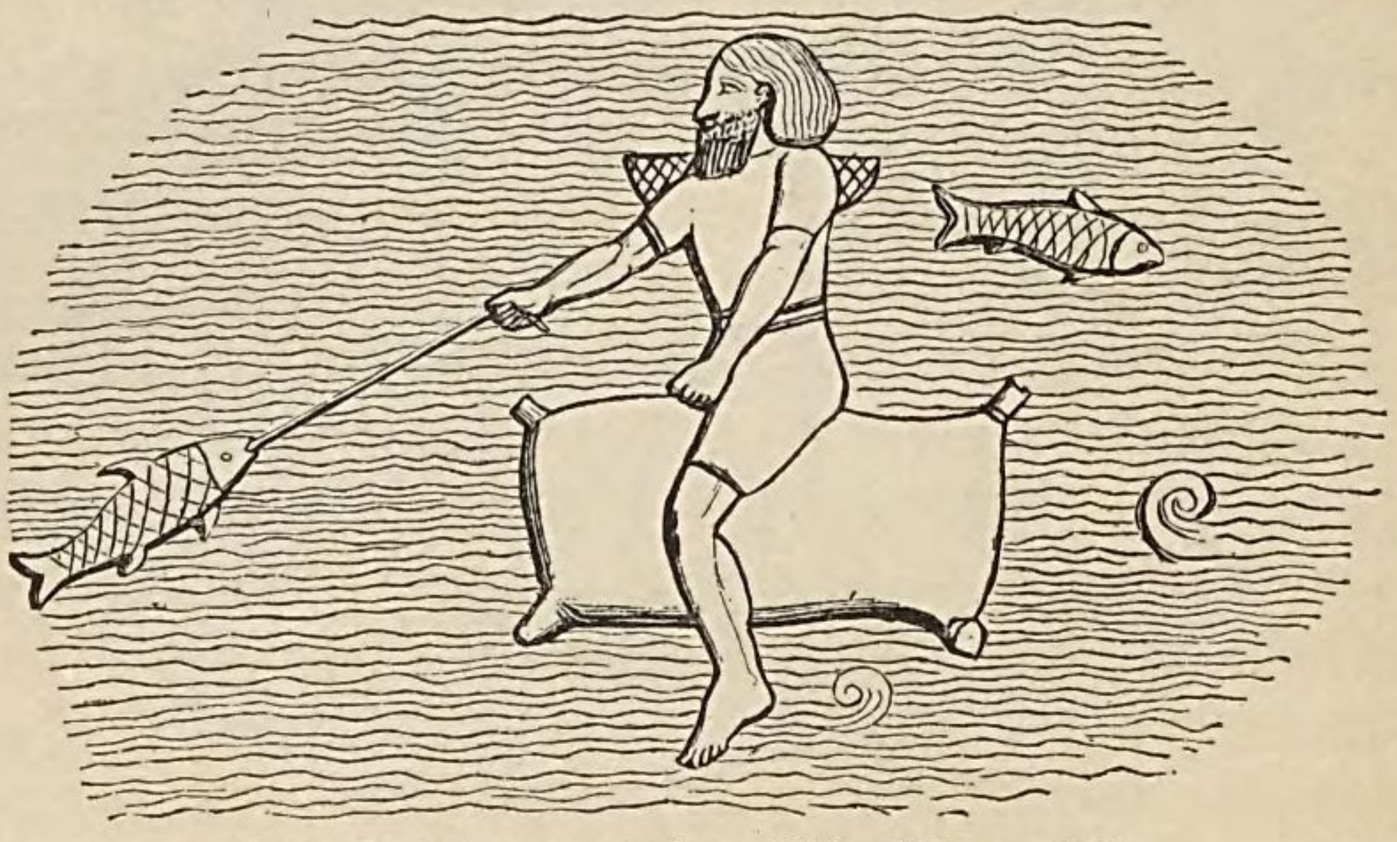
Bear standing, from a bronze bowl (Nimrud)

Fig. 4.



Triangular Lyre (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1



Man Fishing, seated on Skin (Koyunjik).

Egyptians took place near a place called Altaku, which is no doubt the Eltekeh of the Jews,[433] a small town in the vicinity of Ekron. Again the might of Africa yielded to that of Asia. The Egyptians and Ethiopians were defeated with great slaughter. Many chariots, with their drivers, both Egyptian and Ethiopian, fell into the hands of the conqueror, who also took alive several "sons" of the principal Egyptian monarch.[434] The immediate fruit of the victory was the fall of Altaku, which was followed by the capture of Tamna, a neighboring town.[435] Sennacherib then "went on" to Ekron, which made no resistance, but opened its gates to the victor. The princes and chiefs who had been concerned in the revolt he took alive and slew, exposing their bodies on stakes round the whole circuit of the city walls. Great numbers of inferior persons who were regarded as guilty of rebellion, were sold as slaves. Padi, the expelled king, the friend to Assyria, was brought back, reinstated in his sovereignty, and required to pay a small tribute as a token of dependence.[436]

The restoration of Padi involved a war with Hezekiah, king of Judah. When the Ekronites determined to get rid of a king whose Assyrian proclivities were distasteful to them, instead of putting him to death, they arrested him, loaded him with chains, and sent him to Hezekiah for safe keeping.[437] By accepting this charge the Jewish monarch made himself a partner in their revolt; and it was in part to punish this complicity, in part to compel him to give up Padi, that Sennacherib, when he had sufficiently chastised the Ekronite rebels, proceeded to invade Judæa. Then it was—in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, according to the present Hebrew text[438]—that "Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them. And Hezekiah, king of Judah, sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me; that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah, king of Judah, three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off [the gold from] the doors of the house of the Lord, and [from] the pillars which Hezekiah, king of Judah, had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria."[439]

Such is the brief account of this expedition and its consequences which is given us by the author of the Second Book

of Kings, who writes from a religious point of view, and is chiefly concerned at the desecration of holy things to which the imminent peril of his city and people forced the Jewish monarch to submit. It is interesting to compare with this account the narrative of Sennacherib himself, who records the features of the expedition most important in his eyes, the number of the towns taken and of the prisoners carried into captivity, the measures employed to compel submission, and the nature and amount of the spoil which he took with him to Nineveh.

"Because Hezekiah, king of Judah," says the Assyrian monarch,[440] "would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape. . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power."

It appears then that Sennacherib, after punishing the people of Ekron, broke up from before that city, and entering Judæa proceeded towards Jerusalem, spreading his army over a wide space, and capturing on his way a vast number of small towns and villages,[441] whose inhabitants he enslaved and carried off to the number of 200,000.[442] Having reached Jerusalem, he commenced the siege in the usual way, erecting towers around the city, from which stones and arrows were discharged against the defenders of the fortifications, and "casting banks" against the walls and gates.[443] Jerusalem seems to have been at this time very imperfectly fortified. The "breaches of the city of David" had recently been "many;" and the inhabitants had hastily pulled down the houses in the vicinity of the wall to fortify it.[444] It was felt that the holy

place was in the greatest danger. We may learn from the conduct of the people, as described by one of themselves, what were the feelings generally of the cities threatened with destruction by the Assyrian armies. Jerusalem was at first "full of stirs and tumult;" the people rushed to the housetops to see if they were indeed invested, and beheld "the choicest valleys full of chariots, and the horsemen set in array at the gates."[445] Then came "a day of trouble, and of treading down, and of perplexity"—a day of "breaking down the walls and of crying to the mountains."[446] Amidst this general alarm and mourning there were, however, found some whom a wild despair made reckless, and drove to a ghastly and ill-timed merriment. When God by His judgments gave an evident "call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth—behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine—'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.'"[447] Hezekiah after a time came to the conclusion that resistance would be vain, and offered to surrender upon terms, an offer which Sennacherib, seeing the great strength of the place, and perhaps distressed for water,[448] readily granted. It was agreed that Hezekiah should undertake the payment of an annual tribute, to consist of thirty talents of gold and three hundred talents of silver, and that he should further yield up the chief treasures of the place as a "present" to the Great King. Hezekiah, in order to obtain at once a sufficient supply of gold, was forced to strip the walls and pillars of the Temple, which were overlaid in parts with this precious metal.[449] He yielded up all the silver from the royal treasury and from the treasury of the Temple; and this amounted to five hundred talents more than the fixed rate of tribute. In addition to these sacrifices, the Jewish monarch was required to surrender Padi, his Ekronite prisoner, and was mulcted in certain portions of his dominions, which were attached by the conqueror to the territories of neighboring kings.[450]

Sennacherib, after this triumph, returned to Nineveh, but did not remain long in repose. The course of events summoned him in the ensuing year—B.C. 700—to Babylonia, where Merodach-Baladan, assisted by a certain Susub, a Chaldæan prince, was again in arms against his authority. Sennacherib first defeated Susub, and then, directing his march upon Beth-Yakin, forced Merodach-Baladan once more to quit the country and betake himself to one of the islands of the Persian Gulf,

abandoning to Sennacherib's mercy his brothers and his other partisans.[451] It would appear that the Babylonian viceroy Belibus, who three years previously had been set over the country by Sennacherib, was either actively implicated in this revolt, or was regarded as having contributed towards it by a neglect of proper precautions. Sennacherib, on his return from the sea-coast, superseded him, placing upon the throne his own eldest son, Asshur-inadi-su, who appears to be the Asordanes of Polyhistor,[452] and the Aparanadius or Assaranadius[453] of Ptolemy's Canon.

The remaining events of Sennacherib's reign may be arranged in chronological order without much difficulty, but few of them can be dated with exactness. We lose at this point the invaluable aid of Ptolemy's Canon, which contains no notice of any event recorded in Sennacherib's inscriptions of later date than the appointment of Assaranadius.

It is probable[454] that in the year B.C. 699 Sennacherib conducted his second expedition into Palestine. Hezekiah, after his enforced submission two years earlier, had entered into negotiations with the Egyptians,[455] and looking to receive important succors from this quarter, had again thrown off his allegiance. Sennacherib, understanding that the real enemy whom he had to fear on his south-western frontier was not Judæa, but Egypt, marched his army through Palestine—probably by the coast route—and without stopping to chastise Jerusalem, pressed southwards to Libnah and Lachish,[456] which were at the extreme verge of the Holy Land, and were probably at this time subject to Egypt. He first commenced the siege of Lachish "with all his power;"[457] and while engaged in this operation, finding that Hezekiah was not alarmed by his proximity, and did not send in his submission, he detached a body of troops[458] from his main force, and sent it under a Tartan or general, supported by two high officers of the court—the Rabshakeh or Chief Cupbearer, and the Rab-saris or Chief Eunuch—to summon the rebellious city to surrender. Hezekiah was willing to treat, and sent out to the Assyrian camp, which was pitched just outside the walls, three high officials of his own to open negotiations. But the Assyrian envoys had not come to debate or even to offer terms, but to require the unconditional submission of both king and people. The Rabshakeh or cupbearer, who was familiar with the Hebrew language,[459] took the word and delivered his message in insulting phrase, laughing at the simplicity which could trust in

Egypt, and the superstitious folly which could expect a divine deliverance, and defying Hezekiah to produce so many as two thousand trained soldiers capable of serving as cavalry. When requested to use a foreign rather than the native dialect, lest the people who were upon the walls should hear, the bold envoy, with an entire disregard of diplomatic forms, raised his voice and made a direct appeal to the popular fears and hopes thinking to produce a tumultuary surrender of the place, or at least an outbreak of which his troops might have taken advantage. His expectations, however, were disappointed; the people made no response to his appeal, but listened in profound silence; and the ambassadors, finding that they could obtain nothing from the fears of either king or people, and regarding the force that they had brought with them as insufficient for a siege, returned to their master with the intelligence of their ill-success.[460] The Assyrian monarch had either taken Lachish or raised its siege, and was gone on to Libnah, where the envoys found him. On receiving their report, he determined to make still another effort to overcome Hezekiah's obstinacy; and accordingly he despatched fresh messengers with a letter to the Jewish king, in which he was reminded of the fate of various other kingdoms and peoples which had resisted the Assyrians, and once more urged to submit himself.[461] It was this letter—perhaps a royal autograph—which Hezekiah took into the temple and there "spread it before the Lord," praying God to "bow down his ear and hear"—to "open his eyes and see, and hear the words of Sennacherib, which had sent to reproach the living God."[462] Upon this Isaiah was commissioned to declare to his afflicted sovereign that the kings of Assyria were mere instruments in God's hands to destroy such nations as He pleased, and that none of Sennacherib's threats against Jerusalem should be accomplished. God, Isaiah told him, would "put his hook in Sennacherib's nose, and his bridle in his lips, and turn him back by the way by which he came." The Lord had said, concerning the king of Assyria, "He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city. For I will defend this city, to save it, for my own sake, and for my servant David's sake."[463]

Meanwhile it is probable that Sennacherib, having received the submission of Libnah, had advanced upon Egypt. It was

important to crush an Egyptian army which had been collected against him by a certain Sethos, one of the many native princes who at this time ruled in the Lower country,[464] before the great Ethiopian monarch Tehrak or Tirhakah, who was known to be on his march,[465] should effect a junction with the troops of this minor potentate. Sethos, with his army, was at Pelusium;[466] and Sennacherib, advancing to attack him, had arrived within sight of the Egyptian host, and pitched his camp over against the camp of the enemy, just at the time[467] when Hezekiah received his letter and made the prayer to which Isaiah was instructed to respond. The two hosts lay down at night in their respective stations, the Egyptians and their king full of anxious alarm, Sennacherib and his Assyrians proudly confident, intending on the morrow to advance to the combat and repeat the lesson taught at Raphia and Altaku.[468] But no morrow was to break on the great mass of those who took their rest in the tents of the Assyrians. The divine fiat had gone forth. In the night, as they slept, destruction fell upon them. "The angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." A miracle, like the destruction of the first-born,[469] had been wrought, but this time on the enemies of the Egyptians, who naturally ascribed their deliverance to the interposition of their own gods;[470] and seeing the enemy in confusion and retreat, pressed hastily after him, distressed his flying columns, and cut off his stragglers.[471] The Assyrian king returned home to Nineveh, shorn of his glory, with the shattered remains of his great host, and cast that proud capital into a state of despair and grief, which the genius of an Æschylus might have rejoiced to depict,[472] but which no less powerful pen could adequately portray.

It is difficult to say how soon Assyria recovered from this terrible blow. The annals of Sennacherib, as might have been expected, omit it altogether, and represent the Assyrian monarch as engaged in a continuous series of successful campaigns, which seem to extend uninterruptedly from his third to his tenth year.[473] It is possible that while the Assyrian expedition was in progress, under the eye of Sennacherib himself, a successful war was being conducted by one of his generals in the mountains of Armenia, and that Sennacherib was thus enabled, without absolutely falsifying history, to parade as his own certain victories gained by this leader in the very year of

his own reverse. It is even conceivable that the power of Assyria was not so injured by the loss of a single great army, as to make it necessary for her to stop even for one year in the course of her aggressive warfare; and thus the expeditions of Sennacherib may form an uninterrupted series, the eight campaigns which are assigned to him occupying eight consecutive years. But on the other hand it is quite as probable that there are gaps in the history, some years having been omitted altogether. The Taylor Cylinder records but eight campaigns, yet it was certainly written as late as Sennacherib's fifteenth year.[474] It contains no notice of any events in Sennacherib's first or second year; and it may consequently make other omissions covering equal or larger intervals. Thus the destruction of the Assyrian army at Pelusium may have been followed by a pause of some years' duration in the usual aggressive expeditions; and it may very probably have encouraged the Babylonians in the attempt to shake off the Assyrian yoke, which they certainly made towards the middle of Sennacherib's reign.

But while it appears to be probable that consequences of some importance followed on the Pelusiac calamity, it is tolerably certain that no such tremendous results flowed from it as some writers have imagined. The murder of the disgraced Sennacherib "within fifty-five days" of his return to Nineveh,[475] seems to be an invention of the Alexandrian Jew who wrote the Book of Tobit. The total destruction of the empire in consequence of the blow, is an exaggeration of Josephus,[476] rashly credited by some moderns.[477] Sennacherib did not die till B.C. 681, seventeen years after his misfortune;[478] and the Empire suffered so little that we find Esar-haddon, a few years later, in full possession of all the territory that any king before him had ever held, ruling from Babylonia to Egypt, or (as he himself expresses it) "from the rising up of the sun to the going down of the same."[479] Even Sennacherib himself was not prevented by his calamity from undertaking important wars during the latter part of his reign. We shall see shortly that he recovered Babylon, chastised Susiana, and invaded Cilicia, in the course of the seventeen years which intervened between his flight from Pelusium and his decease. Moreover, there is evidence that he employed himself during this part of his reign in the consolidation of the Western provinces, which first appear about his twelfth year as integral portions of the Empire, furnishing eponyms in their turn,[480] and thus taking

equal rank with the ancient provinces of Assyria Proper, Adiabêné, and Mesopotamia.

The fifth campaign of Sennacherib, according to his own annals, was partly in a mountainous country which he calls Nipur or Nibur—probably the most northern portion of the Zagros range[481] where it abuts on Ararat. He there took a number of small towns, after which he proceeded westward and contended with a certain Maniya king of Dayan, which was a part of Taurus bordering on Cilicia.[482] He boasts that he penetrated further into this region than any king before him; and the boast is confirmed by the fact that the geographical names which appear are almost entirely new to us.[483] The expedition was a plundering raid, not an attempt at conquest. Sennacherib ravaged the country, burnt the towns, and carried away with him all the valuables, the flocks and herds, and the inhabitants.

After this it appears that for at least three years he was engaged in a fierce struggle with the combined Babylonians and Susianians. The troubles recommenced by an attempt of the Chaldæans of Beth-Yakin to withdraw themselves from the Assyrian territory, and to transfer their allegiance to the Elymæan king. Carrying with them their gods and their treasures, they embarked in their ships, and crossing "the Great Sea of the Rising Sun"—*i.e.*, the Persian Gulf—landed on the Elamitic coast, where they were kindly received and allowed to take up their abode. Such voluntary removals are not uncommon in the East;[484] and they constantly give rise to complaints and reclamations, which not unfrequently terminate in an appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Sennacherib does not inform us whether he made any attempt to recover his lost subjects by diplomatic representations at the court of Susa. If he did, they were unsuccessful; and in order to obtain redress, he was compelled to resort to force, and to undertake an expedition into the Elamitic territory. It is remarkable that he determined to make his invasion by sea. Their frequent wars on the Syrian coasts had by this time familiarized the Assyrians with the idea, if not with the practice, of navigation; and as their suzerainty over Phœnicia placed at their disposal a large body of skilled shipwrights, and a number of the best sailors in the world, it was natural that they should resolve to employ naval as well as military force to advance their dominion. We have seen that, as early as the time of Shalmaneser, the Assyrians ventured them-

Fig. 1.

Later Assyrian harps and harpers (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.

Lyre with ten strings (Khorsabad).

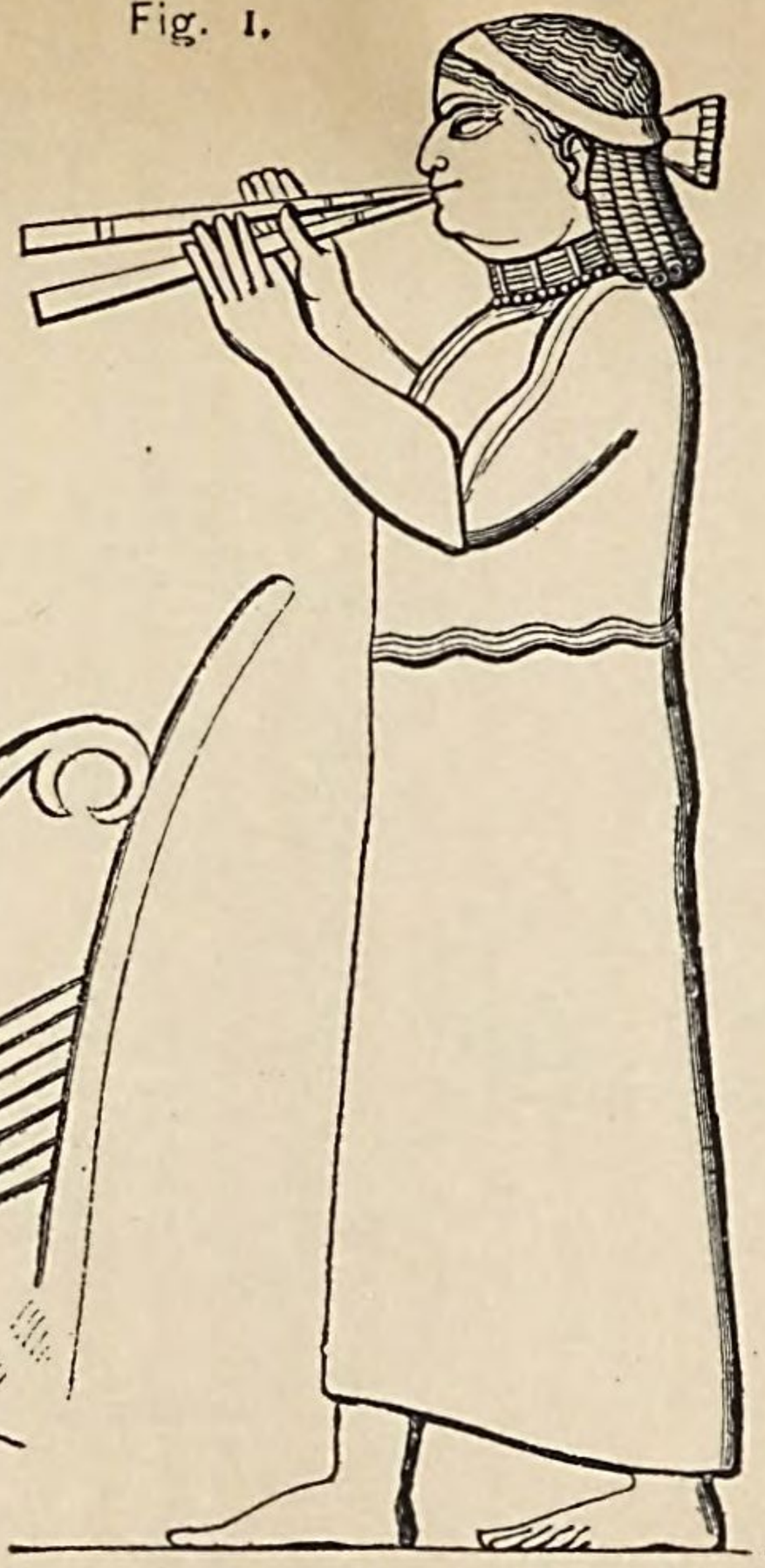
Vol. I.

Fig. 2

Fig. 3.

Lyres with Five and Seven Strings (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



Player on the double pipe (Koyunjik)

Guitar or tamboura (Koyunjik).

Plate. CXXVIII.

selves in ships, and, in conjunction with the Phœnicians of the mainland, engaged the vessels of the Island Tyre.[485] It is probable that the precedent thus set was followed by later kings, and that both Sargon and Sennacherib had had the permanent, or occasional, services of a fleet on the Mediterranean. But there was a wide difference between such an employment of the navies belonging to their subjects on the sea to which they were accustomed, and the transfer to the opposite extremity of the empire of the naval strength hitherto confined to the Mediterranean. This thought—certainly not an obvious one—seems to have first occurred to Sennacherib. He conceived the idea of having a navy on both the seas that washed his dominions; and, possessing on his western coast only an adequate supply of skilled shipwrights and sailors,[486] he resolved on transporting from his western to his eastern shores such a body of Phœnicians as would enable him to accomplish his purpose. The shipwrights of Tyre and Sidon were carried across Mesopotamia to the Tigris, where they constructed for the Assyrian monarch a fleet of ships like their own galleys,[487] which descended the river to its mouth, and astonished the populations bordering on the Persian Gulf with a spectacle never before seen in those waters. Though the Chaldæans had for centuries navigated this inland sea, and may have occasionally ventured beyond its limits, yet neither as sailors nor as ship-builders was their skill to compare with that of the Phœnicians. The masts and sails, the double tiers of oars, the sharp beaks of the Phœnician ships, were (it is probable) novelties to the nations of these parts, who saw now, for the first time, a fleet debouche from the Tigris, with which their own vessels were quite incapable of contending.

When his fleet was ready Sennacherib put to sea, and crossed in his Phœnician ships from the mouth of the Tigris to the tract occupied by the emigrant Chaldæans, where he landed and destroyed the newly-built city, captured the inhabitants, ravaged the neighborhood, and burnt a number of Susianian towns, finally re-embarking with his captives—Chaldæan and Susianian—whom he transported across the gulf to the Chaldæan coast, and then took with him into Assyria. This whole expedition seems to have taken the Susianians by surprise. They had probably expected an invasion by land, and had collected their forces towards the northwestern frontier, so that when the troops of Sennacherib landed far in their rear, there were no forces in the neighbor-

hood to resist them. However, the departure of the Assyrians on an expedition regarded as extremely perilous, was the signal for a general revolt of the Babylonians, who once more set up a native king in the person of Susub,[488] and collected an army with which they made ready to give the Assyrians battle on their return. Perhaps they cherished the hope that the fleet which had tempted the dangers of an unknown sea would be seen no more, or expected that, at the best, it would bring back the shattered remnants of a defeated army. If so, they were disappointed. The Assyrian troops landed on their coast flushed with success, and finding the Babylonians in revolt, proceeded to chastise them; defeated their forces in a great battle; captured their king, Susub; and when the Susianians came, somewhat tardily, to their succor, attacked and routed their army. A vast number of prisoners, and among them Susub himself, were carried off by the victors and conveyed to Nineveh.[489]

Shortly after this successful campaign, possibly in the very next year, Sennacherib resolved to break the power of Susiana by a great expedition directed solely against that country. The Susianians had, as already related,[490] been strong enough in the reign of Sargon to deprive Assyria of a portion of her territory; and Kudur-Nakhunta,[491] the Elymæan king, still held two cities, Beth-Kahiri and Raza, which were regarded by Sennacherib as a part of his paternal inheritance. The first object of the war was the recovery of these two towns, which were taken without any difficulty and reattached to the Assyrian Empire.[492] Sennacherib then pressed on into the heart of Susiana, taking and destroying thirty-four large cities, whose names he mentions, together with a still greater number of villages, all of which he gave to the flames. Wasting and destroying in this way he drew near to Vadakat or Badaca,[493] the second city of the kingdom, where Kudur-Nakhunta had for the time fixed his residence. The Elamitic king, hearing of his rapid approach, took fright, and, hastily quitting Badaca, fled away to a city called Khidala, at the foot of the mountains, where alone he could feel himself in safety. Sennacherib then advanced to Badaca, besieged it, and took it by assault; after which affairs seem to have required his presence at Nineveh, and, leaving his conquest incomplete, he returned home with a large booty.

A third campaign in these parts, the most important of all, followed. Susub, the Chaldæan prince whom Sennacherib

had carried off to Assyria, in the year of his naval expedition,[494] escaped from his confinement, and, returning to Babylon, was once more hailed as king by the inhabitants. Aware of his inability to maintain himself on the throne against the will of the Assyrians, unless he were assisted by the arms of a powerful ally, he resolved to obtain, if possible, the immediate aid of the neighboring Elamitic monarch. Kudur-Nakhunta, the late antagonist of Sennacherib, was dead, having survived his disgraceful flight from Badaca only three months;[495] and Ummanminan, his younger brother, held the throne. Susub, bent on contracting an alliance with this prince, did not scruple at an act of sacrilege to obtain his end. He broke open the treasury of the great temple of Bel at Babylon, and seizing the gold and silver belonging to the god, sent it as a present to Ummanminan, with an urgent entreaty that he would instantly collect his troops and march to his aid.[496] The Elamitic monarch, yielding to a request thus powerfully backed, and perhaps sufficiently wise to see that the interests of Susiana required an independent Babylon, set his troops in motion without any delay, and advanced to the banks of the Tigris. At the same time a number of the Aramæan tribes on the middle Euphrates, which Sennacherib had reduced in his third year,[497] revolted, and sent their forces to swell the army of Susub. A great battle was fought at Khaluli, a town on the lower Tigris, between the troops of Sennacherib and this allied host; the combat was long and bloody, but at last the Assyrians conquered. Susub and his Elamitic ally took to flight and made their escape. Nebosumiskun, a son of Merodach-Baladan, and many other chiefs of high rank, were captured. The army was completely routed and broken up.[498] Babylon submitted, and was severely punished; the fortifications were destroyed, the temples plundered and burnt, and the images of the gods broken to pieces. Perhaps the rebel city now received for viceroy Regibelus or Mesesimordachus, whom the Canon of Ptolemy, which is silent about Susub, makes contemporary with the middle portion of Sennacherib's reign.[499]

The only other expedition which can be assigned, on important evidence, to the reign of Sennacherib, is one against Cilicia, in which he is said to have been opposed by Greeks.[500] According to Abydenus, a Greek fleet guarded the Cilician shore, which the vessels of Sennacherib engaged and defeated. Polyhistor seems to say that the Greeks also suffered

a defeat by land in Cilicia itself, after which Sennacherib took possession of the country, and built Tarsus there on the model of Babylon.[501] The prominence here given to Greeks by Greek writers is undoubtedly remarkable, and it throws a certain amount of suspicion over the whole story. Still, as the Greek element in Cyprus was certainly important at this time,[502] and as the occupation of Cilicia by the Assyrians may have appeared to the Cyprian Greeks to endanger their independence, it is conceivable that they lent some assistance to the natives of the country, who were a hardy race, fond of freedom, and never very easily brought into subjection.[503] The admission of a double defeat makes it evident that the tale is not the invention of Greek national vanity. Abydenus and Polyhistor probably derive it from Berosus, who must also have made the statement that Tarsus was now founded by Sennacherib, and constructed after the pattern of Babylon. The occupation of newly conquered countries, by the establishment in them of large cities in which foreign colonists were placed by the conquerors, was a practice commenced by Sargon,[504] which his son is not unlikely to have followed. Tarsus was always regarded by the Greeks as an Assyrian town;[505] and although they gave different accounts of the time of its foundation, their disagreement in this respect does not invalidate their evidence as to the main fact itself, which is intrinsically probable. The evidence of Polyhistor and Abydenus as to the date of the foundation, representing, as it must, the testimony of Berosus upon the point, is to be preferred; and we may accept it as a fact, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the native city of St. Paul derived, if not its origin, yet, at any rate, its later splendor and magnificence, from the antagonist of Hezekiah.[506]

That this Cilician war occurred late in the reign of Sennacherib, appears to follow from the absence of any account of it from his general annals.[507] These, it is probable, extend no further than his sixteenth year, B.C. 689, thus leaving blank his last eight years, from B.C. 689 to 681. The defeat of the Greeks, the occupation of Cilicia, and the founding of Tarsus, may well have fallen into this interval. To the same time may have belonged Sennacherib's conquest of Edom.[508]

There is reason to suspect that these successes of Sennacherib on the western limits of his empire were more than counterbalanced by a contemporaneous loss at the extreme southeast. The Canon of Ptolemy marks the year B.C. 688 as the

Fig. 2.

Tambourine Player, and other Musicians (Koyunjik).

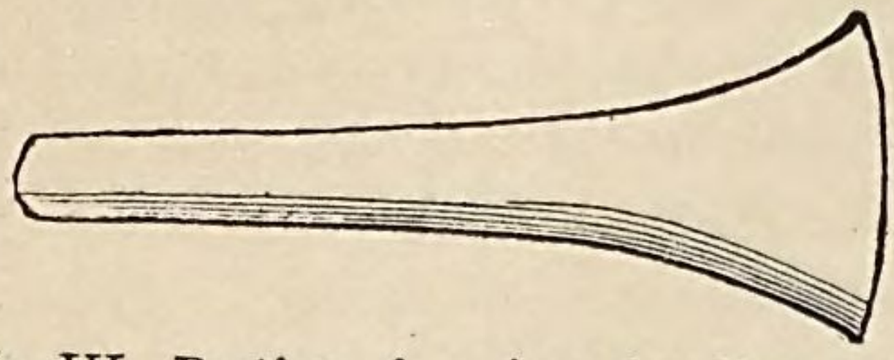
Fig 1.

Assyrian *Tubbuls*, or Drums (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2

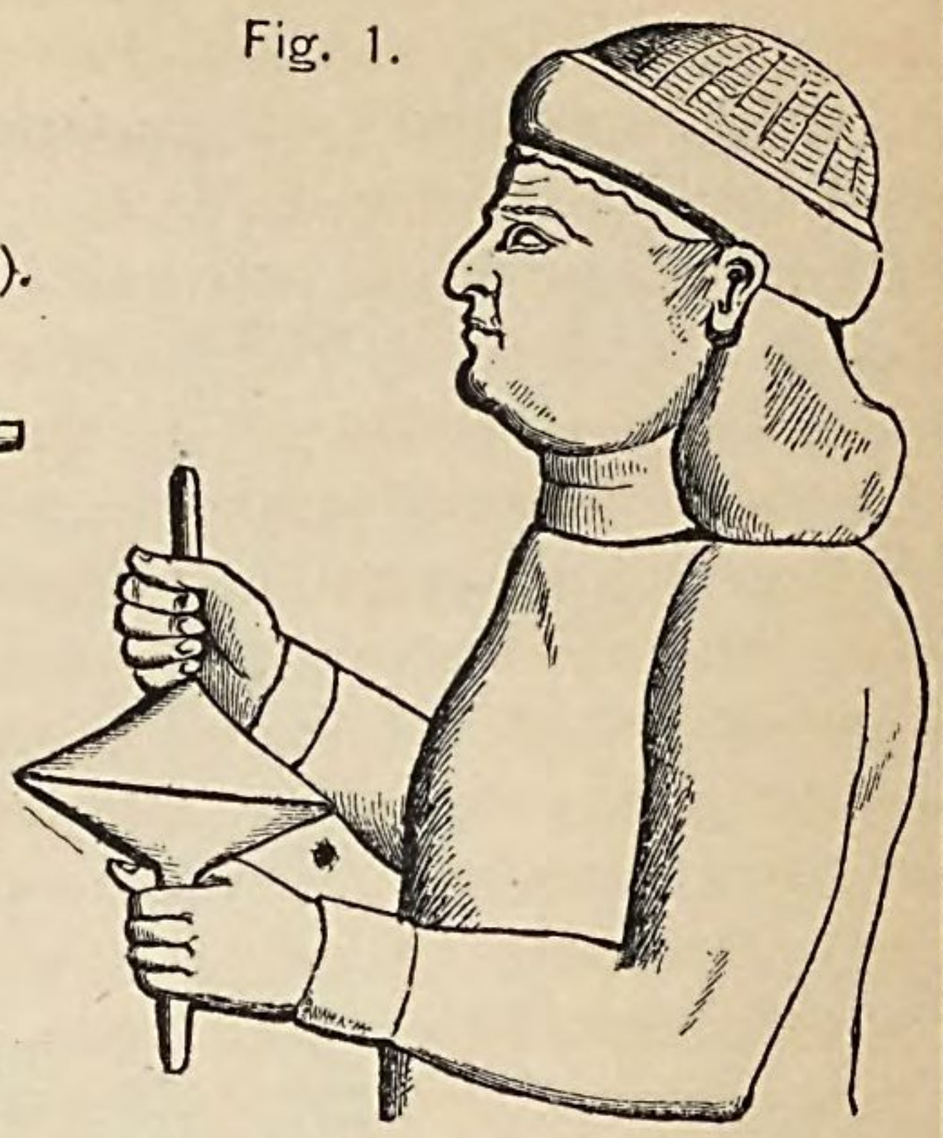
No. 1. Roman Trumpet (Column of Trajan).

No. II. Assyrian Trumpet (Layard).



No. III. Portion of an Assyrian Trumpet.

Fig. 1.



Eunuch playing on the cymbals (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.

Musician playing the dulcimer (Koyunjik).

first of an interregnum at Babylon which continues from that date till the accession of Esar-haddon in B.C. 680. Interregna in this document—*ἔϊη ἀβασίλευτα*, as they are termed—indicate periods of extreme disturbance, when pretender succeeded to pretender, or when the country was split up into a number of petty kingdoms. The Assyrian yoke, in either case, must have been rejected; and Babylonia must have succeeded at this time in maintaining, for the space of eight years, a separate and independent existence, albeit troubled and precarious. The fact that she continued free so long, while she again succumbed at the very commencement of the reign of Esar-haddon, may lead us to suspect that she owed this spell of liberty to the increasing years of the Assyrian monarch, who, as the infirmities of age crept upon him, felt a disinclination towards distant expeditions.

The military glory of Sennacherib was thus in some degree tarnished; first, by the terrible disaster which befell his host on the borders of Egypt; and, secondly, by his failure to maintain the authority which, in the earlier part of his reign, he had established over Babylon. Still, notwithstanding these misfortunes, he must be pronounced one of the most successful of Assyria's warrior kings, and altogether one of the greatest princes that ever sat on the Assyrian throne. His victories of Eltekeh and Khaluli seem to have been among the most important battles that Assyria ever gained. By the one Egypt and Ethiopia, by the other Susiana and Babylon, were taught that, even united, they were no match for the Assyrian hosts. Sennacherib thus wholesomely impressed his most formidable enemies with the dread of his arms, while at the same time he enlarged, in various directions, the limits of his dominions. He warred in regions to which no earlier Assyrian monarch had ever penetrated; and he adopted modes of warfare on which none of them had previously ventured. His defeat of a Greek fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean, and his employment of Phœnicians in the Persian Gulf, show an enterprise and versatility which we observe in few Orientals. His selection of Tarsus for the site of a great city indicates a keen appreciation of the merits of a locality.[509] If he was proud, haughty, and self-confident, beyond all former Assyrian kings,[510] it would seem to have been because he felt that he had resources within himself—that he possessed a firm will, a bold heart, and a fertile invention. Most men would have laid aside the sword and given themselves wholly to

peaceful pursuits, after such a disaster as that of Pelusium. Sennacherib accepted the judgment as a warning to attempt no further conquests in those parts, but did not allow the calamity to reduce him to inaction. He wisely turned his sword against other enemies, and was rewarded by important successes upon all his other frontiers.

But if, as a warrior, Sennacherib deserves to be placed in the foremost rank of the Assyrian kings, as a builder and a patron of art he is still more eminent. The great palace which he raised at Nineveh surpassed in size and splendor all earlier edifices, and was never excelled in any respect except by one later building. The palace of Asshur-bani-pal, built on the same platform by the grandson of Sennacherib, was, it must be allowed, more exquisite in its ornamentation; but even this edifice did not equal the great work of Sennacherib in the number of its apartments, or the grandeur of its dimensions. Sennacherib's palace covered an area of above eight acres. It consisted of a number of grand halls and smaller chambers, arranged round at least three courts or quadrangles. These courts were respectively 154 feet by 125, 124 feet by 90, and probably a square of about 90 feet.[511] Round the smallest of the courts were grouped apartments of no great size, which, it may be suspected, belonged to the seraglio of the king. The seraglio seems to have been reached through a single narrow passage,[512] leading out of a long gallery—218 feet by 25[513]—which was approached only through two other passages, one leading from each of the two main courts. The principal halls were immediately within the two chief entrances—one on the north-east, the other on the opposite or south-west front of the palace. Neither of these two rooms has been completely explored; but the one appears to have been more than 150 and the other[514] was probably 180 feet in length, while the width of each was a little more than 40 feet. Besides these two great halls and the grand gallery already described, the palace contained about twenty rooms of a considerable size, and at least forty or fifty smaller chambers, mostly square, or nearly so, opening out of some hall or large apartment. The actual number of the rooms explored is about sixty;[515] but as in many parts the examination of the building is still incomplete, we may fairly conjecture that the entire number was not less than seventy or eighty.

The palace of Sennacherib preserved all the main features of Assyrian architecture. It was elevated on a platform, eighty

or ninety feet above the plain, artificially constructed, and covered with a pavement of bricks. It had probably three grand façades—one on the north-east, where it was ordinarily approached from the town,[516] and the two others on the south-east and the south-west, where it was carried nearly to the edge of the platform, and overhung the two streams of the Khosr-su and the Tigris. Its principal apartment was that which was first entered by the visitor. All the walls ran in straight lines, and all the angles of the rooms and passages were right angles. There were more passages in the building than usual;[517] but still the apartments very frequently opened into one another; and almost one-half of the rooms were passage-rooms. The doorways were mostly placed without any regard to regularity, seldom opposite one another, and generally towards the corners of the apartments. There was the curious feature, common in Assyrian edifices, of a room being entered from a court, or from another room, by two or three doorways,[518] which is best explained by supposing that the rank of the person determined the door by which he might enter. Squared recesses in the sides of the rooms were common. The thickness of the walls was great. The apartments, though wider than in other palaces, were still narrow for their length, never much exceeding forty feet; while the courts were much better proportioned.

It was in the size and the number of his rooms, in his use of passages, and in certain features of his ornamentation, that Sennacherib chiefly differed from former builders. He increased the width of the principal state apartments by one-third, which seems to imply the employment of some new mode or material for roofing.[519] In their length he made less alteration, only advancing from 150 to 180 feet, evidently because he aimed, not merely at increasing the size of his rooms, but at improving their proportions. In one instance alone—that of a gallery or passage-room, leading (apparently) from the more public part of the palace to the *hareem* or private apartments—did he exceed this length, uniting the two portions of the palace by a noble corridor, 218 feet long by 25 feet wide. Into this corridor he brought passages from the two public courts, which he also united together by a third passage, thus greatly facilitating communication between the various blocks of buildings which composed his vast palatial edifice.

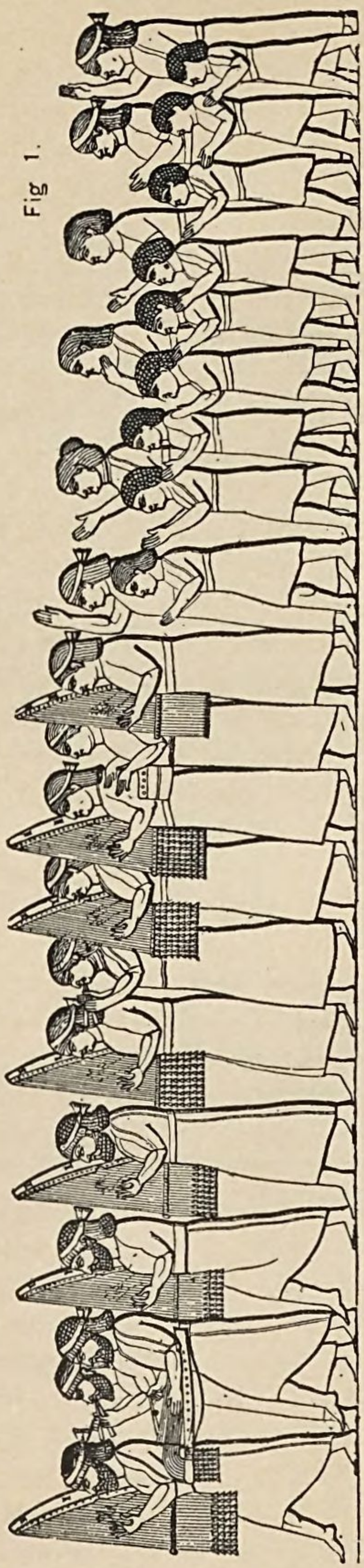
The most striking characteristic of Sennacherib's ornamentation is its strong and marked realism. It was under Senna-

cherib that the practice first obtained of completing each scene by a background,[520] such as actually existed as the time and place of its occurrence. Mountains, rocks, trees, roads, rivers, lakes, were regularly portrayed, an attempt being made to represent the locality, whatever it might be, as truthfully as the artist's skill and the character of his material rendered possible. Nor was this endeavor limited to the broad and general features of the scene only. The wish evidently was to include all the little accessories which the observant eye of an artist might have noted if he had made his drawing with the scene before him. The species of trees is distinguished in Sennacherib's bas-reliefs; gardens, fields, ponds, reeds, are carefully represented; wild animals are introduced, as stags, boars, and antelopes; birds fly from tree to tree, or stand over their nests feeding the young who stretch up to them; fish disport themselves in the waters; fishermen ply their craft; boatmen and agricultural laborers pursue their avocations; the scene is, as it were, photographed, with all its features—the least and the most important—equally marked, and without any attempt at selection, or any effort after artistic unity.

In the same spirit of realism Sennacherib chooses for artistic representation scenes of a commonplace and every-day character. The trains of attendants who daily enter his palace with game and locusts for his dinner, and cakes and fruit for his dessert, appear on the walls of his passages,[521] exactly as they walked through his courts, bearing the delicacies in which he delighted. Elsewhere he puts before us the entire process of carving and transporting a colossal bull, from the first removal of the huge stone in its rough state from the quarry, to its final elevation on a palace mound as part of the great gate-way of a royal residence. We see the trackers dragging the rough block, supported on a low flat-bottomed boat, along the course of a river, disposed in gangs, and working under taskmasters who use their rods upon the slightest provocation. The whole scene must be represented, and so the trackers are all there, to the number of three hundred, costumed according to their nations, and each delineated with as much care as if he were not the exact image of ninety-nine others. We then observe the block transferred to land, and carved into the rough semblance of a bull, in which form it is placed on a rude sledge and conveyed along level ground by gangs of laborers, arranged nearly as before, to the foot of the mound at whose top it has to be placed. The construction of the mound is most

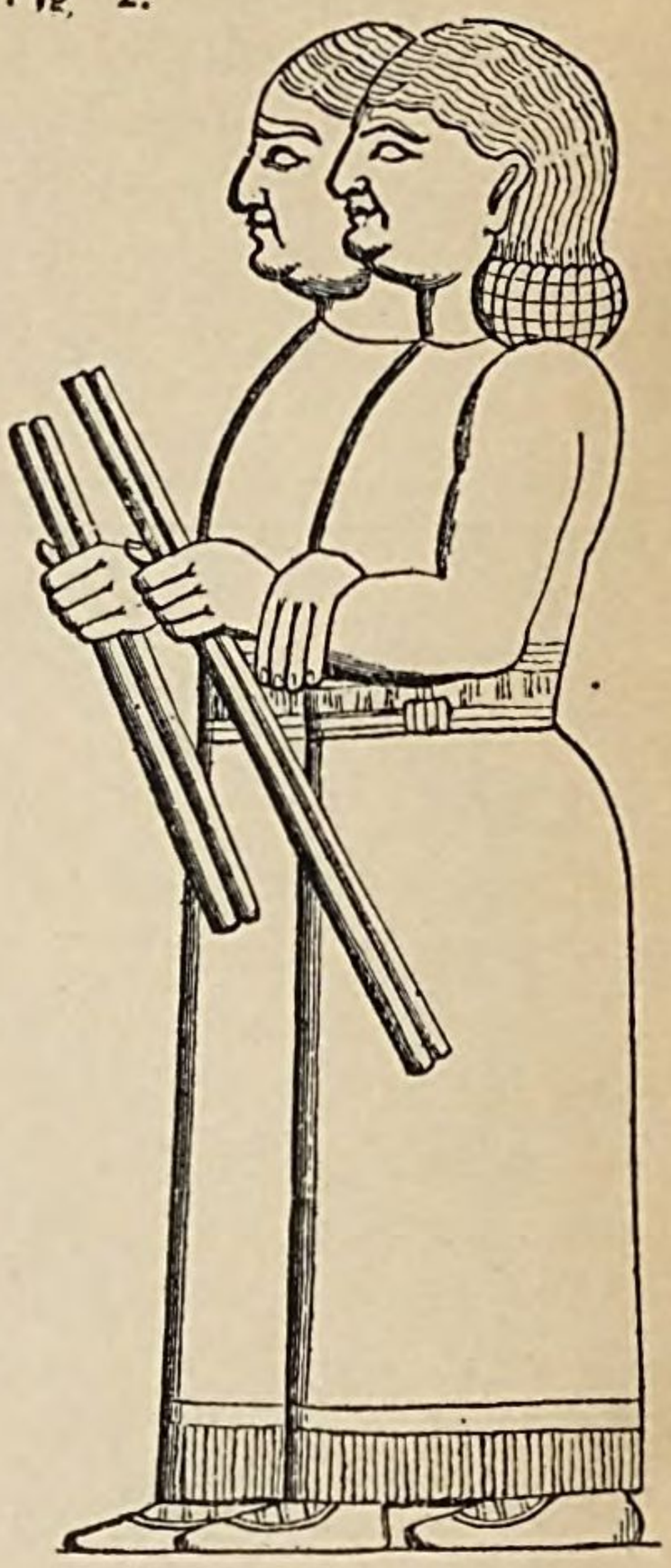
Captives playing on lyres.

Fig. 1.



Band of musicians.

Fig. 2.



Time-keepers (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3

Lyre on Hebrew coin.

elaborately represented. Brickmakers are seen moulding the bricks at its base, while workmen, with baskets at their backs, full of earth, bricks, stones, or rubbish, toil up the ascent—for the mound is already half raised—and empty their burdens out upon the summit. The bull, still lying on its sledge, is then drawn up an inclined plane to the top by four gangs of laborers, in the presence of the monarch and his attendants. After this the carving is completed, and the colossus, having been raised into an upright position, is conveyed along the surface of the platform to the exact site which it is to occupy.[522] This portion of the operation has been represented in one of the illustrations in an earlier part of this volume.[523] From the representation there given the reader may form a notion of the minuteness and elaboration of this entire series of bas-reliefs.

Besides constructing this new palace at Nineveh, Sennacherib seems also to have restored the ancient residence of the kings at the same place,[524] a building which will probably be found whenever the mound of Nebbi-Yunus is submitted to careful examination. He confined the Tigris to its channel by an embankment of bricks.[525] He constructed a number of canals or aqueducts for the purpose of bringing good water to the capital.[526] He improved the defences of Nineveh, erecting towers of a vast size at some of the gates.[527] And, finally, he built a temple to the god Nergal at Tarbisi (now Sherif Khan), about three miles from Nineveh, up the Tigris.

In the construction of these great works he made use, chiefly, of the forced labor with which his triumphant expeditions into foreign countries had so abundantly supplied him. Chaldæans, Aramæans, Armenians, Cilicians,[528] and probably also Egyptians, Ethiopians, Elamites, and Jews, were employed by thousands in the formation of the vast mounds, in the transport and elevation of the colossal bulls, in the moulding of the bricks, and the erection of the walls of the various edifices, in the excavation of the canals, and the construction of the embankments. They wrought in gangs, each gang having a costume peculiar to it,[529] which probably marked its nation. Over each was placed a number of taskmasters, armed with staves, who urged on the work with blows,[530] and severely punished any neglect or remissness. Assyrian foremen had the general direction of the works, and were entrusted with all such portions as required skill or judgment.[531] The forced laborers often worked in fetters, which were sometimes supported by a bar fastened to the waist, while sometimes they

consisted merely of shackles round the ankles. The king himself often witnessed the labors, standing in his chariot, which on these occasions was drawn by some of his attendants.[532]

The Assyrian monuments throw but little light on the circumstances which led to the assassination of Sennacherib; and we are reduced to conjecture the causes of so strange an event. Our various sources of information make it clear that he had a large family of sons. The eldest of them, Asshur-inadi-su, had been entrusted by Sennacherib with the government of Babylon,[533] and might reasonably have expected to succeed him on the throne of Assyria; but it is probable that he died before his father, either by a natural death, or by violence, during one of the many Babylonian revolts. It may be suspected that Sennacherib had a second son, of whose name Nergal was the first element;[534] and it is certain that he had three others, Adrammelech (or Ardumuzanes),[535] Sharezer, and Esar-haddon. Perhaps, upon the death of Asshur-inadi-su, disputes arose about the succession. Adrammelech and Sharezer, anxious to obtain the throne for themselves, plotted against the life of their father, and having slain him in a temple as he was worshipping,[536] proceeded further to remove their brother Nergilus, who claimed the crown and wore it for a brief space after Sennacherib's death.[537] Having murdered him, they expected to obtain the throne without further difficulty; but Esar-haddon, who at the time commanded the army which watched the Armenian frontier, now came forward, assumed the title of King, and prepared to march upon Nineveh. It was winter, and the inclemency of the weather precluded immediate movement. For some months probably the two assassins were recognized as monarchs at the capital, while the northern army regarded Esar-haddon as the rightful successor of his father. Thus died the great Sennacherib, a victim to the ambition of his sons.

It was a sad end to a reign which, on the whole, had been so glorious; and it was a sign that the empire was now verging on that decline which sooner or later overtakes all kingdoms, and indeed all things sublunary. Against plots from without, arising from the ambition of subjects who see, or think they see, at any particular juncture, an opportunity of seizing the great prize of supreme dominion, it is impossible, even in the most vigorous empire, to provide any complete security. But during the period of vigor, harmony exists within the palace, and confidence in each other inspires and unites all the mem-

bers of the royal house. When discord has once entered inside the gates, when the family no longer holds together, when suspicion and jealousy have replaced the trust and affection of a happier time, the empire has passed into the declining stage, and has already begun the descent which conducts, by quick or slow degrees, to destruction. The murder of Sennacherib, if it was, as perhaps it was, a judgment on the individual,[538] was, at least equally, a judgment on the nation. When, in an absolute monarchy, the palace becomes the scene of the worst crimes, the doom of the kingdom is sealed—it totters to its fall—and requires but a touch from without to collapse into a heap of ruins.

Esar-haddon, the son and successor of Sennacherib, is proved by the Assyrian Canon to have ascended the throne of Assyria in B.C. 681—the year immediately previous to that which the Canon of Ptolemy makes his first year in Babylon,[539] viz., B.C. 680. He was succeeded by his son Asshur-bani-pal, or Sardanapalus, in B.C. 668, and thus held the crown no more than thirteen years. Esar-haddon's inscriptions show that he was engaged for some time after his accession in a war with his half-brothers, who, at the head of a large body of troops, disputed his right to the crown.[540] Esar-haddon marched from the Armenian frontier, where (as already observed) he was stationed at the time of his father's death, against this army, defeated it in the country of Khanirabbat (north-west of Nineveh), and proceeding to the capital, was universally acknowledged king. According to Abydenus, Adrammelech fell in the battle;[541] but better authorities state that both he and his brother, Sharezer, escaped into Armenia,[542] where they were kindly treated by the reigning monarch, who gave them lands, which long continued in the possession of their posterity.[543]

The chief record which we possess of Esar-haddon is a cylinder inscription, existing in duplicate,[544] which describes about nine campaigns, and may probably have been composed in or about his tenth year. A memorial which he set up at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, and a cylinder of his son's, add some important information with respect to the latter part of his reign.[545] One or two notices in the Old Testament connect him with the history of the Jews.[546] And Abydenus, besides the passage already quoted, has an allusion to some of his foreign conquests.[547] Such are the chief materials from which the modern inquirer has to reconstruct the history of this great king.[548]

It appears that the first expedition of Esar-haddon was into Phœnicia.[549] Abdi-Milkut king of Sidon, and Sandu-arra king of the adjoining part of Lebanon, had formed an alliance and revolted from the Assyrians, probably during the troubles which ensued on Sennacherib's death. Esar-haddon attacked Sidon first, and soon took the city; but Abdi-Milkut made his escape to an island—Aradus or Cyprus—where, perhaps, he thought himself secure. Esar-haddon, however, determined on pursuit. He traversed the sea "like a fish,"[550] and made Abdi-Milkut[551] prisoner; after which he turned his arms against Sandu-arra, attacked him in the fastnesses of his mountains, defeated his troops, and possessed himself of his person. The rebellion of the two captive kings was punished by their execution; the walls of Sidon were destroyed; its inhabitants, and those of the whole tract of coast in the neighborhood, were carried off into Assyria, and thence scattered among the provinces; a new town was built, which was named after Esar-haddon, and was intended to take the place of Sidon as the chief city of these parts; and colonists were brought from Chaldæa and Susiana to occupy the new capital and the adjoining region. An Assyrian governor was appointed to administer the conquered province.[552]

Esar-haddon's next campaign seems to have been in Armenia. He took a city called Arza * *, which, he says, was in the neighborhood of Muzr,[553] and carried off the inhabitants, together with a number of mountain animals, placing the former in a position "beyond the eastern gate of Nineveh." At the same time he received the submission of Tiuspa the Cimmerian.[554]

His third campaign was in Cilicia and the adjoining regions. The Cilicians, whom Sennacherib had so recently subdued,[555] re-asserted their independence at his death, and allied themselves with the Tibareni, or people of Tubal, who possessed the high mountain tract about the junction of Amanus and Taurus. Esar-haddon inflicted a defeat on the Cilicians, and then invaded the mountain region, where he took twenty-one towns and a larger number of villages, all of which he plundered and burnt. The inhabitants he carried away captive, as usual; but he made no attempt to hold the ravaged districts by means of new cities or fresh colonists.[556]

This expedition was followed by one or two petty wars in the north-west and the north-east;[557] after which Esar-haddon, probably about his sixth year, B.C. 675, made an expedition

into Chaldæa. It appears that a son of Merodach-Baladan, Nebo-zirzi-sidi [558] by name, had re-established himself on the Chaldæan coast, by the help of the Susianians; while his brother, Nahid-Marduk, had thought it more prudent to court the favor of the great Assyrian monarch, and had quitted his refuge in Susiana to present himself before Esar-haddon's foot-stool at Nineveh. This judicious step had all the success that he could have expected or desired. Esar-haddon, having conquered the ill-judging Nebo-zirzi-sidi, made over to the more clear-sighted Nahid-Marduk the whole of the maritime region that had been ruled by his brother. At the same time the Assyrian monarch deposed a Chaldæan prince who had established his authority over a small town in the neighborhood of Babylon, and set up another in his place,[559] thus pursuing the same system of division in Babylonia which we shall hereafter find that he pursued in Egypt.[560]

Esar-haddon after this was engaged in a war with Edom. He there took a city which bore the same name as the country —a city previously, he tells us, taken by his father[561]—and transported the inhabitants into Assyria, at the same time carrying off certain images of the Edomite gods. Hereupon the king, who was named Hazael, sent an embassy to Nineveh, to make submission and offer presents, while at the same time he supplicated Esar-haddon to restore his gods and allow them to be conveyed back to their own proper country.[562] Esar-haddon granted the request, and restored the images to the envoy; but as a compensation for this boon, he demanded an increase of the annual tribute, which was augmented in consequence by sixty-five camels. He also nominated to the Edomite throne, either in succession or in joint sovereignty, a female named Tabua, who had been born and brought up in his own palace.[563]

The expedition next mentioned on Esar-haddon's principal cylinder is one presenting some difficulty. The scene of it is a country called Bazu, which is said to be "remote, on the extreme confines of the earth, on the other side of the desert."[564] It was reached by traversing a hundred and forty *farsakhs* (490 miles) of sandy desert, then twenty *farsakhs* (70 miles) of fertile land, and beyond that a stony region.[565] None of the kings of Assyria, down to the time of Esar-haddon, had ever penetrated so far. Bazu lay beyond Khazu, which was the name of the stony tract, and Bazu had for its chief town a city called Yedih, which was under the rule of a king named Lailé.

It is thought, from the combination of these names,[566] and from the general description of the region—of its remoteness and of the way in which it was reached—that it was probably the district of Arabia beyond Nedjif which lies along the Jebel Shammer, and corresponds closely with the modern Arab kingdom of Hira. Esar-haddon boasts that he marched into the middle of the territory, that he slew eight of its sovereigns, and carried into Assyria their gods, their treasures, and their subjects; and that, though Lailé escaped him, he too lost his gods, which were seized and conveyed to Nineveh. Then Lailé, like the Idumæan monarch above mentioned, felt it necessary to humble himself. He went in person to the Assyrian capital, prostrated himself before the royal footstool, and entreated for the restoration of his gods; which Esar-haddon consented to give back, but solely on the condition that Lailé became thenceforth one of his tributaries.[567]

If this expedition was really carried into the quarter here supposed, Esar-haddon performed a feat never paralleled in history, excepting by Augustus [568] and Nushirvan.[569] He led an army across the deserts which everywhere guard Arabia on the land side, and penetrated to the more fertile tracts beyond them, a region of settled inhabitants and of cities. He there took and spoiled several towns; and he returned to his own country without suffering disaster. Considering the physical perils of the desert itself, and the warlike character of its inhabitants, whom no conqueror has ever really subdued, this was a most remarkable success. The dangers of the simoom may have been exaggerated, and the total aridity of the northern region may have been overstated by many writers;[570] but the difficulty of carrying water and provisions for a large army, and the peril of a plunge into the wilderness with a small one, can scarcely be stated in too strong terms, and have proved sufficient to deter most Eastern conquerors from even the thoughts of an Arabian expedition. Alexander would, perhaps, had he lived, have attempted an invasion from the side of the Persian Gulf;[571] and Trajan actually succeeded in bringing under the Roman yoke an outlying portion of the country—the district between Damascus and the Red Sea; but Arabia has been deeply penetrated thrice only in the history of the world; and Esar-haddon is the sole monarch who ever ventured to conduct in person such an attack.

From the arid regions of the great peninsula Esar-haddon proceeded, probably in another year, to the invasion of the

marsh-country on the Euphrates, where the Aramæan tribe of the Gambulu [572] had their habitations, dwelling (he tells us) "like fish, in the midst of the waters" [573]—doubtless much after the fashion of the modern Khuzeyl and Affej Arabs,[574] the latter of whom inhabit nearly the same tract. The sheikh of this tribe had revolted; but on the approach of the Assyrians he submitted himself, bringing in person the arrears of his tribute and a present of buffaloes (?),[575] whereby he sought to propitiate the wrath of his suzerain. Esar-haddon states that he forgave him; that he strengthened his capital with fresh works, placed a garrison in it, and made it a stronghold to protect the territory against the attacks of the Susianians.

The last expedition mentioned on the cylinder, which seems not to have been conducted by the king in person, was against the country of Bikni, or Bikan, one of the more remote regions of Media—perhaps Azerbijan.[576] No Assyrian monarch before Esar-haddon had ever invaded this region. It was under the government of a number of chiefs—the Arian character of whose names is unmistakable [577]—each of whom ruled over his own town and the adjacent district. Esar-haddon seized two of the chiefs and carried them off to Assyria, whereupon several others made their submission, consenting to pay a tribute and to divide their authority with Assyrian officers.[578]

It is probable that these various expeditions occupied Esar-haddon from B.C. 681, the year of his accession, to B.C. 671, when it is likely that they were recorded on the existing cylinder. The expeditions are ten in number, directed against countries remote from one another; and each may well have occupied an entire year. There would thus remain only three more years of the king's reign, after the termination of the chief native record, during which his history has to be learnt from other sources. Into this space falls, almost certainly, the greatest of Esar-haddon's exploits—the conquest of Egypt; and, probably, one of the most interesting episodes of his reign—the punishment and pardon of Manasseh. With the consideration of these two events the military history of his reign will terminate.

The conquest of Egypt by Esar-haddon, though concealed from Herodotus, and not known even to Diodorus, was no secret to the more learned Greeks, who probably found an account of the expedition in the great work of Berosus.[579] All that we know of its circumstances is derived from an imperfect transcript of the Nahr-el-Kelb tablet, and a short notice in the

annals of Esar-haddon's son and successor, Asshur-bani-pal, who finds it necessary to make an allusion to the former doings of his father in Egypt, in order to render intelligible the state of affairs when he himself invades the country. According to these notices, it would appear that Esar-haddon, having entered Egypt with a large army, probably in B.C. 670, gained a great battle over the forces of Tirhakah in the lower country, and took Memphis, the city where the Ethiopian held his court, after which he proceeded southwards, and conquered the whole of the Nile valley as far as the southern boundary of the Theban district. Thebes itself was taken;[580] and Tirhakah retreated into Ethiopia. Esar-haddon thus became master of all Egypt, at least as far as Thebes or Diospolis, the No or No-Amon of Scripture.[581] He then broke up the country into twenty governments, appointing in each town a ruler who bore the title of king, but placing all the others to a certain extent under the authority of the prince who reigned at Memphis. This was Neco, the father of Psammetichus (Psamatik I.)—a native Egyptian of whom we have some mention both in Herodotus[582] and in the fragments of Manetho.[583] The remaining rulers were likewise, for the most part, native Egyptians; though in two or three instances the governments appear to have been committed to Assyrian officers.[584] Esar-haddon, having made these arrangements, and having set up his tablet at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb side by side with that of Rameses II., returned to his own country, and proceeded to introduce sphinxes into the ornamentation of his palaces,[585] while, at the same time, he attached to his former titles an additional clause, in which he declared himself to be "king of the kings of Egypt, and conqueror of Ethiopia."[586]

The revolt of Manasseh king of Judah may have happened shortly before or shortly after the conquest of Egypt. It was not regarded as of sufficient importance to call for the personal intervention of the Assyrian monarch. The "captains of the host of the king of Assyria" were entrusted with the task of Manasseh's subjection; and, proceeding into Judæa, they "took him, and bound him with chains, and carried him to Babylon,"[587] where Esar-haddon had built himself a palace, and often held his court.[588] The Great King at first treated his prisoner severely; and the "affliction" which he thus suffered is said to have broken his pride and caused him to humble himself before God,[589] and to repent of all the cruelties and idolatries which had brought this judgment upon him. Then God "was en-

Vol. I. Plate CXXXIII.

Fig. 4.

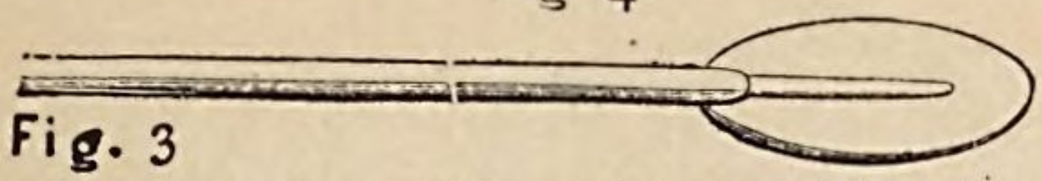
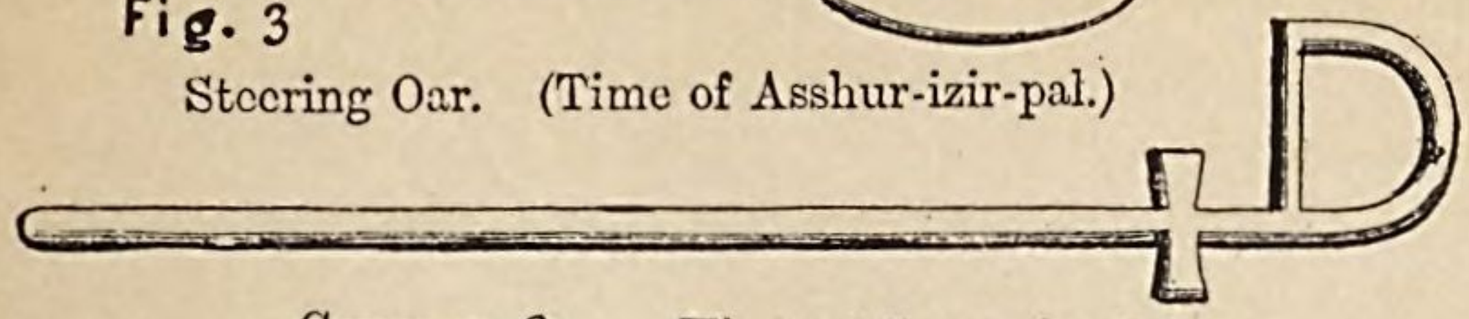


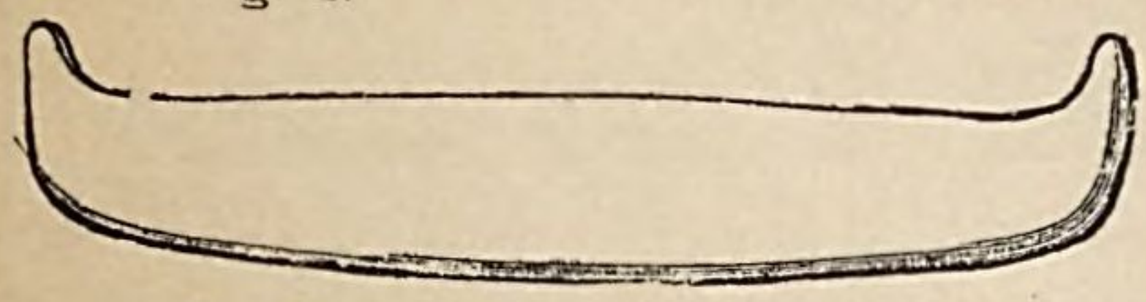
Fig. 3

Steering Oar. (Time of Asshur-izir-pal.)

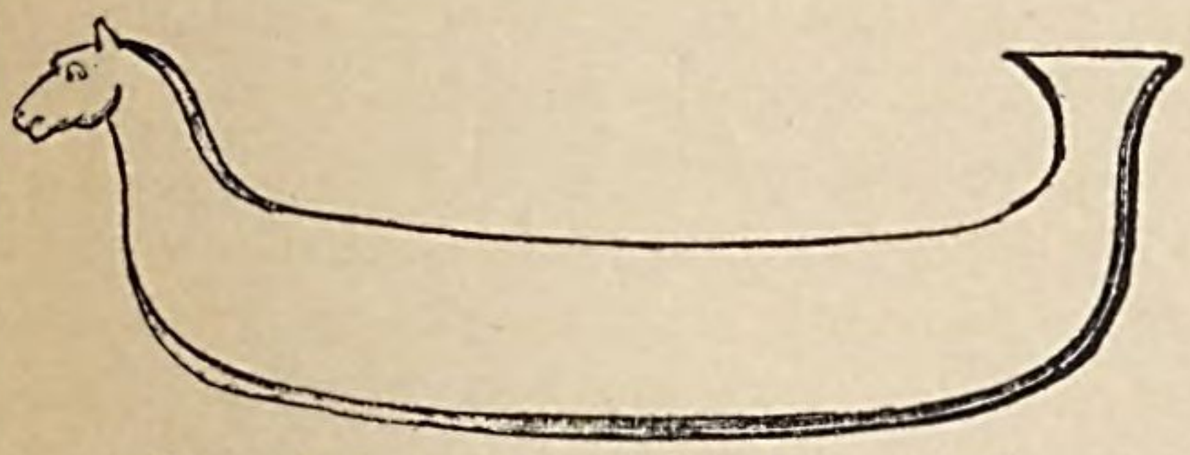


Common Oar. (Time of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 2.

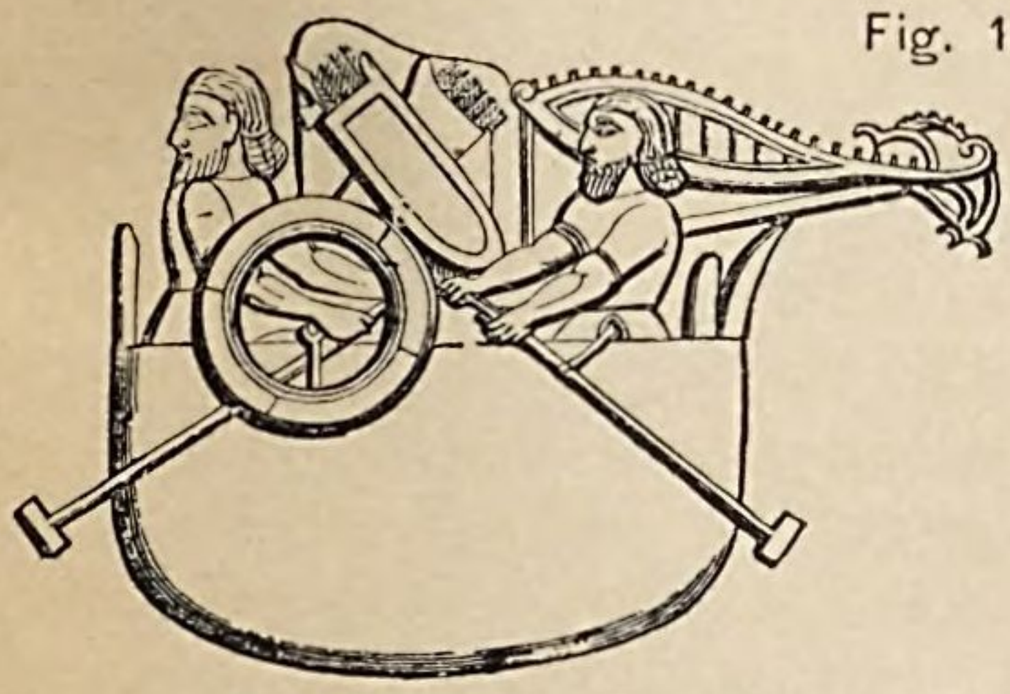


No. I. Early Long-boat (Nimrud).



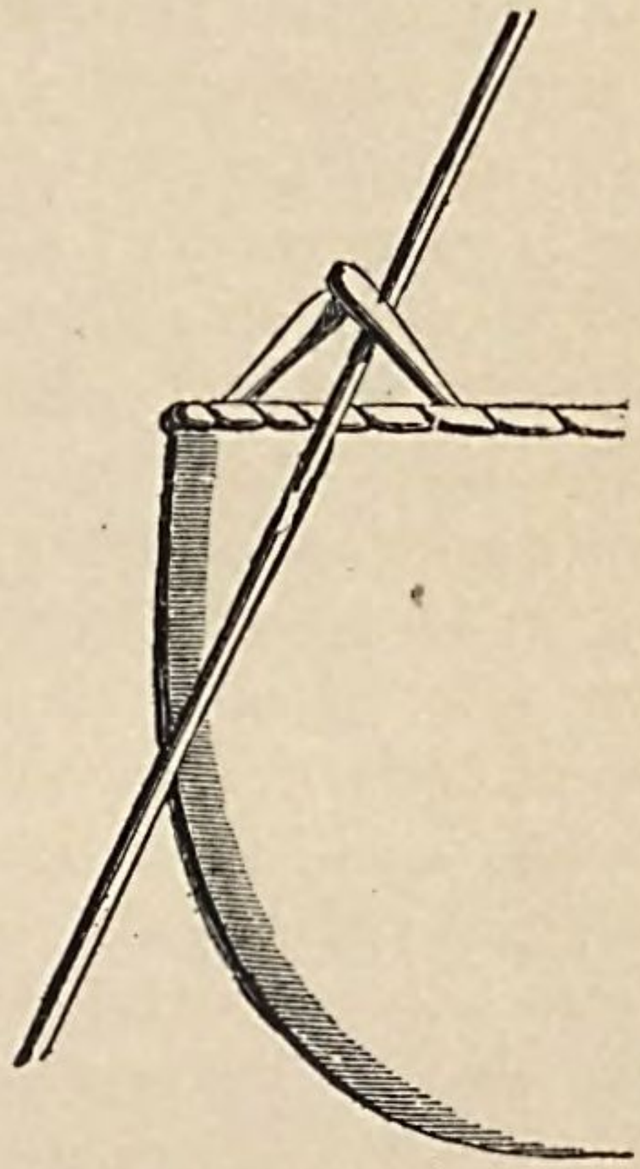
No. II. Later Long-boat (Khorsabad).

Fig. 1.



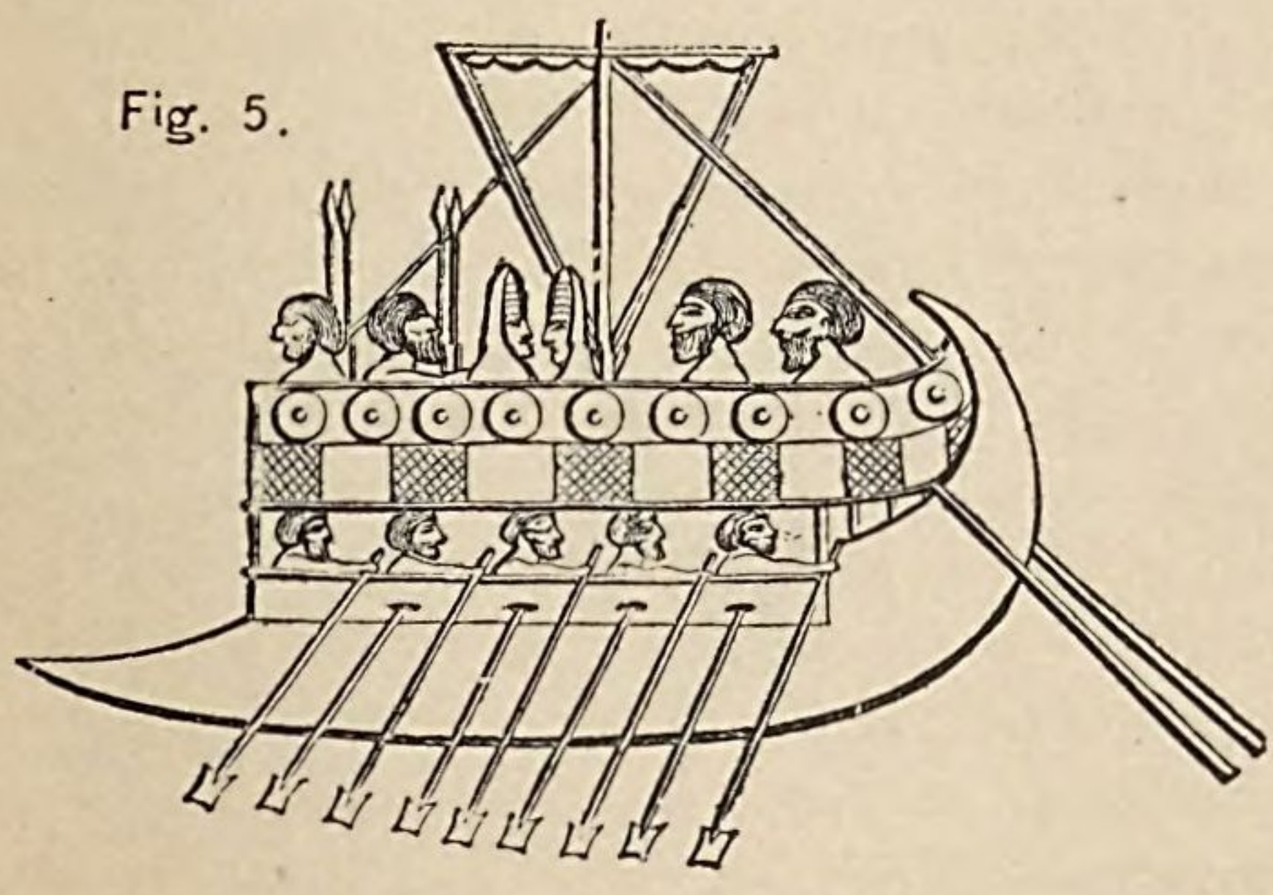
Assyrian coracle (Nimrud).

Fig. 6.



Oar kept in place by pegs (Koyunjik).

Fig. 5.



Phœnician bireme (Koyunjik).

Vol. I.

Fig. 1.

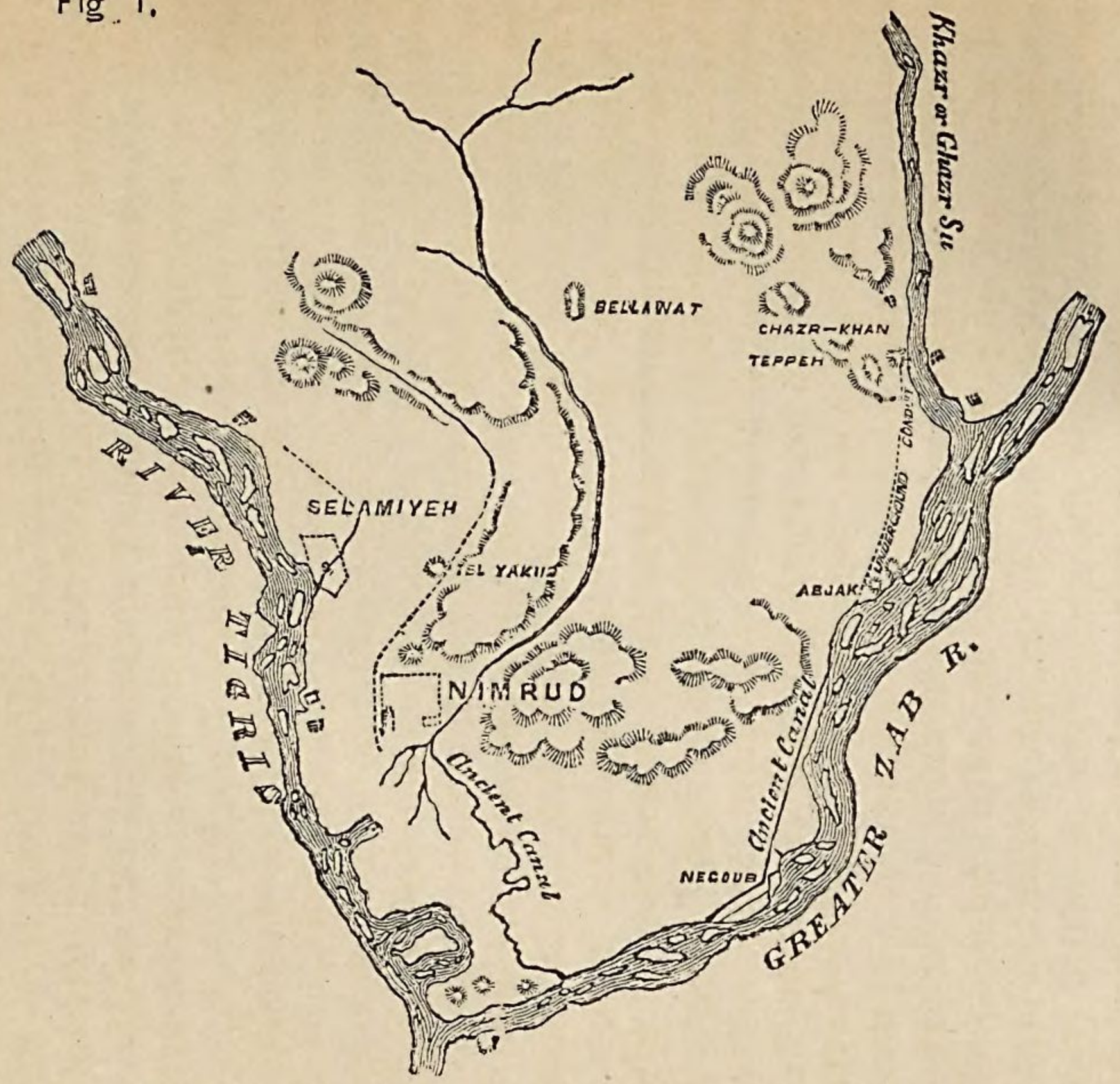
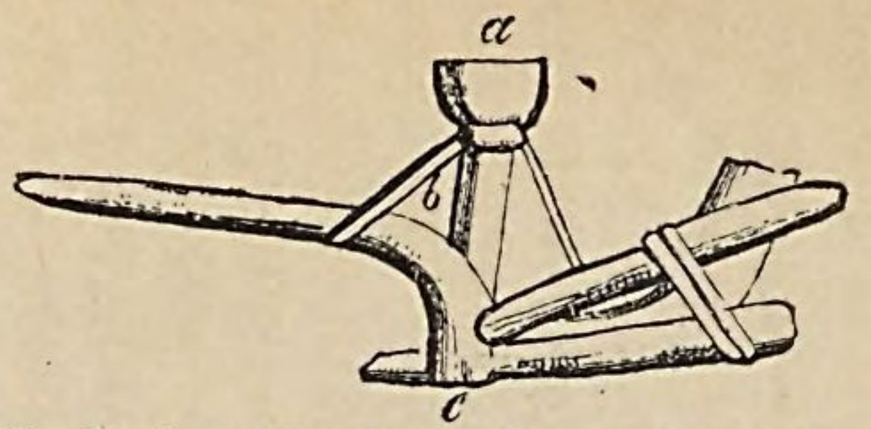
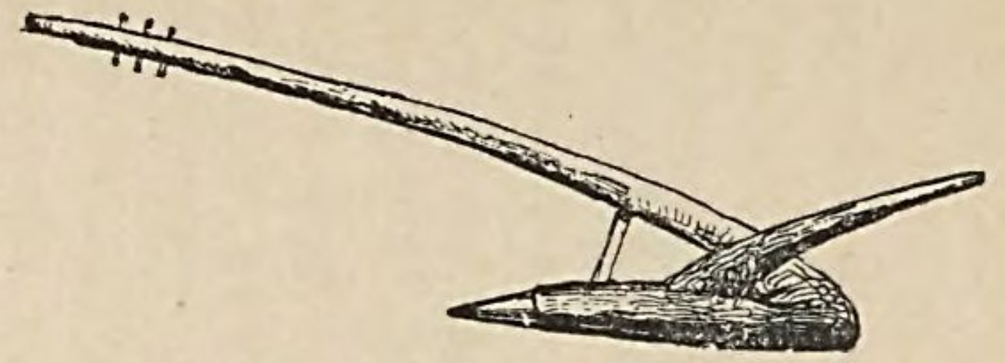


Chart of the District about Nimrud, showing the Course of the Ancient Cana and Conduit.

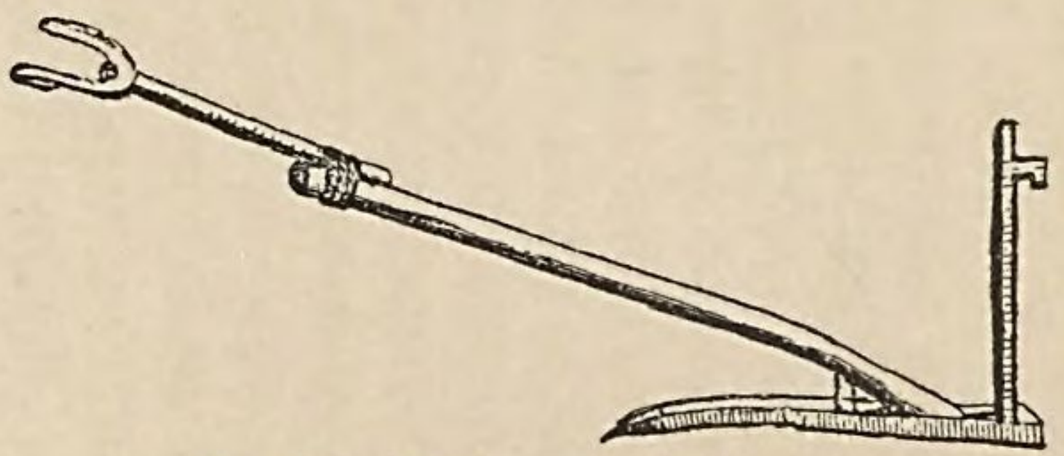
Fig. 2.



No. I. Assyrian Drill-Plough (from Lord Aberdeen's black stone)



No. II. Modern Turkish Plough.



No. III. Modern Arab Plough.

Plate CXXXIV

treated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him back again to Jerusalem into his kingdom."[590] The crime of defection was overlooked by the Assyrian monarch;[591] Manasseh was pardoned, and sent back to Jerusalem; where he was allowed to resume the reins of government, but on the condition, if we may judge by the usual practice of the Assyrians in such cases, of paying an increased tribute.[592]

It may have been in connection with this restoration of Manasseh to his throne—an act of doubtful policy from an Assyrian point of view—that Esar-haddon determined on a project by which the hold of Assyria upon Palestine was considerably strengthened. Sargon, as has been already observed,[593] when he removed the Israelites from Samaria, supplied their place by colonists from Babylon, Cutha, Sippara, Ava, Hamath,[594] and Arabia;[595] thus planting a foreign garrison in the region which would be likely to preserve its fidelity. Esar-haddon resolved to strengthen this element. He gathered men[596] from Babylon, Orchoë, Susa, Elymais, Persia, and other neighboring regions, and entrusting them to an officer of high rank—"the great and noble Asnapper"—had them conveyed to Palestine and settled over the whole country, which until this time must have been somewhat thinly peopled.[597] The restoration of Manasseh, and the augmentation of this foreign element in Palestine, are thus portions, but counterbalancing portions, of one scheme—a scheme, the sole object of which was the pacification of the empire by whatever means, gentle or severe, seemed best calculated to effect the purpose.

The last years of Esar-haddon were, to some extent, clouded with disaster. He appears to have fallen ill in B.C. 669; and the knowledge of this fact at once produced revolution in Egypt. Tirhakah issued from his Ethiopian fastnesses, descended the valley of the Nile, expelled the kings set up by Esar-haddon, and re-established his authority over the whole country. Esar-haddon, unable to take the field, resolved to resign the cares of the empire to his eldest son, Asshur-bani-pal, and to retire into a secondary position. Relinquishing the crown of Assyria, and retaining that of Babylon only, he had Asshur-bani-pal proclaimed king of Assyria, and retired to the southern capital. There he appears to have died in B.C. 668, or early in B.C. 667, leaving Asshur-bani-pal sole sovereign of the entire empire.

Of the architecture of Esar-haddon, and of the state of the arts generally in his time, it is difficult to speak positively. Though he appears to have been one of the most indefatigable

constructors of great works that Assyria produced, having erected during the short period over which his reign extended no fewer than four palaces and above thirty temples,[598] yet it happens unfortunately that we are not as yet in a condition to pronounce a decisive judgment either on the plan of his buildings or on the merits of their ornamentation. Of his three great palaces, which were situated at Babylon, Calah, and Nineveh, one only—that at Calah or Nimrud—has been to any large extent explored. Even in this case the exploration was far from complete, and the ground-plan of his palace is still very defective. But this is not the worst. The palace itself had never been finished;[599] its ornamentation had scarcely been begun; and the little of this that was original had been so damaged by a furious conflagration, that it perished almost at the moment of discovery.[600] We are thus reduced to judge of the sculptures of Esar-haddon by the reports of those who saw them ere they fell to pieces, and by one or two drawings, while we have to form our conception of his buildings from a half-explored fragment of a half-finished palace, which was moreover destroyed by fire before completion.

The palace of Esar-haddon at Calah was built at the south-western corner of the Nimrud mound, abutting towards the west on the Tigris, and towards the south on the valley formed by the Shor-Derreh torrent. It faced northwards, and was entered on this side from the open space of the platform, through a portal guarded by two winged bulls of the ordinary character. The visitor on entering found himself in a large court, 280 feet by 100,[601] bounded on the north side by a mere wall, but on the other three sides surrounded by buildings. The main building was opposite to him, and was entered from the court by two portals, one directly facing the great northern gate of the court, and the other a little to the left hand, the former guarded by colossal bulls, the latter merely reveted with slabs. These portals both led into the same room—the room already described in an earlier page of this work[602]—which was designed on the most magnificent scale of all the Assyrian apartments, but was so broken up through the inability of the architect to roof in a wide space without abundant support, that, practically, it formed rather a suite of four moderate-sized chambers than a single grand hall. The plan of this apartment will be seen by referring to Plate XLIII., Fig. 2. Viewed as a single apartment, the room was 165 feet in length by 62 feet in width, and thus contained an area of

10,230 square feet, a space nearly half as large again as that covered by the greatest of the halls of Sennacherib, which was 7200 feet. Viewed as a suite of chambers, the rooms may be described as two long and narrow halls running parallel to one another, and communicating by a grand doorway in the middle, with two smaller chambers placed at the two ends, running at right angles to the principal ones. The small chambers were 62 feet long, and respectively 19 feet and 23 feet wide; the larger ones were 110 feet long, with a width respectively of 20 feet and 28 feet.[603] The inner of the two long parallel chambers communicated by a grand doorway, guarded by sphinxes and colossal lions, either with a small court or with a large chamber extending to the southern edge of the mound; and the two end rooms communicated with smaller apartments in the same direction.[604] The buildings to the right and left of the great court seem to have been entirely separate from those at its southern end: to the left they were wholly unexamined; on the right some explorations were conducted which gave the usual result of several long narrow apartments, with perhaps one or two passages. The extent of the palace westward, southward, and eastward is uncertain: eastward it was unexplored; southward and westward the mound had been eaten into by the Tigris and the Shor-Derreh torrent.[605]

The walls of Esar-haddon's palace were composed, in the usual way, of sun-dried bricks, reveted with slabs of alabaster. Instead, however, of quarrying fresh alabaster slabs for the purpose, the king preferred to make use of those which were already on the summit of the mound, covering the walls of the north-western and central palaces, which, no doubt, had fallen into decay. His workmen tore down these sculptured monuments from their original position, and transferring them to the site of the new palace, arranged them so as to cover the freshly-raised walls, generally placing the carved side against the crude brick, and leaving the back exposed to receive fresh sculptures, but sometimes exposing the old sculpture, which, however, in such cases, it was probably intended to remove by the chisel.[606] This process was still going on, when either Esar-haddon died and the works were stopped, or the palace was destroyed by fire. Scarcely any of the new sculptures had been executed. The only exceptions were the bulls and lions at the various portals,[607] a few reliefs in close proximity to them,[608] and some complete figures of crouching sphinxes,[609] which had been placed as ornaments, and possibly also as the

bases of supports, within the span of the two widest doorways. There was nothing very remarkable about the bulls; the lions were spirited, and more true to nature than usual; the sphinxes were curious, being Egyptian in idea, but thoroughly Assyrianized, having the horned cap common on bulls, the Assyrian arrangement of hair, Assyrian earrings, and wings nearly like those of the ordinary winged bull or lion. [Pl. CXLVI., Fig. 2.] The figures near the lions were mythic, and exhibited somewhat more than usual grotesqueness, as we learn from the representations of them given by Mr. Layard.[610]

While the evidence of the actual monuments as to the character of Esar-haddon's buildings and their ornamentation is thus scanty, it happens, curiously, that the Inscriptions furnish a particularly elaborate and detailed account of them. It appears, from the principal record of the time, that the temples which Esar-haddon built in Assyria and Babylonia—thirty-six in number—were richly adorned with plates of silver and gold, which made them (in the words of the Inscription) "as splendid as the day."[611] His palace at Nineveh, a building situated on the mound called Nebbi Yunus, was, we are told, erected upon the site of a former palace of the kings of Assyria. Preparations for its construction were made, as for the great buildings of Solomon,[612] by the collection of materials, in wood, stone, and metal, beforehand: these were furnished by the Phœnician, Syrian, and Cyprian monarchs,[613] who sent to Nineveh for the purpose great beams of cedar, cypress, and ebony (?), stone statues, and various works in metals of different kinds. The palace itself is said to have exceeded in size all buildings of former kings. It was roofed with carved beams of cedar-wood; it was in part supported by columns of cypress wood, ornamented and strengthened with rings of silver and of iron; the portals were guarded by stone bulls and lions; and the gates were made of ebony and cypress ornamented with iron, silver, and ivory. There was, of course, the usual adornment of the walls by means of sculptured slabs and enamelled bricks. If the prejudices of the Mahometans against the possible disturbance of their dead, and against the violation by infidel hands of the supposed tomb of Jonah, should hereafter be dispelled, and excavations be freely allowed in the Nebbi Yunus mound, we may look to obtain very precious relics of Assyrian art from the palace of Esar-haddon, now lying buried beneath the village or the tombs which share between them this most important site.[614]

Of Esar-haddon's Babylonian palace nothing is at present known, beyond the mere fact of its existence; but if the mounds at Hillah should ever be thoroughly explored, we may expect to recover at least its ground-plan, if not its sculptures and other ornaments. The Sherif Khan palace has been examined pretty completely.[615] It was very much inferior to the ordinary palatial edifices of the Assyrians, being in fact only a house which Esar-haddon built as a dwelling for his eldest son during his own lifetime. Like the more imposing buildings of this king, it was probably unfinished at his decease. At any rate its remains add nothing to our knowledge of the state of art in Esar-haddon's time, or to our estimate of that monarch's genius as a builder.

After a reign of thirteen years, Esar-haddon, "king of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Meroë, and Ethiopia," as he styles himself in his later inscriptions, died, leaving his crown to his eldest son, Asshur-bani-pal, whom he had already associated in the government.[616] Asshur-báni-pal ascended the throne in B.C. 668, or very early in B.C. 667; and his first act seems to have been to appoint as viceroy of Babylon his younger brother Saül-Mugina,[617] who appears as Sam-mughes in Polyhistor,[618] and as Saosduchinus in the Canon of Ptolemy.

The first war in which Asshur-bani-pal engaged was most probably with Egypt. Late in the reign of Esar-haddon, Tirhakah (as already stated[619]) had descended from the upper country, had recovered Thebes, Memphis, and most of the other Egyptian cities, and expelled from them the princes and governors appointed by Esar-haddon upon his conquest.[620] Asshur-bani-pal, shortly after his accession, collected his forces, and marched through Syria into Egypt, where he defeated the army sent against him by Tirhakah in a great battle near the city of Kar-banit. Tirhakah, who was at Memphis, hearing of the disaster that had befallen his army, abandoned Lower Egypt, and sailed up the Nile to Thebes, whither the forces of Asshur-bani-pal followed him; but the nimble Ethiopian retreated still further up the Nile valley, leaving all Egypt from Thebes downwards to his adversary. Asshur-bani-pal, upon this, reinstated in their former governments the various princes and rulers whom his father had originally appointed, and whom Tirhakah had expelled; and then, having rested and refreshed his army by a short stay in Thebes, returned victoriously by way of Syria to Nineveh.

Scarcely was he departed when intrigues began for the resto-

ration of the Ethiopian power. Neco and some of the other Egyptian governors, whom Asshur-bani-pal had just reinstated in their posts, deserted the Assyrian side and went over to the Ethiopians. Attempts were made to suppress the incipient revolt by the governors who continued faithful; Neco and one or two of his copartners in guilt were seized and sent in chains to Assyria; and some of the cities chiefly implicated, as Sais, Mendes, and Tanis (Zoan), were punished. But the efforts at suppression failed. Tirhakah entered Upper Egypt, and having established himself at Thebes, threatened to extend his authority once more over the whole of the Nilotic valley. Thereupon Asshur-bani-pal, having forgiven Neco, sent him, accompanied by a strong force, into Egypt; and Tirhakah was again compelled to quit the lower country and retire to Upper Egypt, where he soon after died. His crown fell to his stepson,[621] Urdamané, who is perhaps the Rud-Amun of the Hieroglyphics.[622] This prince was at first very successful. He descended the Nile valley in force, defeated the Assyrians near Memphis, drove them to take refuge within its walls, besieged and took the city, and recovered Lower Egypt. Upon this Asshur-bani-pal, who was in the city of Asshur when he heard the news, went in person against his new adversary, who retreated as he advanced, flying from Memphis to Thebes, and from Thebes to a city called Kipkip, far up the course of the Nile. Asshur-bani-pal and his army now entered Thebes, and sacked it. The plunder which was taken, consisting of gold, silver, precious stones, dyed garments, captives male and female, ivory, ebony, tame animals (such as monkeys and elephants) brought up in the palace, obelisks, etc., was carried off and conveyed to Nineveh. Governors were once more set up in the several cities, Psammetichus being probably among them;[623] and, hostages having been taken to secure their fidelity, the Assyrian monarch returned home with his booty.

Between his first and second expedition into Egypt, Asshur-bani-pal was engaged in warlike operations on the Syrian coast, and in transactions of a different character with Cilicia. Returning from Egypt, he made an attack on Tyre, whose king, Baal, had offended him, and having compelled him to submit, exacted from him a large tribute, which he sent away to Nineveh. About the same time Asshur-bani-pal entered into communication with the Cilician monarch, whose name is not given, and took to wife a daughter of that princely

house, which was already connected with the royal race of the Sargonids.[624]

Shortly after his second Egyptian expedition, Asshur-bani-pal seems to have invaded Asia Minor. Crossing the Taurus range, he penetrated to a region never before visited by any Assyrian monarch;[625] and, having reduced various towns in these parts and returned to Nineveh, he received an embassy of a very unusual character. "Gyges, king of Lydia,"[626] he tells us, "a country on the sea-coast, a remote place, of which the kings his ancestors had never even heard the name, had formerly learnt in a dream the fame of his empire, and had sent officers to his presence to perform homage on his behalf." He now sent a second time to Asshur-bani-pal, and told him that since his submission he had been able to defeat the Cimmerians, who had formerly ravaged his land with impunity; and he begged his acceptance of two Cimmerian chiefs,[627] whom he had taken in battle, together with other presents, which Asshur-bani-pal regarded as a "tribute." About the same time the Assyrian monarch repulsed the attack of the "king of Kharbat," on a district of Babylonia, and, having taken Kharbat, transported its inhabitants to Egypt.

After thus displaying his power and extending his dominions towards the south-west, the north-west, and the south-east, Asshur-bani-pal turned his arms towards the north-east, and invaded Minni, or Persarmenia—the mountain-country about Lakes Van and Urumiyeh. Akhsheri, the king, having lost his capital, Izirtu, and several other cities, was murdered by his subjects; and his son, Vahalli, found himself compelled to make submission, and sent an embassy to Nineveh to do homage, with tribute, presents, and hostages. Asshur-bani-pal received the envoys graciously, pardoned Vahalli, and maintained him upon the throne, but forced him to pay a heavy tribute. He also in this expedition conquered a tract called Paddiri, which former kings of Assyria had severed from Minni and made independent, but which Asshur-bani-pal now attached to his own empire, and placed under an Assyrian governor.

A war of some duration followed with Elam, or Susiana, the flames of which at one time extended over almost the whole empire. This war was caused by a transfer of allegiance.[628] Certain tribes, pressed by a famine, had passed from Susiana into the territories of Asshur-bani-pal, and were allowed to settle there; but when, the famine being over, they wished to

return to their former country, Asshur-bani-pal would not consent to their withdrawal. Urtaki, the Susianian king, took umbrage at this refusal, and, determining to revenge himself, commenced hostilities by an invasion of Babylonia. Belu-bagar, king of the important Aramæan tribe of the Gambulu,[629] assisted him; and Saül-Mugina, in alarm, sent to his brother for protection. An Assyrian army was dispatched to his aid, before which Urtaki fled. He was, however, pursued, caught and defeated. With some difficulty he escaped and returned to Susa, where within a year he died, without having made any fresh effort to injure or annoy his antagonist.

His death was a signal for a domestic revolution which proved very advantageous to the Assyrians. Urtaki had driven his elder brother, Umman-aldas, from the throne,[630] and, passing over the rights of his sons, had assumed the supreme authority. At his death, his younger brother, Temin-Umman, seized the crown, disregarding not only the rights of the sons of Umman-aldas, but likewise those of the sons of Urtaki.[631] As the pretensions of those princes were dangerous, Temin-Umman endeavored to seize their persons with the intention of putting them to death; but they, having timely warning of their danger, fled; and, escaping to Nineveh with their relations and adherents, put themselves under the protection of Asshur-bani-pal. It thus happened that in the expedition which now followed, Asshur-bani-pal had a party which favored him in Elam itself. Temin-Umman, however, aware of this internal weakness, made great efforts to compensate for it by the number of his foreign allies. Two descendants of Merodach-Baladan, who had principalities upon the coast of the Persian Gulf, two mountain chiefs, one of them a blood-connection of the Assyrian crown, two sons of Belu-bagar, sheikh of the Gambulu, and several other inferior chieftains, are mentioned as bringing their troops to his assistance, and fighting in his cause against the Assyrians. All, however, was in vain. Asshur-bani-pal defeated the allies in several engagements, and finally took Temin-Umman prisoner, executed him, and exposed his head over one of the gates of Nineveh. He then divided Elam between two of the sons of Urtaki, Umman-ibi and Tammarit, establishing the former in Susa, and the latter at a town called Khidal in Eastern Susiana.[632] Great severities were exercised upon the various princes and nobles who had been captured. A son of Temin-Umman was executed with his father. Several grand-

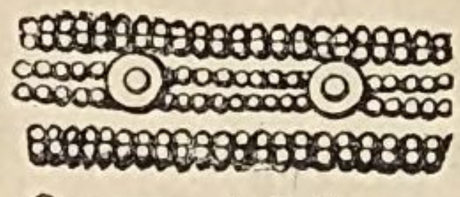
No. I. Fish-cap of Assyrian Musician (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4.

No. II. Tall Cap of Assyrian Priest (Koyunjik).

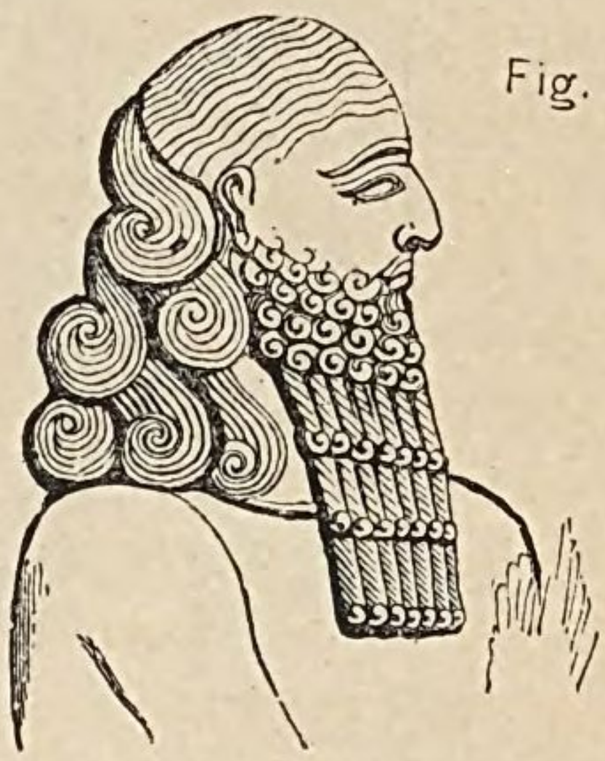
No. III. Cap of the King's Cook (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



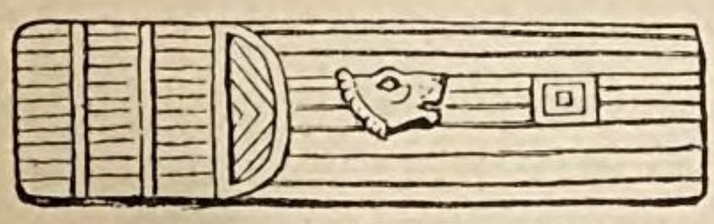
Ornamental Cross-belt (Khorsabad).

Fig. 5.



Curious mode of arranging the Hair (Koyunjik).

Fig. I.

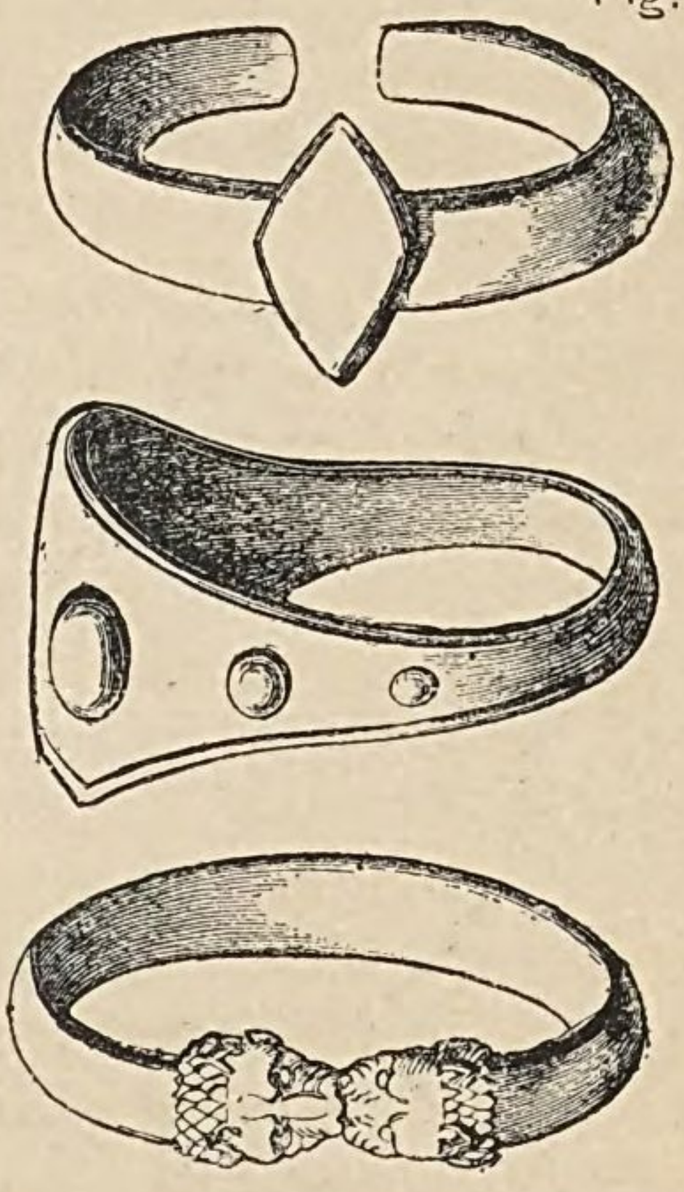


Ornamental Belt or Girdle (Koyunjik).

Fig. 6.

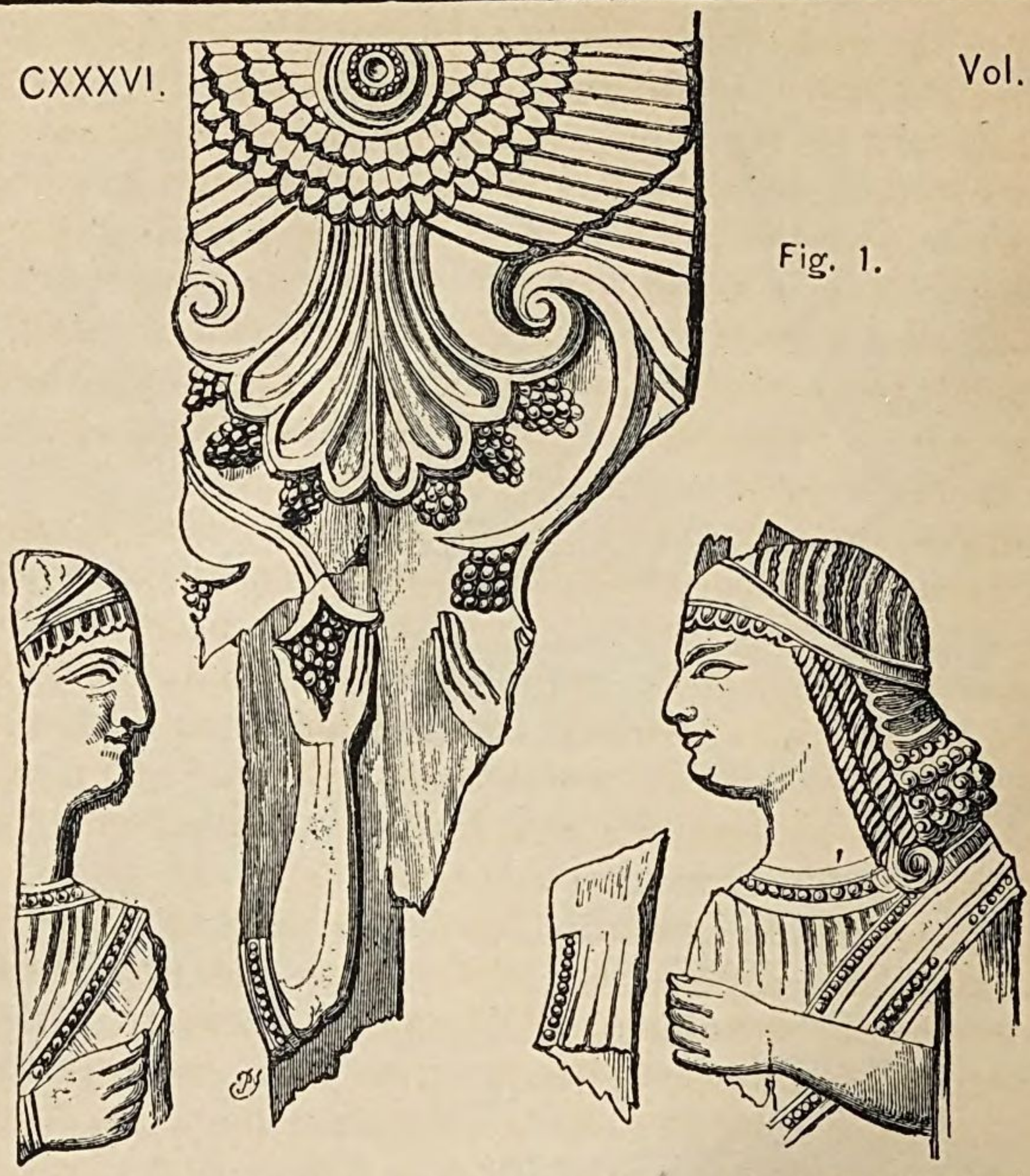
Female seated. (From an ivory in the British Museum.)

Fig. 3



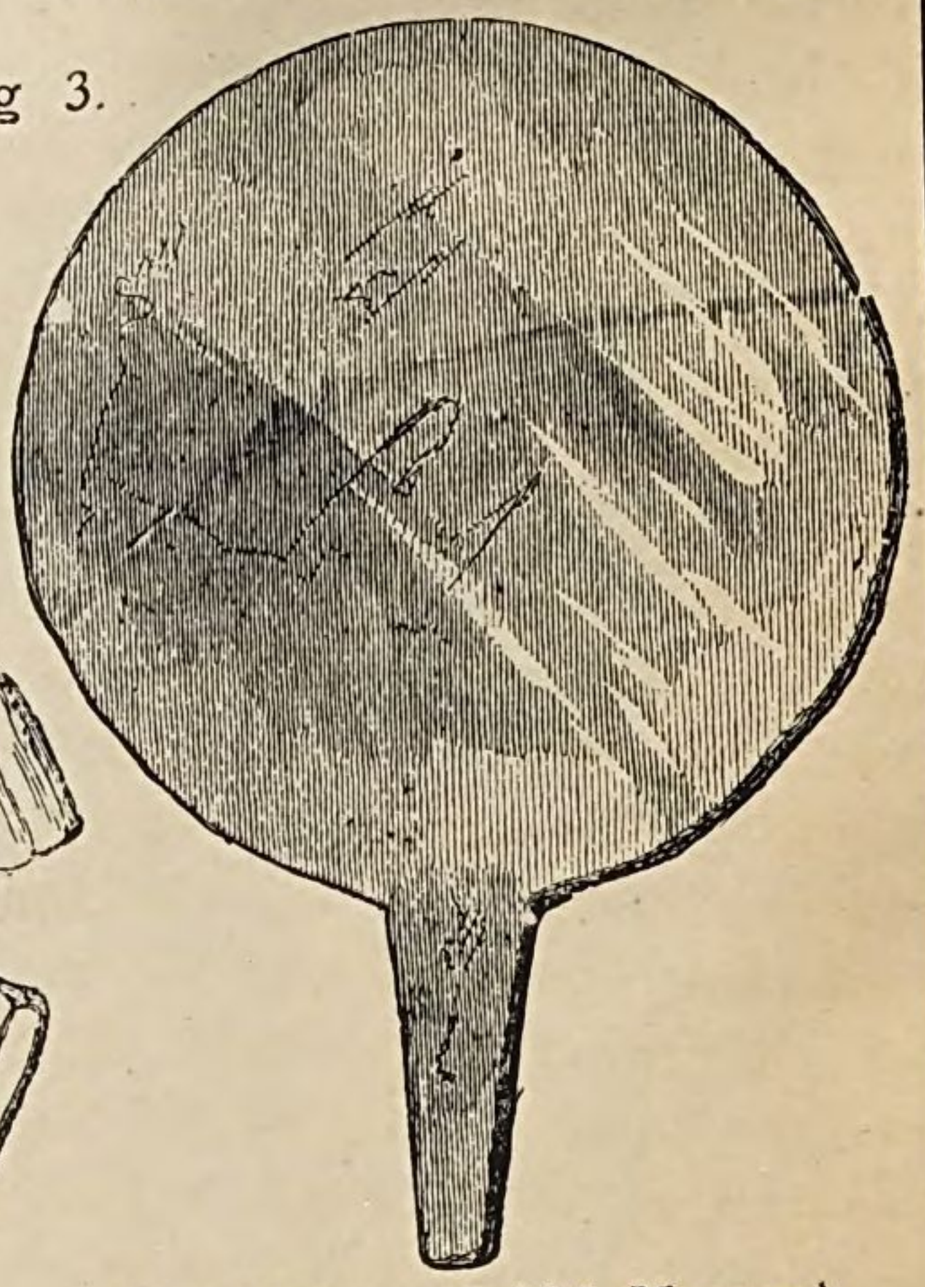
Armlets of Assyrian Grandees (Khorsabad)

Fig. 1.



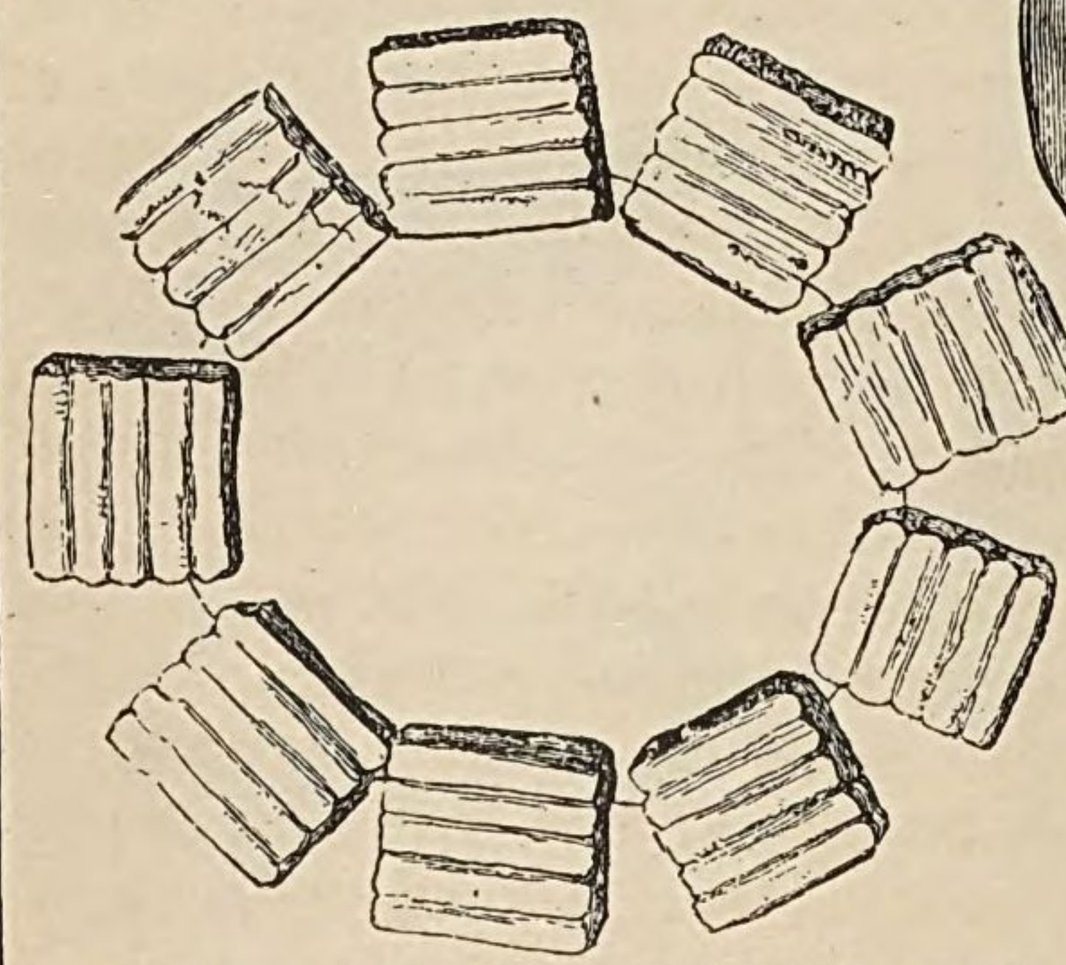
Females gathering grapes. (From some ivory fragments in the British Museum.)

Fig 3.



Metal Mirror (British Museum).

Fig. 2



Necklace of Flat Beads (British Museum).

sons of Merodach-Baladan suffered mutilation. A Chaldæan prince and one of the chieftains of the Gambulu had their tongues torn out by the roots. Another of the Gambulu chiefs was decapitated. Two of the Temin-Umman's principal officers were chained and flayed. Palaya, a grandson of Merodach-Baladan, was mutilated. Asshur-bani-pal evidently hoped to strike terror into his enemies by these cruel, and now unusual, punishments, which, being inflicted for the most part upon royal personages, must have made a profound impression on the king-reverencing Asiatics.

The impression made was, however, one of horror rather than of alarm. Scarcely had the Assyrians returned to Nineveh, when fresh troubles broke out. Saül-Mugina, discontented with his position, which was one of complete dependence upon his brother, rebelled, and, declaring himself king of Babylon in his own right, sought and obtained a number of important allies among his neighbors. Umman-ibi, though he had received his crown from Asshur-bani-pal, joined him, seduced by a gift of treasure from the various Babylonian temples. Vaiteha, a powerful Arabian prince, and Nebo-bel-sumi, a surviving grandson of Merodach-Baladan, came into the confederacy; and Saül-Mugina had fair grounds for expecting that he would be able to maintain his independence. But civil discord—the curse of Elam at this period—once more showed itself, and blighted all these fair prospects. Tammarit, the brother of Umman-ibi, finding that the latter had sent the flower of his army into Babylonia, marched against him, defeated and slew him, and became king of all Elam. Maintaining, however, the policy of his brother, he entered into alliance with Saül-Mugina, and proceeded to put himself at the head of the Elamitic contingent, which was serving in Babylonia. Here a just Nemesis overtook him. Taking advantage of his absence, a certain Inda-bibi[633] (or Inda-bigas), a mountain-chief from the fastnesses of Luristan, raised a revolt in Elam, and succeeded in seating himself upon the throne. The army in Babylonia declining to maintain the cause of Tammarit, he was forced to fly and conceal himself, while the Elamitic troops returned home. Saül-Mugina thus lost the most important of his allies at the moment of his greatest danger; for his brother had at length marched against him at the head of an immense army, and was overrunning his northern provinces. Without the Elamites it was impossible for Babylon to contend with Assyria in the open field.

All that Saül-Mugina could do was to defend his towns, which Asshur-bani-pal besieged and took, one after another. The rebel fell into his brother's hands, and suffered a punishment more terrible than any that the relentless conqueror had as yet inflicted on his captured enemies. Others had been mutilated, or beheaded; Saül-Mugina was burnt. The tie of blood, which was held to have aggravated the guilt of his rebellion, was not allowed to be pleaded in mitigation of his sentence.

A pause of some years' duration now occurred. The relations between Assyria and Susiana were unfriendly, but not actually hostile. Inda-bibi had given refuge to Nebo-bel-sumi at the time of Saül-Mugina's discomfiture, and Asshur-bani-pal repeatedly but vainly demanded the surrender of the refugee. He did not, however, attempt to enforce his demand by an appeal to arms; and Inda-bibi might have retained his kingdom in peace, had not domestic troubles arisen to disturb him. He was conspired against by the commander of his archers, a second Umman-aldas, who killed him and occupied his throne. Many pretenders, at the same time, arose in different parts of the country; and Asshur-bani-pal, learning how Elam was distracted, determined on a fresh effort to conquer it. He renewed his demand for the surrender of Nebo-bel-sumi, who would have been given up had he not committed suicide. Not content with this success, he (ab. B.C. 645) invaded Elam, besieged and took Bit-Imbi, which had been strongly fortified, and drove Umman-aldas out of the plain country into the mountains. Susa and Badaca, together with twenty-four other cities, fell into his power; and Western Elam being thus at his disposal, he placed it under the government of Tammarit, who, after his flight from Babylonia, had become a refugee at the Assyrian court. Umman-aldas retained the sovereignty of Eastern Elam.

But it was not long before fresh changes occurred. Tammarit, finding himself little more than a puppet-king in the hands of the Assyrians, formed a plot to massacre all the foreign troops left to garrison this country, and so to make himself an independent monarch. His intentions, however, were discovered, and the plot failed. The Assyrians seized him, put him in bonds, and sent him to Nineveh. Western Elam passed under purely military rule, and suffered, it is probable, extreme severities. Under these circumstances, Umman-aldas took heart, and made ready, in the fastnesses to which he had fled, for another and a final effort. Having levied a vast

army, he, in the spring of the next year, made himself once more master of Bit-Imbi, and, establishing himself there, prepared to resist the Assyrians. Their forces shortly appeared; and, unable to hold the place against their assaults, Ummanaldas evacuated it with his troops, and fought a retreating fight all the way back to Susa, holding the various strong towns and rivers[634] in succession. Gallant, however, as was his resistance, it proved ineffectual. The lines of defence which he chose were forced, one after another; and finally both Susa and Badaca were taken, and the country once more lay at Asshur-bani-pal's mercy. All the towns made their submission. Asshur-bani-pal, burning with anger at their revolt, plundered the capital of its treasures,[635] and gave the other cities up to be spoiled by his soldiers for the space of a month and twenty-three days. He then formally abolished Susianian independence, and attached the country as a province to the Assyrian empire. Thus ended the Susianian war,[636] after it had lasted, with brief interruptions, for the space of (probably) twelve years.

The full occupation given to the Assyrian arms by this long struggle encouraged revolt in other quarters. It was probably about the time when Asshur-bani-pal was engaged in the thick of the contest with Umman-ibi and Saül-Mugina that Psammetichus declared himself independent in Egypt, and commenced a war against the princes who remained faithful to their Assyrian suzerain. Gyges, too, in the far northwest, took the opportunity to break with the formidable power with which he had recently thought it prudent to curry favor, and sent aid to the Egyptian rebel, which rendered him effective service.[637] Egypt freed herself from the Assyrian yoke, and entered on the prosperous period which is known as that of the twenty-sixth (Saite) dynasty. Gyges was less fortunate. Assailed shortly by a terrible enemy,[638] which swept with resistless force over his whole land, he lost his life in the struggle. Assyria was well and quickly avenged; and Ardys, the new monarch, hastened to resume the deferential attitude toward Asshur-bani-pal which his father had unwisely relinquished.

Asshur-bani-pal's next important war was against the Arabs. Some of the desert tribes had, as already mentioned, lent assistance to Saül-Mugina during his revolt against his suzerain, and it was to punish this audacity that Asshur-bani-pal undertook his expedition. His principal enemy was a certain

Vaiteha, who had for allies Natun, or Nathan, king of the Nabathæans, and Ammu-ladin, king of Kedar. The fighting seems to have extended along the whole country bordering the Euphrates valley from the Persian Gulf to Syria,[639] and thence southwards by Damascus to Petra. Petra itself, Muhab (or Moab), Hudumimukrab (Edom), Zaharri (perhaps Zoar), and several other cities were taken by the Assyrians. The final battle was fought at a place called Khukhuruna, in the mountains near Damascus, where the Arabians were defeated with great slaughter, and the two chiefs who had led the Arab contingent to the assistance of Saül-Mugina were made prisoners by the Assyrians. Asshur-bani-pal had them conducted to Nineveh, and there publicly executed.

The annals of Asshur-bani-pal here terminate.[640] They exhibit him to us as a warrior more enterprising and more powerful than any of his predecessors, and as one who enlarged in almost every direction the previous limits of the empire. In Egypt he completed the work which his father Esar-haddon had begun, and established the Assyrian dominion for some years, not only at Sais and at Memphis, but at Thebes. In Asia Minor he carried the Assyrian arms far beyond any former king, conquering large tracts which had never before been invaded, and extending the reputation of his greatness to the extreme western limits of the continent. Against his northern neighbors he contended with unusual success, and towards the close of his reign he reckoned, not only the Minni, but the Urarda, or true Armenians, among his tributaries.[641] Towards the south, he added to the empire the great country of Susiana, never subdued until his reign; and on the west, he signally chastised if he did not actually conquer, the Arabs.

To his military ardor Asshur-bani-pal added a passionate addiction to the pleasure of the chase. Lion-hunting was his especial delight. Sometimes along the banks of reedy streams, sometimes borne mid-channel in his pleasure galley, he sought the king of beasts in his native haunts, roused him by means of hounds and beaters from his lair, and despatched him with his unerring arrows.[642] Sometimes he enjoyed the sport in his own park of paradise. Large and fierce beasts, brought from a distance, were placed in traps about the grounds,[643] and on his approach were set free from their confinement, while he drove among them in his chariot, letting fly his shafts at each with a strong and steady hand, which rarely failed to attain

the mark it aimed at. Aided only by two or three attendants armed with spears, he would encounter the terrific spring of the bolder beasts, who rushed frantically at the royal marksman and endeavored to tear him from the chariot-board. Sometimes he would even voluntarily quit this vantage-ground, and, engaging with the brutes on the same level, without the protection of armor, in his everyday dress, with a mere fillet upon his head, he would dare a close combat, and smite them with sword or spear through the heart.[644]

When the supply of lions fell short, or when he was satiated with this kind of sport, Asshur-bani-pal would vary his occupation, and content himself with game of an inferior description. Wild bulls were probably no longer found in Assyria or the adjacent countries,[645] so that he was precluded from the sport which, next to the chase of the lion, occupied and delighted the earlier monarchs. He could indulge, however, freely in the chase of the wild ass—still to this day a habitant of the Mesopotamian region;[646] and he would hunt the stag, the hind, and the ibex or wild goat. In these tamer kinds of sport he seems, however, to have indulged only occasionally —as a light relaxation scarcely worthy of a great king.

Asshur-bani-pal is the only one of the Assyrian monarchs to whom we can ascribe a real taste for learning and literature. The other kings were content to leave behind them some records of the events of their reigns, inscribed on cylinders, slabs, bulls, or lions, and a few dedicatory inscriptions, addresses to the gods whom they especially worshipped. Asshur-bani-pal's literary tastes were far more varied—indeed they were all-embracing. It seems to have been under his direction that the vast collection of clay tablets—a sort of Royal Library—was made at Nineveh, from which the British Museum has derived perhaps the most valuable of its treasures. Comparative vocabularies, lists of deities and their epithets, chronological lists of kings and eponyms, records of astronomical observations, grammars, histories, scientific works of various kinds, seems to have been composed in the reign,[647] and probably at the bidding, of this prince, who devoted to their preservation certain chambers in the palace of his grandfather, where they were found by Mr. Layard. The clay tablets on which they were inscribed lay here in such multitudes—in some instances entire, but more commonly broken into fragments—that they filled the chambers *to the height of a foot or more* from the floor.[648] Mr. Layard observes with justice that "the docu-

ments thus discovered at Nineveh probably exceed [in amount of writing] all that has yet been afforded by the monuments of Egypt."[649] They have yielded of late years some most interesting results,[650] and will probably long continue to be a mine of almost inexhaustible wealth to the cuneiform scholar.

As a builder, Asshur-bani-pal aspired to rival, if not even to excel, the greatest of the monarchs who had preceded him. His palace was built on the mound of Koyunjik, within a few hundred yards of the magnificent erection of his grandfather, with which he was evidently not afraid to challenge comparison. It was built on a plan unlike any adopted by former kings. The main building consisted of three arms branching from a common centre, and thus in its general shape resembled a gigantic T. The central point was reached by a long ascending gallery lined with sculptures, which led from a gateway, with rooms attached, at a corner of the great court, first a distance of 190 feet in a direction parallel to the top bar of the T, and then a distance of 80 feet in a direction at right angles to this, which brought it down exactly to the central point whence the arms branched. The entire building was thus a sort of cross, with one long arm projecting from the top towards the left or west. The principal apartments were in the lower limb of the cross. Here was a grand hall, running nearly the whole length of the limb, at least 145 feet long by 28½ feet broad, opening towards the east on a great court, paved chiefly with the exquisite patterned slabs of which a specimen has already been given,[651] and communicating towards the west with a number of smaller rooms, and through them with a second court, which looked towards the south-west and the south. The next largest apartment was in the right or eastern arm of the cross. It was a hall 108 feet long by 24 feet wide, divided by a broad doorway in which were two pillar-bases, into a square antechamber of 24 feet each way, and an inner apartment about 80 feet in length. Neither of the two arms of the cross was completely explored; and it is uncertain whether they extended to the extreme edge of the eastern and western courts, thus dividing each of them into two; or whether they only reached into the courts a certain distance. Assuming the latter view as the more probable, the two courts would have measured respectively 310 and 330 feet from the north-west to the south-east, while they must have been from 230 to 250 feet in the opposite

direction. From the comparative privacy of the buildings,[652] and from the character of the sculptures,[653] it appears probable that the left or western arm of the cross formed the *hareem* of the monarch.

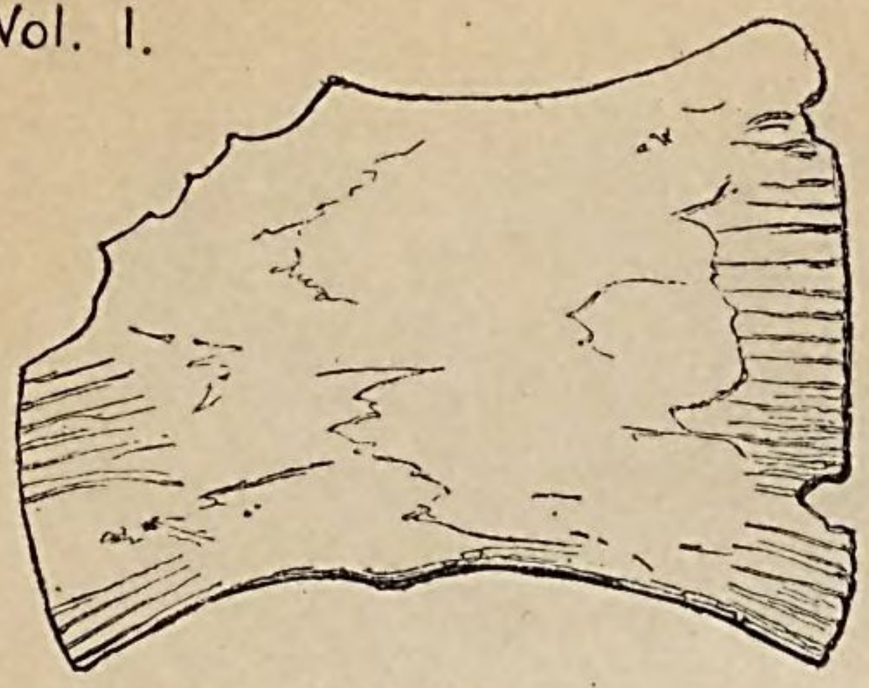
The most remarkable feature in the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal was the beauty and elaborate character of the ornamentation. The courts were paved with large slabs elegantly patterned. The doorways had sometimes arched tops beautifully adorned with rosettes, lotuses, etc.[654] The chambers and passages were throughout lined with alabaster slabs, bearing reliefs designed with wonderful spirit, and executed with the most extraordinary minuteness and delicacy. It was here that were found all those exquisite hunting scenes which have furnished its most interesting illustrations to the present history.[655] Here, too, were the representations of the private life of the monarch, of the trees and flowers of the palace garden,[656] of the royal galley with its two banks of oars,[657] of the libation over four dead lions,[658] of the temple with pillars supported on lions,[659] and of various bands of musicians, some of which have been already given.[660] Combined with these peaceful scenes and others of a similar character, as particularly a long train, with game, nets, and dogs, returning from the chase, which formed the adornment of a portion of the ascending passage, were a number of views of sieges and battles, representing the wars of the monarch in Susiana and elsewhere. Reliefs of a character very similar to these last were found by Mr. Layard in certain chambers of the palace of Sennacherib, which had received their ornamentation from Asshur-bani-pal.[661] They were remarkable for the unusual number and small size of the figures, for the variety and spirit of the attitudes, and for the careful finish of all the little details of the scenes represented upon them. Deficient in grouping, and altogether destitute of any artistic unity, they yet give probably the best representation that has come down to us of the confused *mêlée* of an Assyrian battle, showing us at one view, as they do, all the various phases of the flight and pursuit, the capture and treatment of the prisoners, the gathering of the spoil, and the cutting off the heads of the slain. These reliefs form now a portion of our National Collection. A good idea may be formed of them from Mr. Layard's Second Series of Monuments, where they form the subject of five elaborate engravings.[662]

Besides his own great palace at Koyunjik, and his additions to the palace of his grandfather at the same place, Asshur-

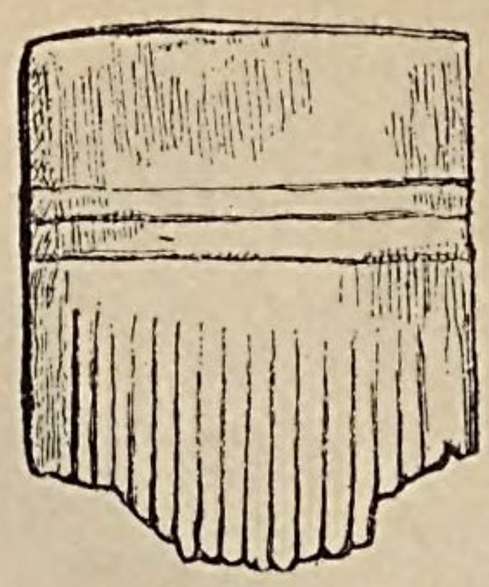
bani-pal certainly constructed some building, or buildings, at Nebbi Yunus, where slabs inscribed with his name and an account of his wars have been found.[663] If we may regard him as the real monarch whom the Greeks generally intended by their Sardanapalus, we may say that, according to some classical authors, he was the builder of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, and likewise of the neighboring city of Anchialus;[664] though writers of more authority tells us that Tarsus, at any rate, was built by Sennacherib.[665] It seems further to have been very generally believed by the Greeks that the tomb of Sardanapalus was in this neighborhood.[666] They describe it as a monument of some height, crowned by a statue of the monarch, who appeared to be in the act of snapping his fingers. On the stone base was an inscription in Assyrian characters, of which they believed the sense to run as follows:—"Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxes, built Tarsus and Anchialus in one day. Do thou, O stranger, eat, and drink, and amuse thyself; for all the rest of human life is not worth so much as *this*"—"this" meaning the sound which the king was supposed to be making with his fingers. It appears probable that there was some figure of this kind, with an Assyrian inscription below it, near Anchialus; but, as we can scarcely suppose that the Greeks could read the cuneiform writing, the presumed translation of the inscription would seem to be valueless. Indeed, the very different versions of the legend which are given by different writers[667] sufficiently indicate that they had no real knowledge of its purport. We may conjecture that the monument was in reality a stele containing the king in an arched frame, with the right hand raised above the left, which is the ordinary attitude,[668] and an inscription below commemorating the occasion of its erection. Whether it was really set up by this king or by one of his predecessors,[669] we cannot say. The Greeks, who seem to have known more of Asshur-bani-pal than of any other Assyrian monarch, in consequence of his war in Asia Minor and his relations with Gyges and Ardys, are not unlikely to have given his name to any Assyrian monument which they found in these parts, whether in the local tradition it was regarded as his work or no.

Such, then, are the traditions of the Greeks with respect to this monarch. The stories told by Ctesias of a king, to whom he gives the same name, and repeated from him by later writers,[670] are probably not intended to have any reference to Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon,[671] but rather refer to

Fig. 1.



Iron comb.
(British Museum).

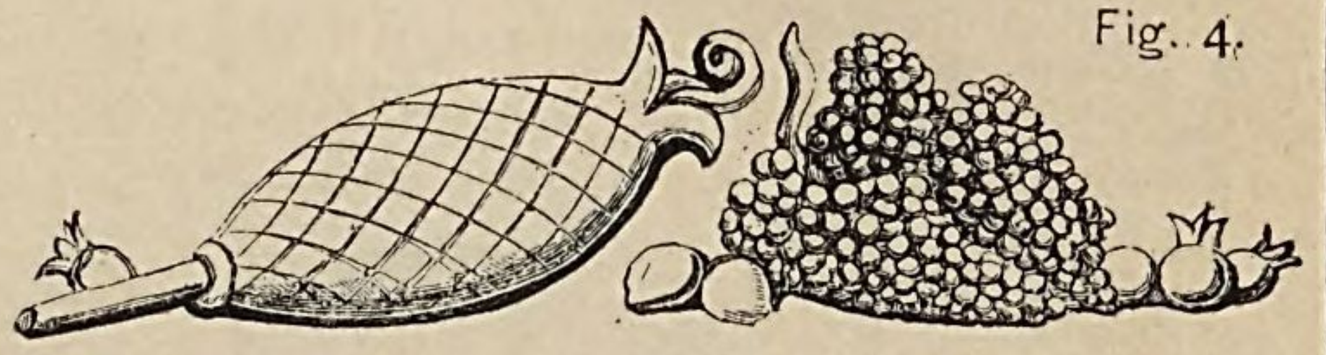


Fragment of comb in lapis lazuli.
(British Museum).

Fig. 2

1

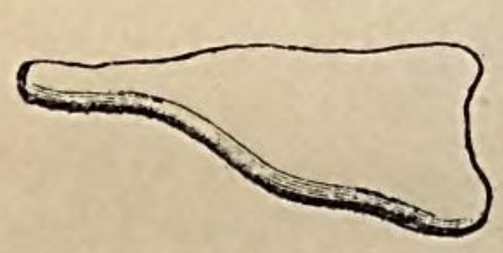
Fig. 4.



Assyrian Fruits. (From the Monuments.)

Fig. 4

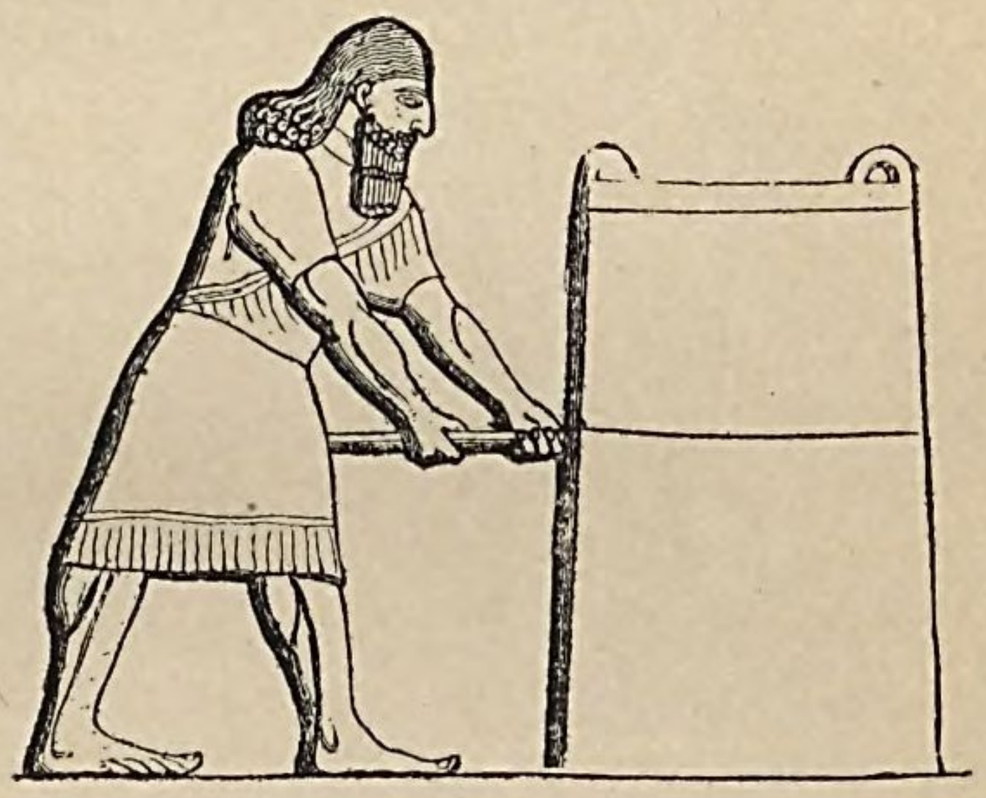
2



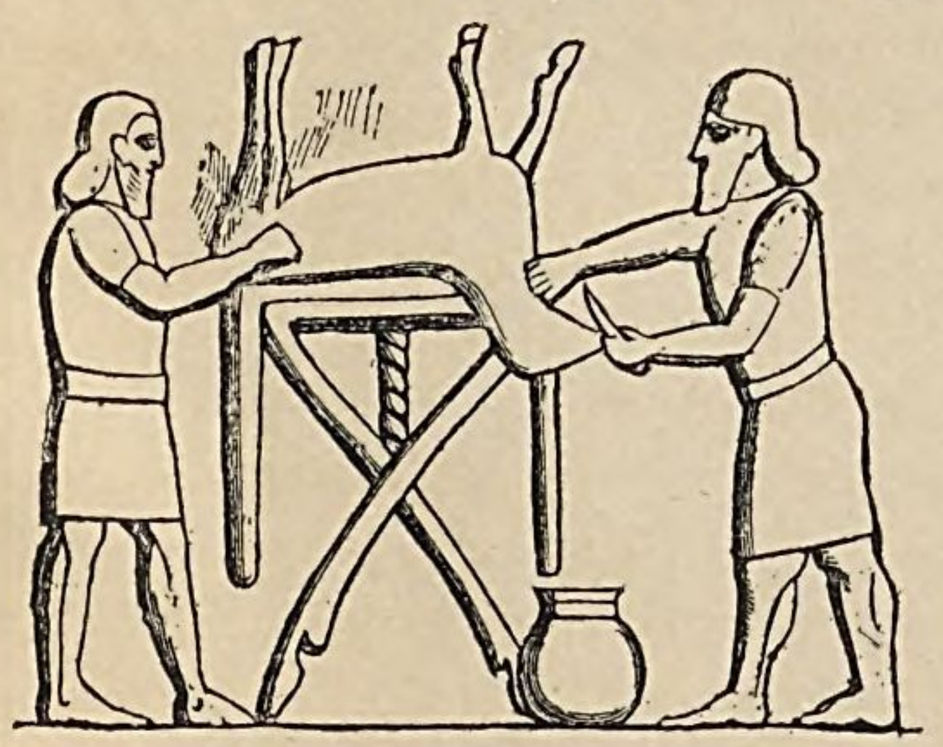
3

Assyrian joints.
1. Shoulder. 2. Loin.
3. Leg.

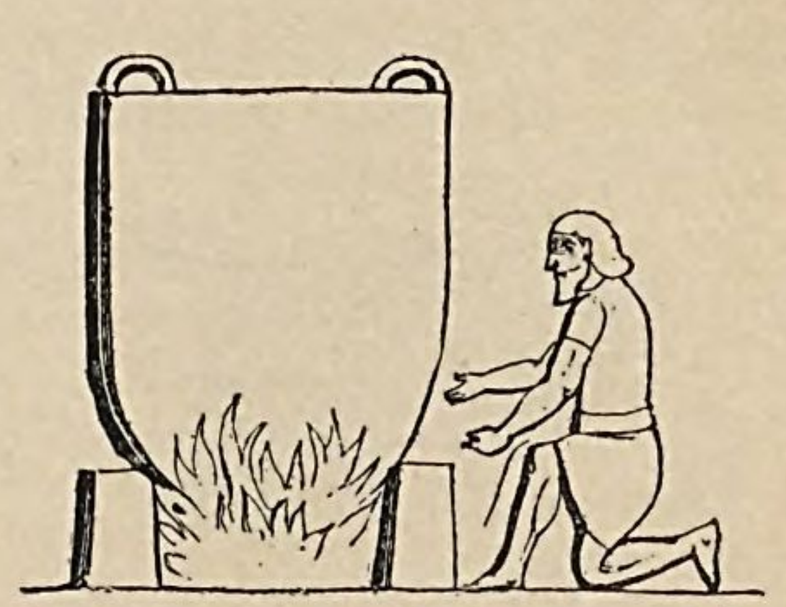
Fig. 3



Frying (Nimrud.)



Killing the sheep (Koyunjik).

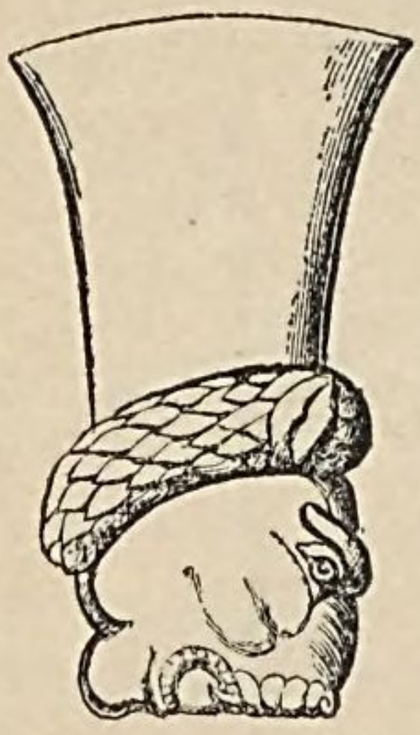


Cooking meat in caldron (Koyunjik).

Fig 1.

Drinking scene (Khorsabad).

Fig. 2.

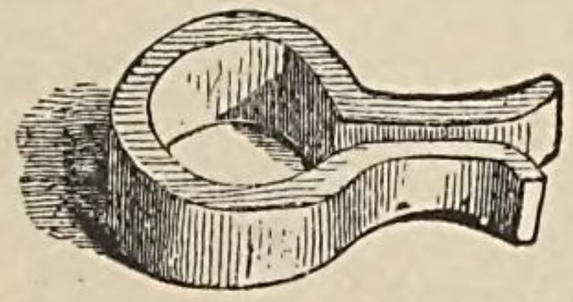


Ornamental wine-cup (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.

Attendant bringing flowers to a banquet (Koyunjik).

Fig. 4.



Socket of Hinge (Nimrud).

his successor, the last king. Even Ctesias could scarcely have ventured to depict to his countrymen the great Asshur-bani-pal, the vanquisher of Tirhakah, the subduer of the tribes beyond the Taurus, the powerful and warlike monarch whose friendship was courted by the rich and prosperous Gyges, king of Lydia,[672] as a mere voluptuary, who never put his foot outside the palace gates, but dwelt in the seraglio, doing woman's work, and often dressed as a woman. The character of Asshur-bani-pal stands really in the strongest contrast to the description—be it a portrait, or be it a mere sketch from fancy—which Ctesias gives of his Sardanapalus. Asshur-bani-pal was beyond a doubt one of Assyria's greatest kings. He subdued Egypt and Susiana; he held quiet possession of the kingdom of Babylon;[673] he carried his arms deep into Armenia; he led his troops across the Taurus, and subdued the barbarous tribes of Asia Minor. When he was not engaged in important wars, he chiefly occupied himself in the chase of the lion, and in the construction and ornamentation of temples[674] and palaces. His glory was well known to the Greeks. He was no doubt one of the "two kings called Sardanapalus," celebrated by Hellanicus;[675] he must have been "the warlike Sardanapalus" of Callisthenes;[676] Herodotus spoke of his great wealth;[677] and Aristophanes used his name as a by-word for magnificence.[678] In his reign the Assyrian dominions reached their greatest extent, Assyrian art culminated, and the empire seemed likely to extend itself over the whole of the East. It was then, indeed, that Assyria most completely answered the description of the Prophet—"The Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great; the deep set him up on high with her rivers running about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of waters, when he shot forth. All the fowls of the heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt *all great nations*. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him; the fir-trees were not like his boughs; and the chestnut-trees were not like his branches;

nor any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty." [679]

In one respect, however, Assyria, it is to be feared, had made but little advance beyond the spirit of a comparatively barbarous time. The "lion" still "tore in pieces for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin." [680] Advancing civilization, more abundant literature, improved art, had not softened the tempers of the Assyrians, nor rendered them more tender and compassionate in their treatment of captured enemies. Sennacherib and Esar-haddon show, indeed, in this respect, some superiority to former kings. They frequently spared their prisoners, even when rebels, [681] and seem seldom to have had recourse to extreme punishments. But Asshur-bani-pal reverted to the antique system [682] of executions, mutilations, and tortures. We see on his bas-reliefs the unresisting enemy thrust through with the spear, the tongue torn from the mouth of the captive accused of blasphemy, the rebel king beheaded on the field of battle, and the prisoner brought to execution with the head of a friend or brother hung round his neck. [683] We see the scourgers preceding the king as his regular attendants, with their whips passed through their girdles; [684] we behold the operation of flaying performed either upon living or dead men; [685] we observe those who are about to be executed first struck on the face by the executioner's fist. [686] Altogether we seem to have evidence, not of mere severity, which may sometimes be a necessary or even a merciful policy, but of a barbarous cruelty, such as could not fail to harden and brutalize alike those who witnessed and those who inflicted it. Nineveh, it is plain, still deserved the epithet of "a bloody city," or "a city of bloods." [687] Asshur-bani-pal was harsh, vindictive, unsparing, careless of human suffering—nay, glorying in his shame, he not merely practised cruelties, but handed the record of them down to posterity by representing them in all their horrors upon his palace walls.

It has been generally supposed [688] that Asshur-bani-pal died about B.C. 648 or 647, in which case he would have continued to the end of his life a prosperous and mighty king. But recent discoveries render it probable that his reign was extended to a much greater length—that, in fact, he is to be identified with the Cinneladanus of Ptolemy's Canon, who held the throne of Babylon from B.C. 647 to 626. [689] If this be so, we must place in the later years of the reign of Asshur-bani-pal

the commencement of Assyria's decline—the change whereby she passed from the assailer to the assailed, from the undisputed primacy of Western Asia to a doubtful and precarious position.

This change was owing, in the first instance, to the rise upon her borders of an important military power in the centralized monarchy, established, about B.C. 640, in the neighboring territory of Media.

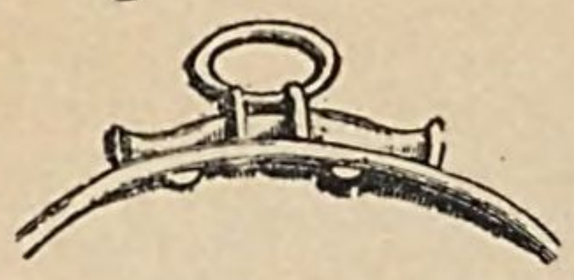
The Medes had, it is probable, been for some time growing in strength, owing to the recent arrival in their country of fresh immigrants from the far East. Discarding the old system of separate government and village autonomy, they had joined together and placed themselves under a single monarch; and about the year B.C. 634, when Asshur-bani-pal had been king for thirty-four years, they felt themselves sufficiently strong to undertake an expedition against Nineveh. Their first attack, however, failed utterly. Phraortes, or whoever may have been the real leader of the invading army, was completely defeated by the Assyrians; his forces were cut to pieces, and he himself was among the slain.[690] Still, the very fact that the Medes could now take the offensive and attack Assyria was novel and alarming; it showed a new condition of things in these parts, and foreboded no good to the power which was evidently on the decline and in danger of losing its preponderance. An enterprising warrior would doubtless have followed up the defeat of the invader by attacking him in his own country before he could recover from the severe blow dealt him; but the aged Assyrian monarch appears to have been content with repelling his foe, and made no effort to retaliate. Cyaxares, the successor of the slain Median king, effected at his leisure such arrangements as he thought necessary before repeating his predecessor's attempt.[691] When they were completed—perhaps in B.C. 632—he led his troops into Assyria, defeated the Assyrian forces in the field, and, following up his advantage, appeared before Nineveh and closely invested the town. Nineveh would perhaps have fallen in this year; but suddenly and unexpectedly a strange event recalled the Median monarch to his own country, where a danger threatened him previously unknown in Western Asia.

When at the present day we take a general survey of the world's past history, we see that, by a species of fatality—by a law, that is, whose workings we cannot trace—there issue

from time to time out of the frozen bosom of the North vast hordes of uncouth savages—brave, hungry, countless—who swarm into the fairer southern regions determinedly, irresistibly; like locusts winging their flight into a green land. How such multitudes come to be propagated in countries where life is with difficulty sustained, we do not know; why the impulse suddenly seizes them to quit their old haunts and move steadily in a given direction, we cannot say: but we see that the phenomenon is one of constant recurrence, and we therefore now scarcely regard it as being curious or strange at all. In Asia, Cimmerians, Scythians, Parthians, Mongols, Turks; in Europe, Gauls, Goths, Huns, Avars, Vandals, Burgundians, Lombards, Bulgarians, have successively illustrated the law, and made us familiar with its operation. But there was a time in history before the law had come into force; and its very existence must have been then unsuspected. Even since it began to operate, it has so often undergone prolonged suspension, that the wisest may be excused if, under such circumstances, they cease to bear it in mind, and are as much startled when a fresh illustration of it occurs, as if the like had never happened before. Probably there is seldom an occasion of its coming into play which does not take men more or less by surprise, and rivet their attention by its seeming strangeness and real unexpectedness.

If Western Asia had ever, in the remote ages before the Assyrian monarchy was established, been subject to invasions of this character—which is not improbable[692]—at any rate so long a period had elapsed since the latest of them, that in the reigns of Asshur-pani-pal and Cyaxares they were wholly forgotten and the South reposed in happy unconsciousness of a danger which might at any time have burst upon it, had the Providence which governs the world so willed. The Asiatic steppes had long teemed with a nomadic population, of a warlike temper, and but slightly attached to its homes, which ignorance of its own strength and of the weakness and wealth of its neighbors had alone prevented from troubling the great empires of the South. Geographic difficulties had at once prolonged the period of ignorance, and acted as obstructions, if ever the idea arose of pushing exploring parties into the southern regions; the Caucasus, the Caspian, the sandy deserts of Khiva and Kharesm, and the great central Asiatic mountain-chains, forming barriers which naturally restrained the northern hordes from progressing in this direction. But a

Fig 6.



Dish handles (Nimrud).

Fig. 4.

Bronze ladle (Nimrud).

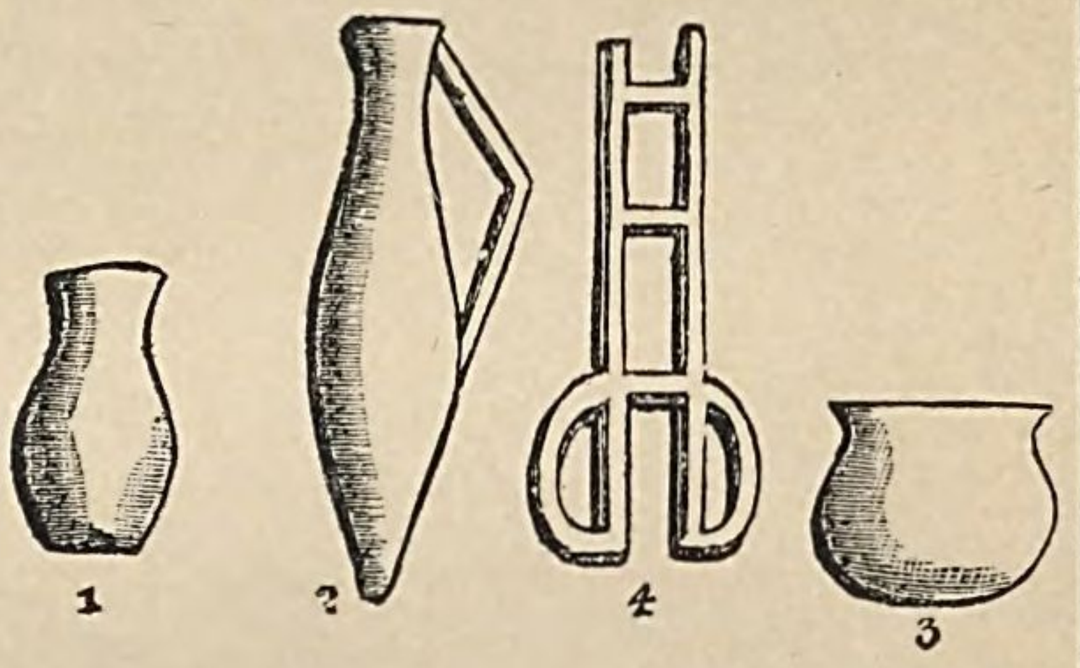
Fig. 5.

Hanging garden (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.

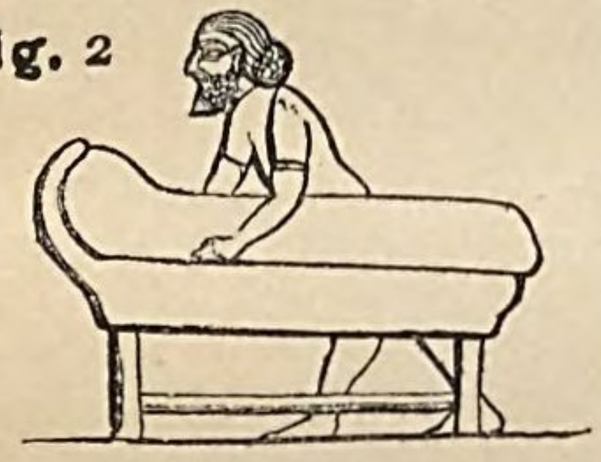
Assyrians seated on stools (Koyunjik).

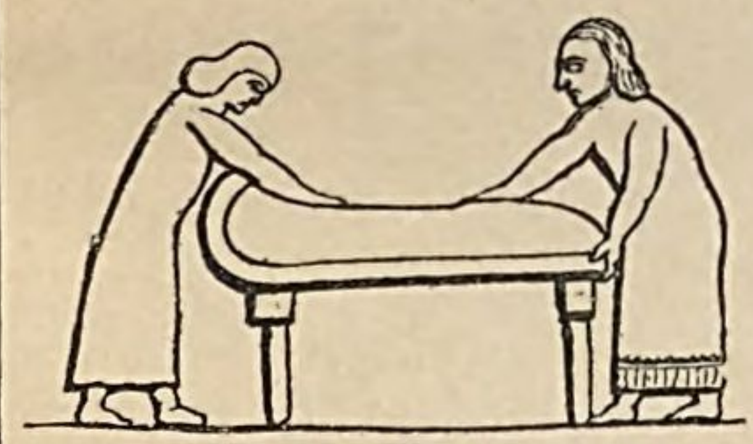
Fig. 3.



Domestic Utensils.

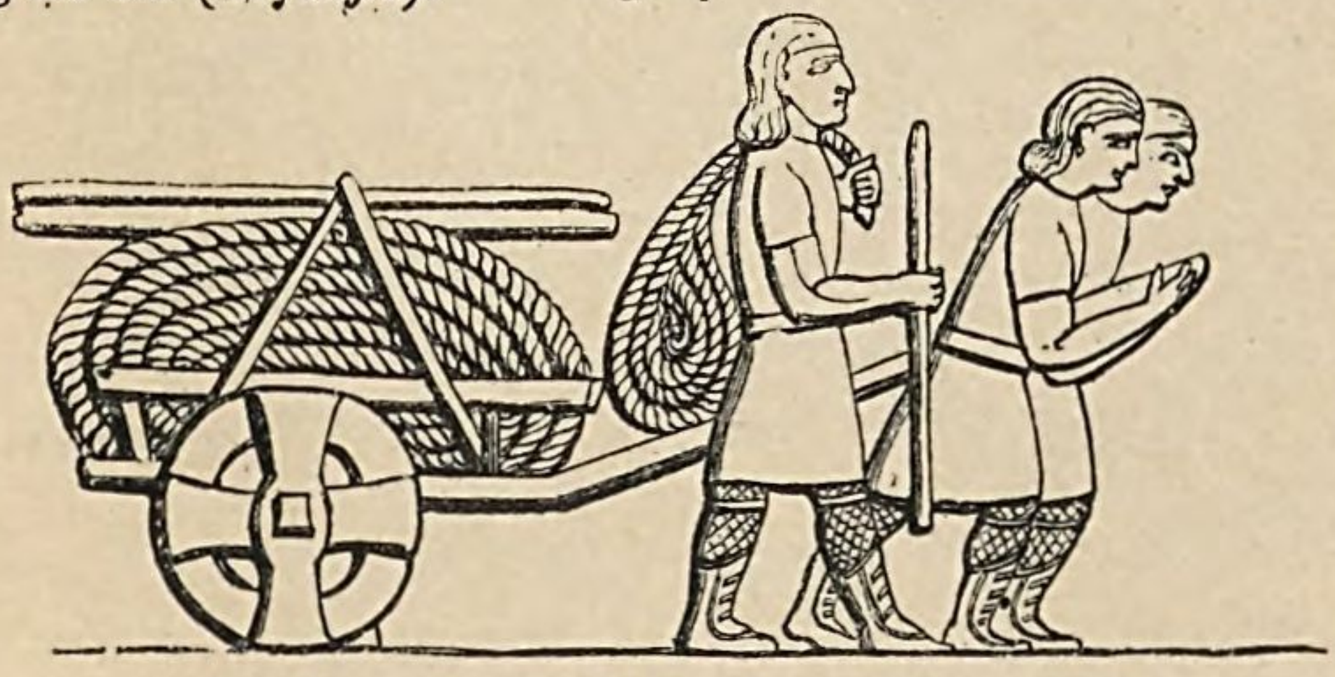
Fig. 2





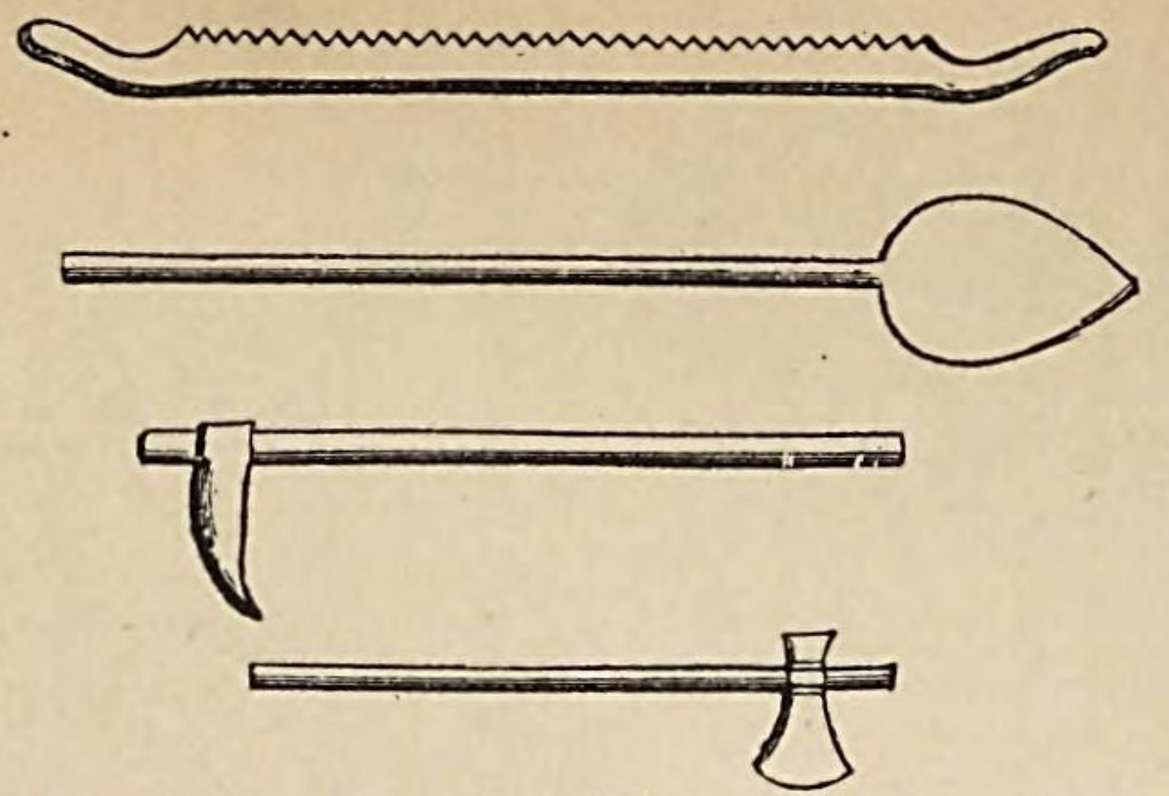
Making the bed (Koyunjik).

Fig. 7



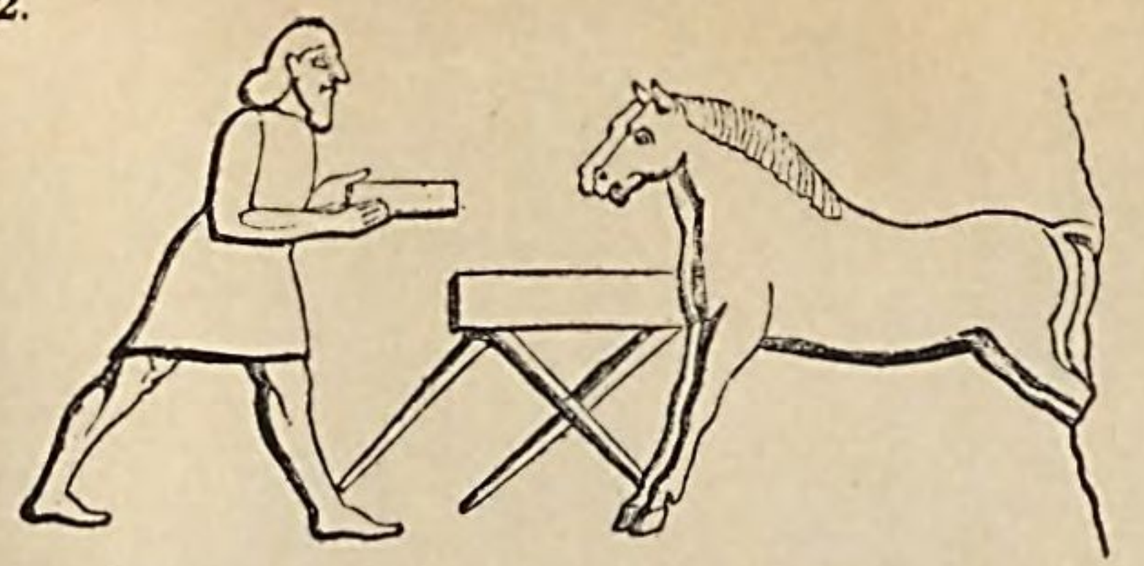
Assyrians drawing a hand-cart (Koyunjik).

Fig. 1.



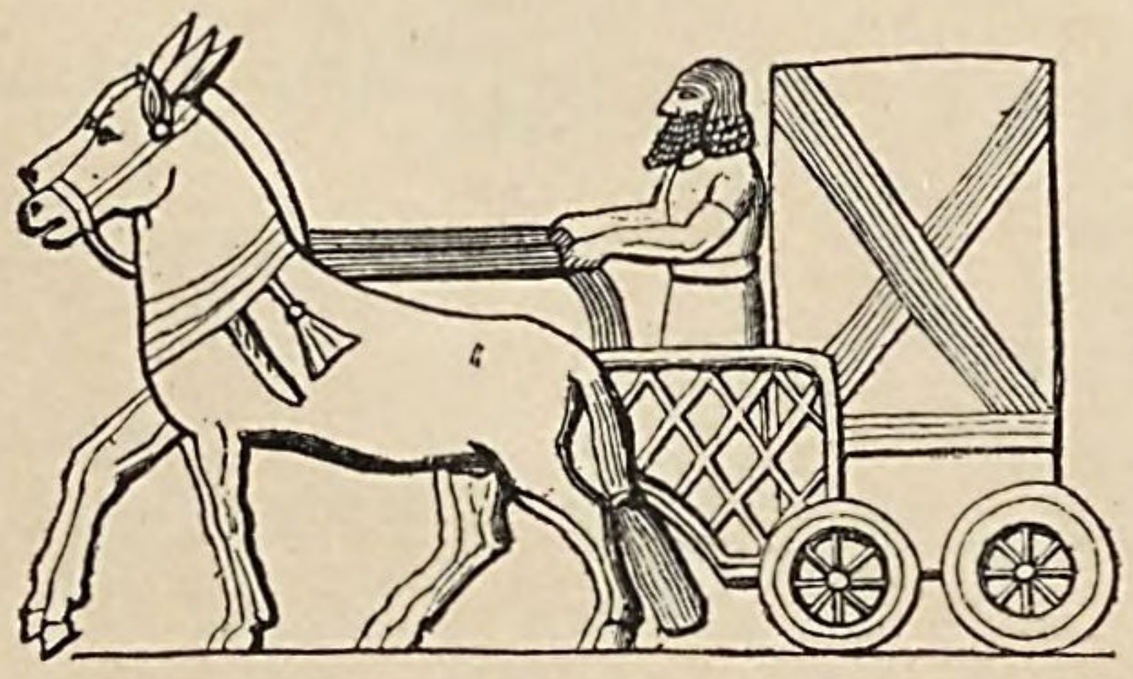
Assyrian Implements. (From the Monuments.)

Fig. 2.



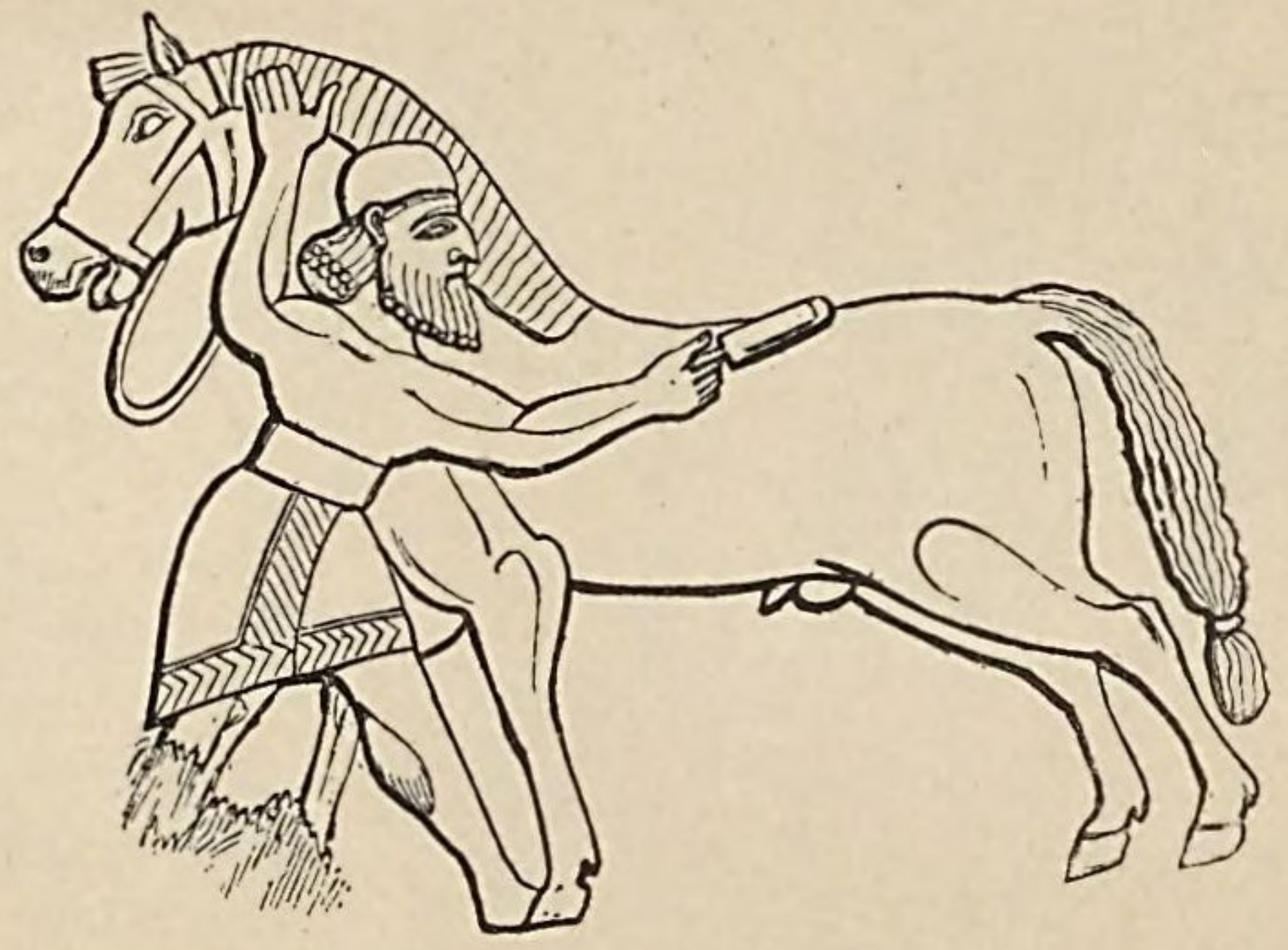
Groom feeding horses (Koyunjik).

Fig. 3.



Assyrian close carriage or litter. (From an obelisk in the British Museum.)

Fig. 4.



Groom currycombing a horse.

time had now arrived when these causes were no longer to operate; the line of demarcation which had so long separated North and South was to be crossed; the flood-gates were to be opened, and the stream of northern emigration was to pour itself in a resistless torrent over the fair and fertile regions from which it had hitherto been barred out. Perhaps population had increased beyond all former precedent; perhaps a spirit of enterprise had arisen; possibly some slight accident —the exploration of a hunter hard pressed for food, the chattering tongue of a merchant, the invitation of a traitor[693]— may have dispelled the ignorance of earlier times, and brought to the knowledge of the hardy North the fact that beyond the mountains and the seas, which they had always regarded as the extreme limit of the world, there lay a rich prey inviting the coming of the spoiler.

The condition of the northern barbarians, less than two hundred years after this time, has been graphically portrayed by two of the most observant of the Greeks, who themselves visited the Steppe country to learn the character and customs of the people. Where civilization is unknown, changes are so slow and slight, that we may reasonably regard the descriptions of Herodotus and Hippocrates, though drawn in the fifth century before our era, as applying, in all their main points, to the same race two hundred years earlier. These writers describe the Sycthians as a people coarse and gross in their habits, with large fleshy bodies, loose joints, soft swollen bellies, and scanty hair.[694] They never washed themselves;[695] their nearest approach to ablution was a vapor-bath,[696] or the application of a paste to their bodies which left them glossy on its removal.[697] They lived either in wagons,[698] or in felt tents of a simple and rude construction;[699] and subsisted on mare's milk and cheese,[700] to which the boiled flesh of horses and cattle was added, as a rare delicacy, occasionally.[701] In war their customs were very barbarous. The Scythian who slew an enemy in battle immediately proceeded to drink his blood. He then cut off the head, which he exhibited to his king in order to obtain his share of the spoil; after which he stripped the scalp from the skull and hung it on his bridle-rein as a trophy. Sometimes he flayed his dead enemy's right arm and hand, and used the skin as a covering for his quiver. The upper portion of the skull he commonly made into a drinking-cup.[702] The greater part of each day he spent on horseback, in attendance on the huge herds of cattle which he

pastured. His favorite weapon was the bow, which he used as he rode, shooting his arrows with great precision.[703] He generally carried, besides his bow and arrows, a short spear or javelin, and sometimes bore also a short sword or a battle-axe.[704] [Pl. CXLVI., Fig. 3.]

The nation of the Scythians comprised within it a number of distinct tribes.[705] At the head of all was a royal tribe, corresponding to the "Golden Horde" of the Mongols, which was braver and more numerous than any other, and regarded all the remaining tribes in the light of slaves. To this belonged the families of the kings, who ruled by hereditary right, and seem to have exercised a very considerable authority.[706] We often hear of several kings as bearing rule at the same time; but there is generally some indication of disparity, from which we gather that—in times of danger at any rate—the supreme power was really always lodged in the hands of a single man.

The religion of the Scythians was remarkable, and partook of the barbarity which characterized most of their customs. They worshipped the Sun and Moon, Fire, Air, Earth, Water, and a god whom Herodotus calls Hercules.[707] But their principal religious observance was the worship of the naked sword. The country was parcelled out into districts, and in every district was a huge pile of brushwood, serving as a temple to the neighborhood, at the top of which was planted an antique sword or scimitar.[708] On a stated day in each year solemn sacrifices, human and animal, were offered at these shrines; and the warm blood of the victims was carried up from below and poured upon the weapon. The human victims—prisoners taken in war—were hewn to pieces at the foot of the mound, and their limbs wildly tossed on high by the votaries, who then retired, leaving the bloody fragments where they chanced to fall. The Scythians seem to have had no priest caste; but they believed in divination; and the diviners formed a distinct class which possessed important powers. They were sent for whenever the king was ill, to declare the cause of his illness, which they usually attributed to the fact that an individual, whom they named, had sworn falsely by the Royal Hearth. Those accused in this way, if found guilty by several bodies of diviners, were beheaded for the offence, and their original accusers received their property.[709] It must have been important to keep on good terms with persons who wielded such a power as this.

Such were the most striking customs of the Scythians

people, or at any rate of the Scythians of Herodotus, who were the dominant race over a large portion of the Steppe country.[710] Coarse and repulsive in their appearance, fierce in their tempers, savage in their habits, not individually very brave, but powerful by their numbers, and by a mode of warfare which was difficult to meet, and in which long use had given them great expertness, they were an enemy who might well strike alarm even into a nation so strong and warlike as the Medes. Pouring through the passes of the Caucasus—whence coming or what intending none knew[711]—horde after horde of Scythians blackened the rich plains of the South. On they came, as before observed, like a flight of locusts, countless, irresistible—swarming into Iberia and Upper Media—finding the land before them a garden, and leaving it behind them a howling wilderness. Neither age nor sex would be spared. The inhabitants of the open country and of the villages, if they did not make their escape to high mountain tops or other strongholds, would be ruthlessly massacred by the invaders, or at best, forced to become their slaves.[712] The crops would be consumed, the herds swept off or destroyed, the villages and homesteads burnt, the whole country made a scene of desolation. Their ravages would resemble those of the Huns when they poured into Italy,[713] or of the Bulgarians when they overran the fairest provinces of the Byzantine Empire.[714] In most instances the strongly fortified towns would resist them, unless they had patience to sit down before their walls and by a prolonged blockade to starve them into submission. Sometimes, before things reached this point, they might consent to receive a tribute and to retire. At other times, convinced that by perseverance they would reap a rich reward, they may have remained till the besieged city fell, when there must have ensued an indescribable scene of havoc, rapine, and bloodshed. According to the broad expression of Herodotus, the Scythians were masters of the whole of Western Asia from the Caucasus to the borders of Egypt for the space of twenty-eight years.[715] This statement is doubtless an exaggeration; but still it would seem to be certain that the great invasion of which he speaks was not confined to Media, but extended to the adjacent countries of Armenia and Assyria, whence it spread to Syria and Palestine. The hordes probably swarmed down from Media through the Zagros passes into the richest portion of Assyria, the flat country between the mountains and the Tigris. Many of the old cities, rich with the

accumulated stores of ages, were besieged, and perhaps taken, and their palaces wantonly burnt, by the barbarous invaders. The tide then swept on. Wandering from district to district, plundering everywhere, settling nowhere, the clouds of horse passed over Mesopotamia, the force of the invasion becoming weaker as it spread itself, until in Syria it reached its term through the policy of the Egyptian king, Psammetichus. This monarch, who was engaged in the siege of Ashdod,[716] no sooner heard of the approach of a great Scythian host, which threatened to overrun Egypt, and had advanced as far as Ascalon, than he sent ambassadors to their leader and prevailed on him by rich gifts to abstain from his enterprise.[717] From this time the power of the invaders seems to have declined. Their strength could not but suffer by the long series of battles, sieges, and skirmishes in which they were engaged year after year against enemies in nowise contemptible; it would likewise deteriorate through their excesses;[718] and it may even have received some injury from intestine quarrels. After awhile, the nations whom they had overrun, whose armies they had defeated, and whose cities they had given to the flames, began to recover themselves. Cyaxares, it is probable, commenced an aggressive war against such of the invaders as had remained within the limits of his dominions, and soon drove them beyond his borders.[719] Other kings may have followed his example. In a little while—long, probably, before the twenty-eight years of Herodotus had expired—the Scythian power was completely broken. Many bands may have returned across the Caucasus into the Steppe country. Others submitted, and took service under the native rulers of Asia.[720] Great numbers were slain; and except in a province of Armenia which henceforward became known as Sacasêné,[721] and perhaps in one Syrian town, which we find called Scythopolis,[722] the invaders left no trace of their brief but terrible inroad.

If we have been right in supposing that the Scythian attack fell with as much severity on the Assyrians as on any other Asiatic people, we can scarcely be in error if we ascribe to this cause the rapid and sudden decline of the empire at this period. The country had been ravaged and depopulated, the provinces had been plundered, many of the great towns had been taken and sacked, the palaces of the old kings had been burnt,[723] and all the gold and silver that was not hid away had been carried off. Assyria, when the Scythians quitted her, was but the

Emblems of Asshur (after Lajard).

Fig. I.

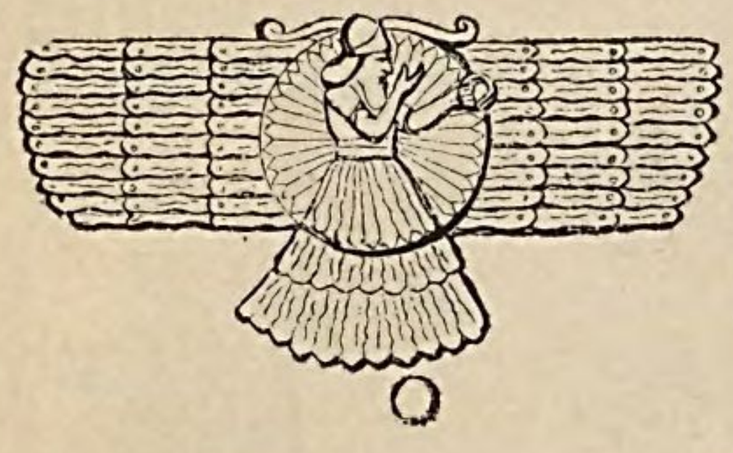
Fig. II.

Fig. 1.

Fig. III.

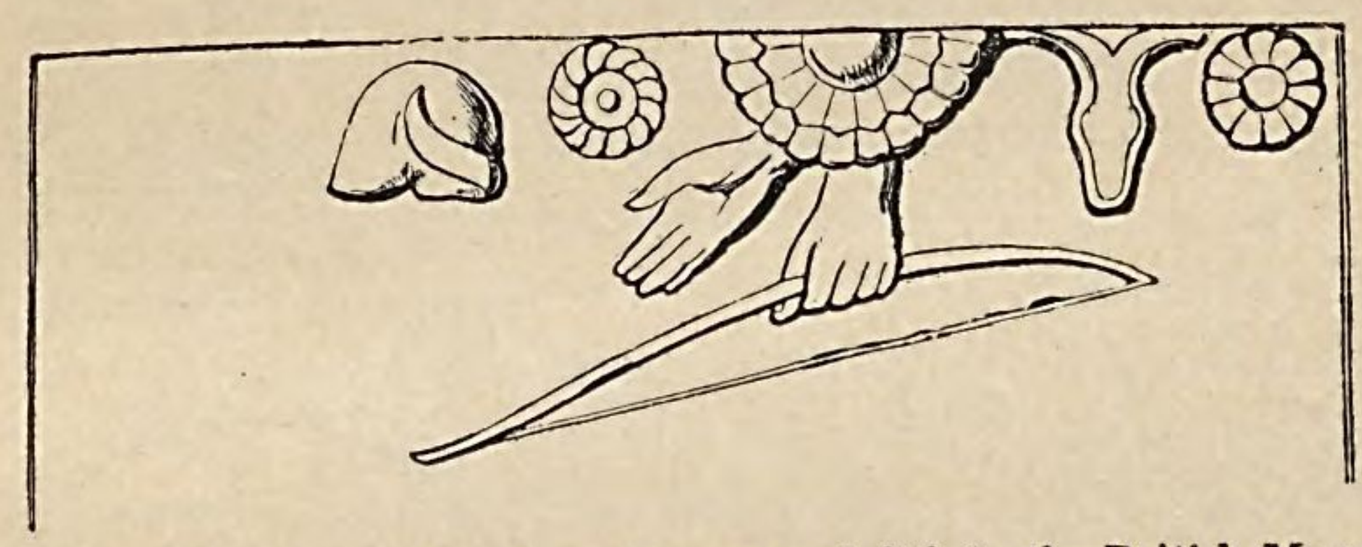
Fig 3

Fig. IV.



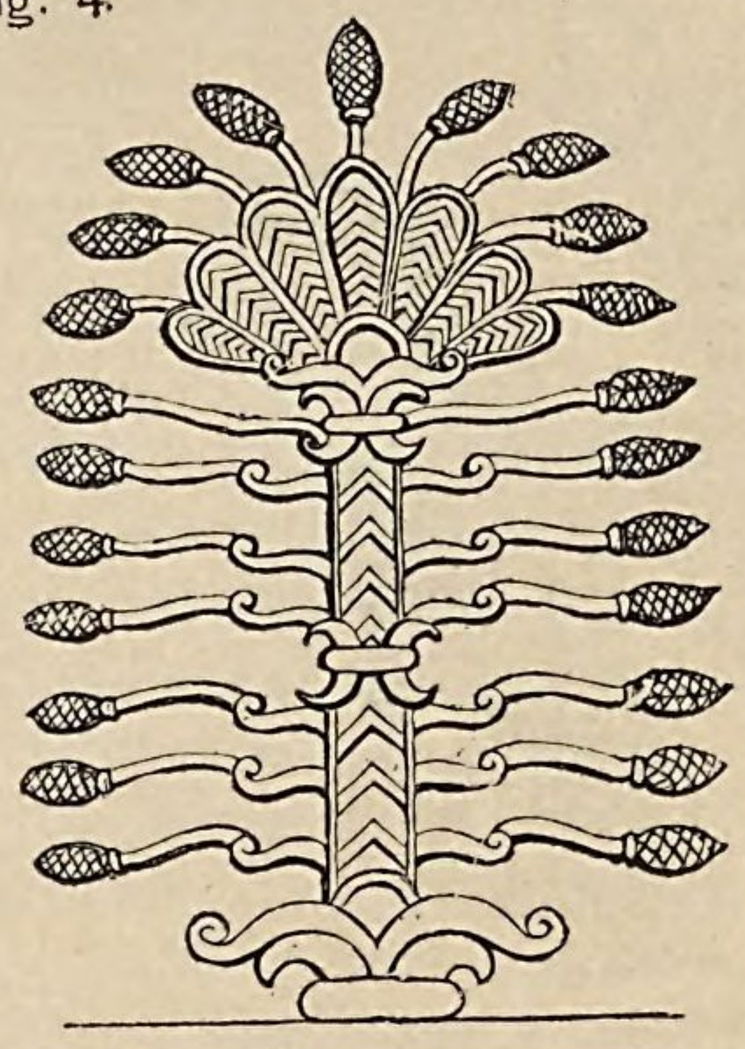
Curious emblem of Asshur. (From the signet cylinder of Sennacherib.)

Fig. 2.



Emblems of the principal gods. (From an obelisk in the British Museum.)

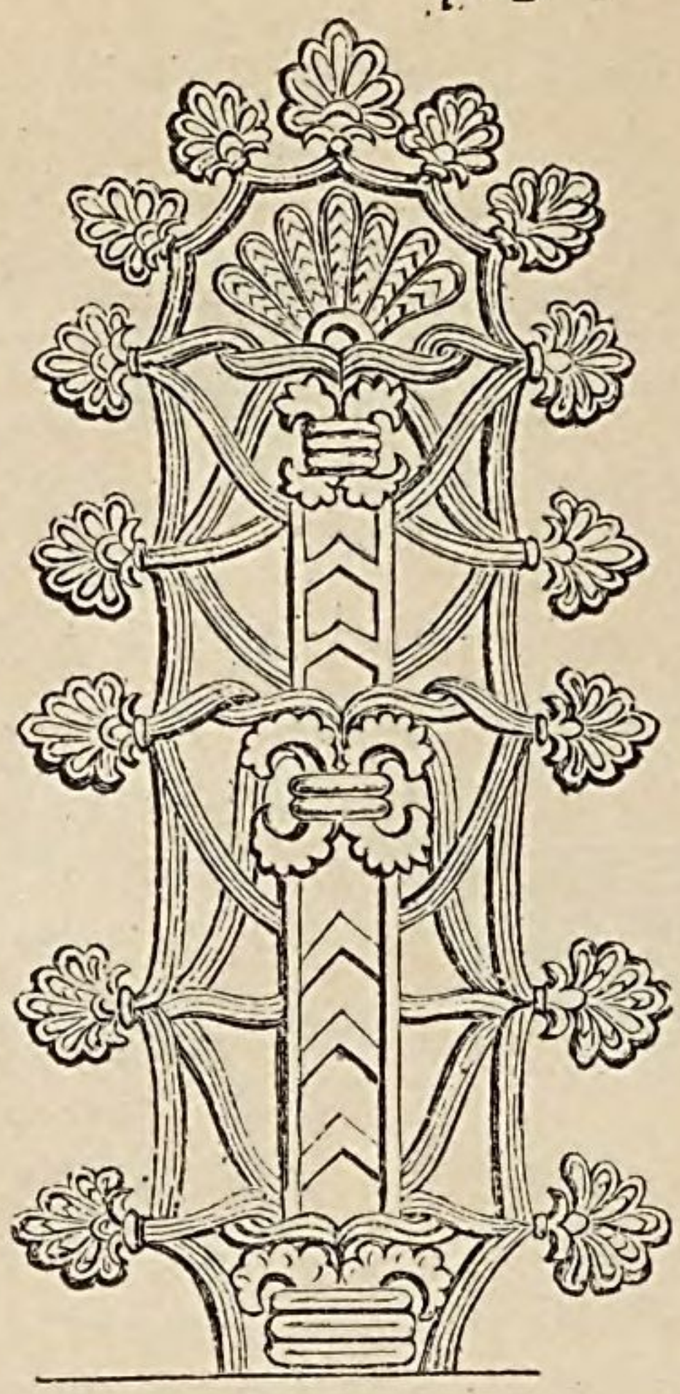
Fig. 4.



Simplest forms of the Sacred Tree (Nimrud).

Plate CXLII. Vol. I.

Fig. 1.



Sacred Tree—final and most elaborate type. (Nimrud.)

Fig. 2.

The Moon-god (from a cylinder).

Fig. 3.

Emblems of the sun and moon (from cylinders).

Fig. 4.

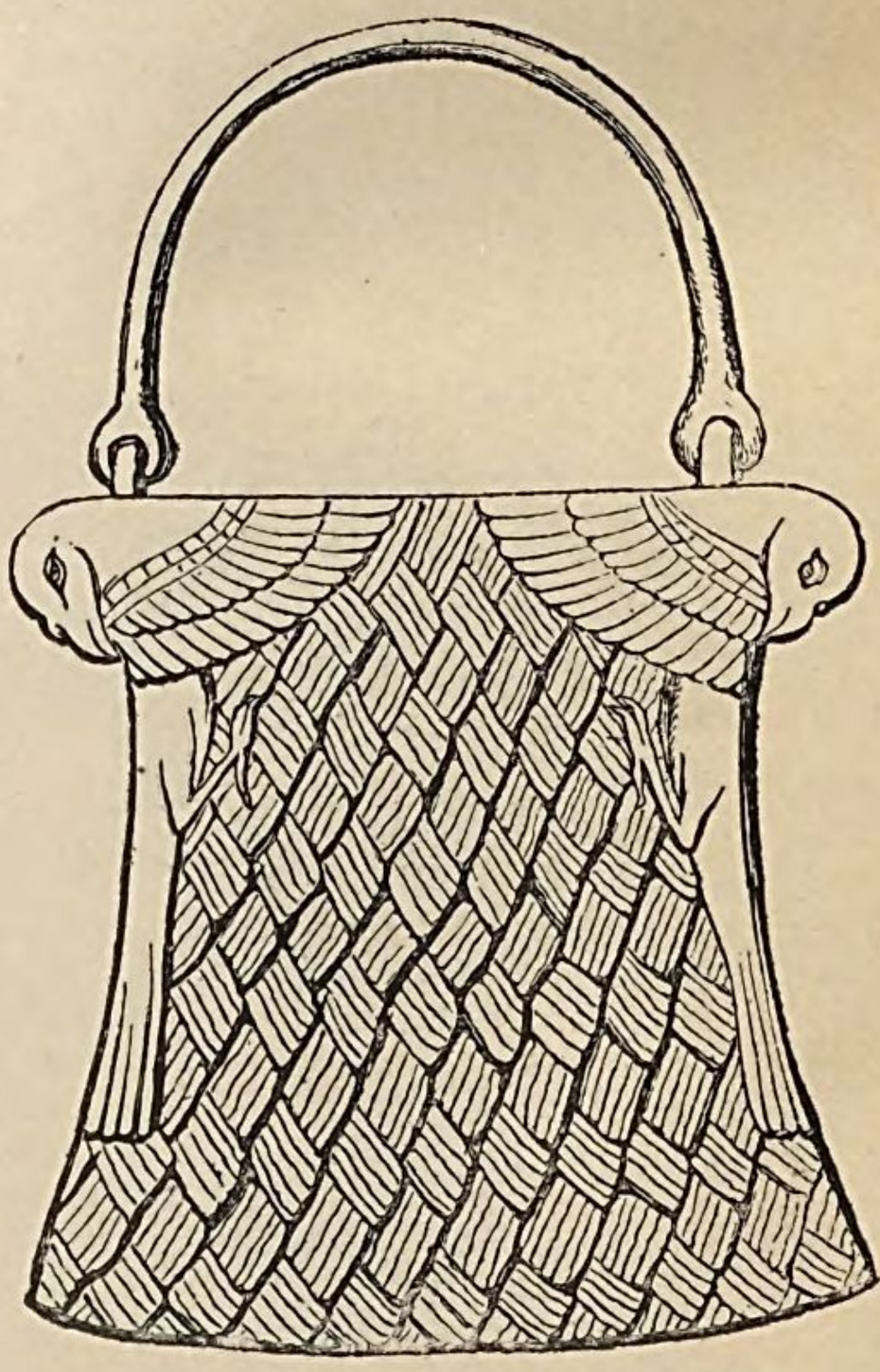
The god of the atmosphere (from a cylinder).

Fig. 5.

The hawk-eyed genius. (Khorsabad).

Fig. 6.

Winged figure in horned cap (Nimrud).



The sacred basket (Khorsabad).

shadow of her former self. Weak and exhausted, she seemed to invite a permanent conqueror. If her limits had not much shrunk, if the provinces still acknowledged her authority, it was from habit rather than from fear, or because they too had suffered greatly from the northern barbarians. We find Babylon subject to Assyria to the very last;[724] and we seem to see that Judæa passed from the rule of the Assyrians under that of the Babylonians, without any interval of independence or any need of re-conquest. But if these two powers at the south-eastern and the south-western extremities of the empire continued faithful, the less distant nations could scarcely have thrown off the yoke.

Asshur-bani-pal, then, on the withdrawal of the barbarians, had still an empire to rule, and he may be supposed to have commenced some attempts at re-organizing and re-invigorating the governmental system to which the domination of the Scyths must have given a rude shock. But he had not time to effect much. In B.C. 626 he died, after a reign of forty-two years, and was succeeded by his son, Asshur-emid-ilin, whom the Greeks called Saracus. Of this prince we possess but few native records; and, unless it should be thought that the picture which Ctesias gave of the character and conduct of his last Assyrian king deserves to be regarded as authentic history, and to be attached to this monarch, we must confess to an almost equal dearth of classical notices of his life and actions. Scarcely anything has come down to us from his time but a few legends on bricks,[725] from which it appears that he was the builder of the south-east edifice at Nimrud, a construction presenting some remarkable but no very interesting features. The classical notices, apart from the tales which Ctesias originated, are limited to a few sentences in Abydenus,[726] and a word or two in Polyhistor.[727] Thus nearly the same obscurity which enfolds the earlier portion of the history gathers about the monarch in whose person the empire terminated; and instead of the ample details which have crowded upon us now for many consecutive reigns, we shall be reduced to a meagre outline, partly resting upon conjecture, in our portraiture of this last king.

Saracus, as the monarch may be termed after Abydenus. ascended the throne at a most difficult and dangerous crisis in his country's history. Assyria was exhausted; and perhaps half depopulated by the Scythic ravages. The bands which united the provinces to the sovereign state, though not broken,

had been weakened, and rebellion threatened to break out in various quarters.[728] Ruin had overtaken many of the provincial towns; and it would require a vast outlay to restore their public buildings. But the treasury was wellnigh empty, and did not allow the new monarch to adopt in his buildings the grand and magnificent style of former kings. Still Saracus attempted something. At Calah he began the construction of a building which apparently was intended for a palace, but which contrasts most painfully with the palatial erections of former kings. The waning glory of the monarchy was made patent both to the nation and to strangers by an edifice where coarse slabs of common limestone, unsculptured and uninscribed, replaced the alabaster bas-reliefs of former times; and where a simple plaster above the slabs[729] was the substitute for the richly-patterned enamelled bricks of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Asshur-bani-pal. A set of small chambers, of which no one exceeded forty-five feet in length and twenty-five feet in its greatest breadth, sufficed for the last Assyrian king, whose shrunken Court could no longer have filled the vast halls of his ancestors. The Nimrud palace of Saracus seems to have covered less than one-half of the space occupied by any former palace upon the mound; it had no grand façade, no magnificent gateway; the rooms, curiously misshapen,[730] as if taste had declined with power and wealth, were mostly small and inconvenient, running in suites which opened into one another without any approaches from courts or passages, roughly paved with limestone flags, and composed of sun-dried bricks faced with limestone and plaster. That Saracus should have been reduced even to contemplate residing in this poor and mean dwelling is the strongest possible proof of Assyria's decline and decay at a period preceding the great war which led to her destruction.

It is possible that this edifice may not have been completed at the time of Saracus's death, and in that case we may suppose that its extreme rudeness would have received certain embellishments had he lived to finish the structure. While it was being erected, he must have resided elsewhere. Apparently, he held his court at Nineveh during this period; and it was certainly there that he made his last arrangements for defence,[731] and his final stand against the enemy, who took advantage of his weak condition to press forward the conquest of the empire.

The Medes, in their strong upland country, abounding in

rocky hills, and running up in places into mountain-chains, had probably suffered much less from the ravages of the Scyths than the Assyrians in their comparatively defenceless plains. Of all the nations exposed to the scourge of the invasion they were evidently the first to recover themselves,[732] partly from the local causes here noticed, partly perhaps from their inherent vigor and strength. If Herodotus's date for the original inroad of the Scythians is correct,[733] not many years can have elapsed before the tide of war turned, and the Medes began to make head against their assailants, recovering possession of most parts of their country, and expelling or overpowering the hordes at whose insolent domination they had chafed from the first hour of the invasion. It was probably as early as B.C. 627, five years after the Scyths crossed the Caucasus, according to Herodotus, that Cyaxares, having sufficiently re-established his power in Media, began once more to aspire after foreign conquests. Casting his eyes around upon the neighboring countries, he became aware of the exhaustion of Assyria, and perceived that she was not likely to offer an effectual resistance to a sudden and vigorous attack. He therefore collected a large army and invaded Assyria from the east, while it would seem that the Susianians, with whom he had perhaps made an alliance, attacked her from the south.[734]

To meet this double danger, Saracus, the Assyrian king, determined on dividing his forces; and, while he entrusted a portion of them to a general, Nabopolassar, who had orders to proceed to Babylon and engage the enemy advancing from the sea, he himself with the remainder made ready to receive the Medes. In idea this was probably a judicious disposition of the troops at his disposal; it was politic to prevent a junction of the two assailing powers, and, as the greater danger was that which threatened from the Medes, it was well for the king to reserve himself with the bulk of his forces to meet this enemy. But the most prudent arrangements may be disconcerted by the treachery of those who are entrusted with their execution; and so it was in the present instance. The faithless Nabopolassar saw in his sovereign's difficulty his own opportunity; and, instead of marching against Assyria's enemies, as his duty required him, he secretly negotiated an arrangement with Cyaxares, agreed to become his ally against the Assyrians, and obtained the Median king's daughter as a bride for Nebuchadnezzar, his eldest son.[735] Cyaxares and Nabopo-

lassar then joined their efforts against Nineveh;[736] and Saracus, unable to resist them, took counsel of his despair, and, after all means of resistance were exhausted, burned himself in his palace.[737] It is uncertain whether we possess any further historical details of the siege. The narrative of Ctesias may embody a certain number of the facts, as it certainly represented with truth the strange yet not incredible termination.[738] But on the other hand, we cannot feel sure, with regard to any statement made solely by that writer, that it has any other source than his imagination. Hence the description of the last siege of Nineveh, as given by Diodorus on the authority of Ctesias, seems undeserving of a place in history, though the attention of the curious may properly be directed to it.[739]

The empire of the Assyrians thus fell, not so much from any inherent weakness, or from the effect of gradual decay, as by an unfortunate combination of circumstances—the occurrence of a terrible inroad of northern barbarians just at the time when a warlike nation, long settled on the borders of Assyria, and within a short distance of her capital, was increasing, partly by natural and regular causes, partly by accidental and abnormal ones, in greatness and strength. It will be proper, in treating of the history of Media, to trace out, as far as our materials allow, these various causes, and to examine the mode and extent of their operation. But such an inquiry is not suited for this place, since, if fully made, it would lead us too far away from our present subject, which is the history of Assyria; while, if made partially, it would be unsatisfactory. It is therefore deferred to another place. The sketch here attempted of Assyrian history will now be brought to a close by a few observations on the general nature of the monarchy, or its extent in the most flourishing period, and on the character of its civilization.[740]

The independent kingdom of Assyria covered a space of at least a thousand years; but the empire can, at the utmost, be considered to have lasted a period short of seven centuries, from B.C. 1300 to B.C. 625 or 624—the date of the conquest of Cyaxares. In reality, the period of extensive domination seems to have commenced with Asshur-ris-ilim,[741] about B.C. 1150, so that the duration of the true empire did not much exceed five centuries. The limits of the dominion varied considerably within this period, the empire expanding or contracting according to the circumstances of the time and the personal character of the prince by whom the throne was occupied.

The extreme extent appears not to have been reached until almost immediately before the last rapid decline set in, the widest dominion belonging to the time of Asshur-bani-pal, the conqueror of Egypt, of Susiana, and of the Armenians.[742] In the middle part of this prince's reign Assyria was paramount over the portion of Western Asia included between the Mediterranean and the Halys on the one hand, the Caspian Sea and the great Persian desert on the other. Southwards the boundary was formed by Arabia and the Persian Gulf; northwards it seems at no time to have advanced to the Euxine or to the Caucasus, but to have been formed by a fluctuating line, which did not in the most flourishing period extend so far as the northern frontier of Armenia. Besides her Asiatic dominions, Assyria possessed also at this time a portion of Africa, her authority being acknowledged by Egypt as far as the latitude of Thebes. The countries included within the limits thus indicated, and subject during the period in question to Assyrian influence, were chiefly the following: Susiana, Chaldæa, Babylonia, Media, Matiene or the Zagros range, Mesopotamia; parts of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia; Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Idumæa, a portion of Arabia, and almost the whole of Egypt. The island of Cyprus was also, it is probable, a dependency. On the other hand, Persia Proper, Bactria, and Sogdiana, even Hyrcania, were beyond the eastern limit of the Assyrian sway, which towards the north did not on this side reach further than about the neighborhood of Kasvin, and towards the south was confined within the barrier of Zagros. Similarly on the west, Phrygia, Lydia,[743] Lycia, even Pamphylia, were independent, the Assyrian arms having never, so far as appears, penetrated westward beyond Cilicia or crossed the river Halys.

The nature of the dominion established by the great Mesopotamian monarchy over the countries included within the limits above indicated, will perhaps be best understood if we compare it with the empire of Solomon. Solomon "reigned over *all the kingdoms* from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt: they *brought presents* and *served* Solomon all the days of his life."[744] The first and most striking feature of the earliest empires is that they are a mere congeries of kingdoms: the countries over which the dominant state acquires an influence, not only retain their distinct individuality, as is the case in some modern empires,[745] but remain in all respects such as they were

before, with the simple addition of certain obligations contracted towards the paramount authority. They keep their old laws, their old religion, their line of kings, their law of succession, their whole internal organization and machinery; they only acknowledge an external suzerainty which binds them to the performance of certain duties towards the Head of the Empire. These duties, as understood in the earliest times, may be summed up in the two words "homage" and "tribute;" the subject kings "serve" and "bring presents." They are bound to acts of submission; must attend the court of their suzerain when summoned,[746] unless they have a reasonable excuse; must there salute him as a superior, and otherwise acknowledge his rank;[747] above all, they must pay him regularly the fixed tribute which has been imposed upon them at the time of their submission or subjection, the unauthorized withholding of which is open and avowed rebellion.[748] Finally, they must allow his troops free passage through their dominions, and must oppose any attempt at invasion by way of their country on the part of his enemies.[749] Such are the earliest and most essential obligations on the part of the subject states in an empire of the primitive type like that of Assyria; and these obligations, with the corresponding one on the part of the dominant power of the protection of its dependants against foreign foes, appear to have constituted the sole links[750] which joined together in one the heterogeneous materials of which that empire consisted.

It is evident that a government of the character here described contains within it elements of constant disunion and disorder. Under favorable circumstances, with an active and energetic prince upon the throne, there is an appearance of strength, and a realization of much magnificence and grandeur. The subject monarchs pay annually their due share of "the regulated tribute of the empire;"[751] and the better to secure the favor of their common sovereign, add to it presents, consisting of the choicest productions of their respective kingdoms.[752] The material resources of the different countries are placed at the disposal of the dominant power;[753] and skilled workmen[754] are readily lent for the service of the court, who adorn or build the temples and the royal residences, and transplant the luxuries and refinements of their several states to the imperial capital. But no sooner does any untoward event occur, as a disastrous expedition, a foreign attack, a domestic conspiracy, or even an untimely and unexpected

death of the reigning prince, than the inherent weakness of this sort of government at once displays itself—the whole fabric of the empire falls asunder—each kingdom re-asserts its independence—tribute ceases to be paid—and the mistress of a hundred states suddenly finds herself thrust back into her primitive condition, stripped of the dominion which has been her strength, and thrown entirely upon her own resources. Then the whole task of reconstruction has to be commenced anew—one by one the rebel countries are overrun, and the rebel monarchs chastised—tribute is re-imposed, submission enforced, and in fifteen or twenty years the empire has perhaps recovered itself. Progress is of course slow and uncertain, where the empire has continually to be built up again from its foundations, and where at any time a day may undo the work which it has taken centuries to accomplish.

To discourage and check the chronic disease of rebellion, recourse is had to severe remedies, which diminish the danger to the central power, at the cost of extreme misery and often almost entire ruin to the subject kingdoms. Not only are the lands wasted, the flocks and herds carried off,[755] the towns pillaged and burnt, or in some cases razed to the ground, the rebel king deposed and his crown transferred to another, the people punished by the execution of hundreds or thousands,[756] as well as by an augmentation of the tribute money;[757] but sometimes wholesale deportation of the inhabitants is practised, tens or hundreds of thousands being carried away captive by the conquerors,[758] and either employed in servile labor at the capital,[759] or settled as colonists in a distant province. With this practice the history of the Jews, in which it forms so prominent a feature, has made us familiar. It seems to have been known to the Assyrians from very early times,[760] and to have become by degrees a sort of settled principle in their government. In the most flourishing period of their dominion—the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon—it prevailed most widely, and was carried to the greatest extent. Chaldæans were transported into Armenia,[761] Jews and Israelites into Assyria and Media,[762] Arabians, Babylonians, Susianians, and Persians into Palestine[763]—the most distant portions of the empire changed inhabitants, and no sooner did a people become troublesome from its patriotism and love of independence, than it was weakened by dispersion, and its spirit subdued by a severance of all its local associations. Thus rebellion was in some measure kept down, and the posi-

tion of the central or sovereign state was rendered so far more secure; but this comparative security was gained by a great sacrifice of strength, and when foreign invasion came, the subject kingdoms, weakened at once and alienated by the treatment which they had received, were found to have neither the will nor the power to give any effectual aid to their enslaver.[764]

Such, in its broad and general outlines, was the empire of the Assyrians. It embodied the earliest, simplest, and most crude conception which the human mind forms of a widely extended dominion. It was a "kingdom-empire," like the empires of Solomon, of Nebuchadnezzar, of Chedor-laomer,[765] and probably of Cyaxares, and it the best specimen of its class, being the largest, the longest in duration, and the best known of all such governments that has existed. It exhibits in a marked way both the strength and weakness of this class of monarchies—their strength in the extraordinary magnificence, grandeur, wealth, and refinement of the capital; their weakness in the impoverishment, the exhaustion, and the consequent disaffection of the subject states. Ever falling to pieces, it was perpetually reconstructed by the genius and prowess of a long succession of warrior princes, seconded by the skill and bravery of the people. Fortunate in possessing for a long time no very powerful neighbor,[766] it found little difficulty in extending itself throughout regions divided and subdivided among hundreds of petty chiefs,[767] incapable of union, and singly quite unable to contend with the forces of a large and populous country. Frequently endangered by revolts, yet always triumphing over them, it maintained itself for five centuries, gradually advancing its influence, and was only overthrown after a fierce struggle by a new kingdom [768] formed upon its borders, which, taking advantage of a time of exhaustion, and leagued with the most powerful of the subject states, was enabled to accomplish the destruction of the long-dominant people.

In the curt and dry records of the Assyrian monarchs, while the broad outlines of the government are well marked, it is difficult to distinguish those nicer shades of system and treatment which no doubt existed, and in which the empire of the Assyrians differed probably from others of the same type. One or two such points, however, may perhaps be made out. In the first place, though religious uniformity is certainly not the law of the empire, yet a religious character appears in

many of the wars,[769] and attempts at any rate seem to be made to diffuse everywhere a knowledge and recognition of the gods of Assyria. Nothing is more universal than the practice of setting up in the subject countries "the laws of Asshur" or "altars to the Great Gods." In some instances not only altars but temples are erected, and priests are left to superintend the worship and secure its being properly conducted. The history of Judæa is, however, enough to show that the continuance of the national worship was at least tolerated, though some formal acknowledgment of the presiding deities of Assyria on the part of the subject nations may not improbably have been required in most cases.[770]

Secondly, there is an indication that in certain countries immediately bordering on Assyria endeavors were made from time to time to centralize and consolidate the empire, by substituting, on fit occasions, for the native chiefs, Assyrian officers as governors. The persons appointed are of two classes —"collectors" and "treasurers." Their special business is, of course, as their names imply, to gather in the tribute due to the Great King, and secure its safe transmission to the capital; but they seem to have been, at least in some instances, entrusted with the civil government of their respective districts.[771] It does not appear that this system was ever extended very far, Lebanon on the west, and Mount Zagros on the east, may be regarded as the extreme limits of the centralized Assyria. Armenia, Media, Babylonia, Susiana, most of Phœnicia,[772] Palestine, Philistia, retained to the last their native monarchs; and thus Assyria, despite the feature here noticed, kept upon the whole her character of a "kingdom-empire."

The civilization of the Assyrians is a large subject, on which former chapters of this work have, it is hoped, thrown some light, and upon which only a very few remarks will be here offered by way of recapitulation. Deriving originally letters and the elements of learning from Babylonia, the Assyrians appear to have been content with the knowledge thus obtained, and neither in literature nor in science to have progressed much beyond their instructors. The heavy incubus of a dead language[773] lay upon all those who desired to devote themselves to scientific pursuits; and, owing to this, knowledge tended to become the exclusive possession of a learned or perhaps a priest class, which did not aim at progress, but was satisfied to hand on the traditions of former ages. To understand the

genius of the Assyrian people we must look to their art and their manufactures. These are in the main probably of native growth; and from them we may best gather an impression of the national character. They show us a patient, laborious, pains-taking people, with more appreciation of the useful than the ornamental, and of the actual than the ideal. Architecture, the only one of the fine arts which is essentially useful, forms their chief glory; sculpture, and still more painting, are subsidiary to it. Again, it is the most useful edifice—the palace or house—whereon attention is concentrated—the temple and the tomb, the interest attaching to which is ideal and spiritual, are secondary, and appear (so far as they appear at all) simply as appendages of the palace. In the sculpture it is the actual—the historically true—which the artist strives to represent. Unless in the case of a few mythic figures connected with the religion of the country, there is nothing in the Assyrian bas-reliefs which is not imitated from nature. The imitation is always laborious, and often most accurate and exact. The laws of representation, as we understand them, are sometimes departed from, but it is always to impress the spectator with ideas in accordance with truth. Thus the colossal bulls and lions have five legs, but in order that they may be seen from every point of view with four; the ladders are placed *edgeways* against the walls of besieged towns, but it is to show that they are ladders, and not mere poles; walls of cities are made disproportionately small, but it is done, like Raphael's boat, to bring them within the picture, which would otherwise be a less complete representation of the actual fact. The careful finish, the minute detail, the elaboration of every hair in a beard, and every stitch in the embroidery of a dress, reminds us of the Dutch school of painting, and illustrates strongly the spirit of faithfulness and honesty which pervades the sculptures, and gives them so great a portion of their value. In conception, in grace, in freedom and correctness of outline, they fall undoubtedly far behind the inimitable productions of the Greeks; but they have a grandeur and a dignity, a boldness, a strength, and an appearance of life, which render them even intrinsically valuable as works of art, and, considering the time at which they were produced, must excite our surprise and admiration. Art, so far as we know, had existed previously only in the stiff and lifeless conventionalism of the Egyptians. It belonged to Assyria to confine the conventional to religion, and to apply art to the vivid representation of the

highest scenes of human life. War in all its forms—the march, the battle, the pursuit, the siege of towns, the passage of rivers and marshes, the submission and treatment of captives, and the "mimic war" of hunting—the chase of the lion, the stag, the antelope, the wild bull, and the wild ass, are the chief subjects treated by the Assyrian sculptors; and in these the conventional is discarded; fresh scenes, new groupings, bold and strange attitudes perpetually appear, and in the animal representations especially there is a continual advance, the latest being the most spirited, the most varied, and the most true to nature, though perhaps lacking somewhat of the majesty and grandeur of the earlier. With no attempt to idealize or go beyond nature, there is a growing power of depicting things as they are—an increased grace and delicacy of execution, showing that Assyrian art was progressive, not stationary, and giving a promise of still higher excellence, had circumstances permitted its development.

The art of Assyria has every appearance of thorough and entire nationality; but it is impossible to feel sure that her manufactures were in the same sense absolutely her own. The practice of borrowing skilled workmen from the conquered states would introduce into Nineveh and the other royal cities the fabrics of every region which acknowledged the Assyrian sway; and plunder, tribute, and commerce would unite to enrich them with the choicest products of all civilized countries. Still, judging by the analogy of modern times, it seems most reasonable to suppose that the bulk of the manufactured goods consumed in the country would be of home growth. Hence we may fairly assume that the vases, jars, bronzes, glass bottles, carved ornaments in ivory and mother-of-pearl, engraved gems, bells, dishes, earrings, arms, working implements, etc., which have been found at Nimrud, Khorsabad, and Koyunjik, are *mainly* the handiwork of the Assyrians. It has been conjectured that the rich garments represented as worn by the kings and others were the product of Babylon,[774] always famous for its tissues; but even this is uncertain; and they are perhaps as likely to have been of home manufacture. At any rate the bulk of the ornaments, utensils, etc., may be regarded as native products. They are almost invariably of elegant form, and indicate a considerable knowledge of metallurgy and other arts,[775] as well as a refined taste. Among them are some which anticipate inventions believed till lately to have been modern. Transparent glass

(which, however, was known also in ancient Egypt) is one of these;[776] but the most remarkable of all is the lens[777] discovered at Nimrud, of the use of which as a magnifying agent there is abundant proof.[778] If it be borne in mind, in addition to all this, that the buildings of the Assyrians show them to have been well acquainted with the principle of the arch, that they constructed tunnels, aqueducts, and drains, that they knew the use of the pulley, the lever, and the roller, that they understood the arts of inlaying, enamelling, and overlaying with metals, and that they cut gems with the greatest skill and finish, it will be apparent that their civilization equalled that of almost any ancient country, and that it did not fall immeasurably behind the boasted achievements of the moderns. With much that was barbaric still attaching to them, with a rude and inartificial government, savage passions, a debasing religion, and a general tendency to materialism, they were, towards the close of their empire, in all the ordinary arts and appliances of life, very nearly on a par with ourselves; and thus their history furnishes a warning—which the records of nations constantly repeat—that the greatest material prosperity may co-exist with the decline—and herald the downfall—of a kingdom

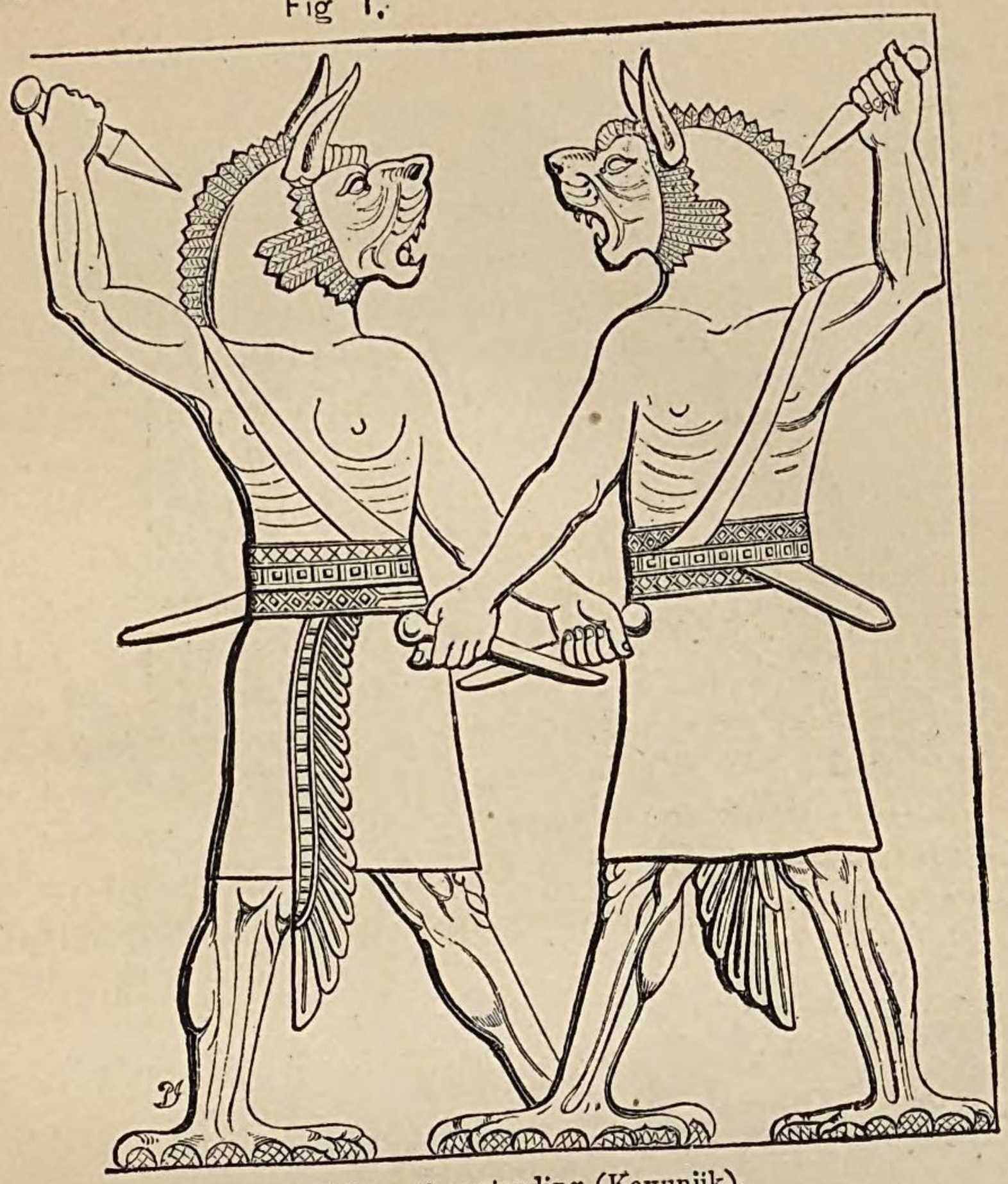
APPENDIX.

A.

OF THE MEANINGS OF THE ASSYRIAN ROYAL NAMES.

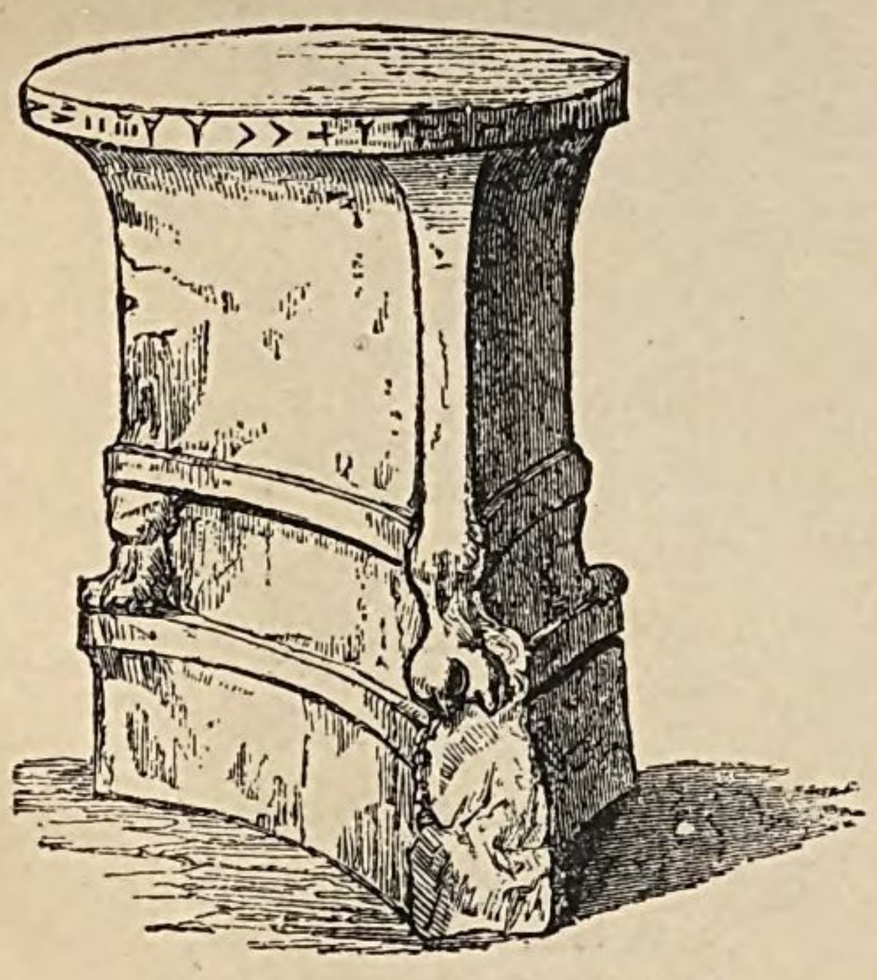
THE names of the Assyrians, like those of the Hebrews, seem to have been invariably significant. Each name is a sentence, fully or elliptically expressed, and consists consequently of at least two elements. This number is frequently—indeed, commonly—increased to three, which are usually a noun in the nominative case, a verb active agreeing with it, and a noun in the objective or accusative case governed by the verb. The genius of the language requires that in names of this kind the nominative case should invariably be placed first; but there is no fixed rule as to the order of the two other words; the

Fig 1.



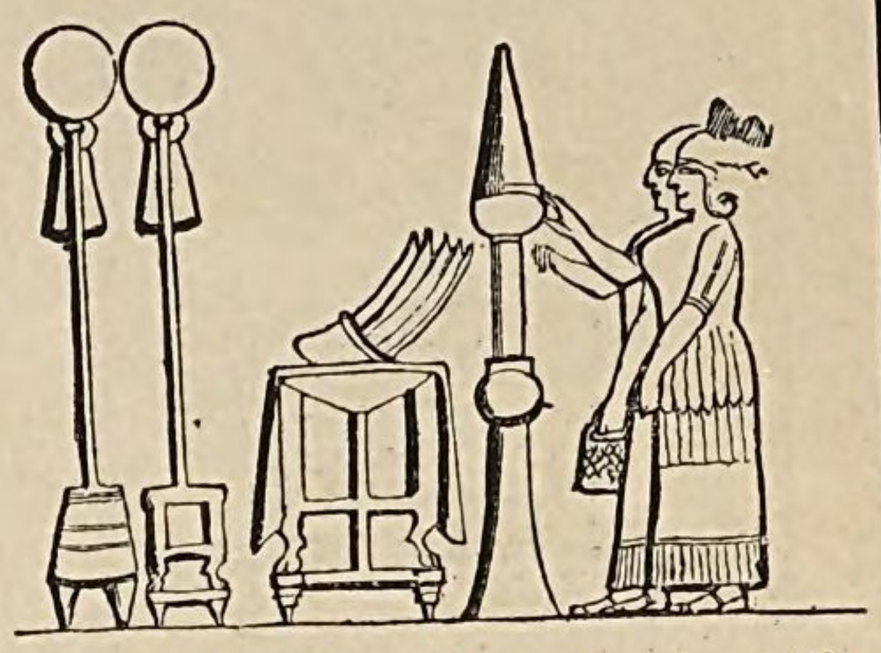
Evil genii contending (Koyunjik).

Fig. 2.



Triangular altar (Khorsabad).

Fig. 3.



Portable altar in an Assyrian camp, with priests offering (Khorsabad).

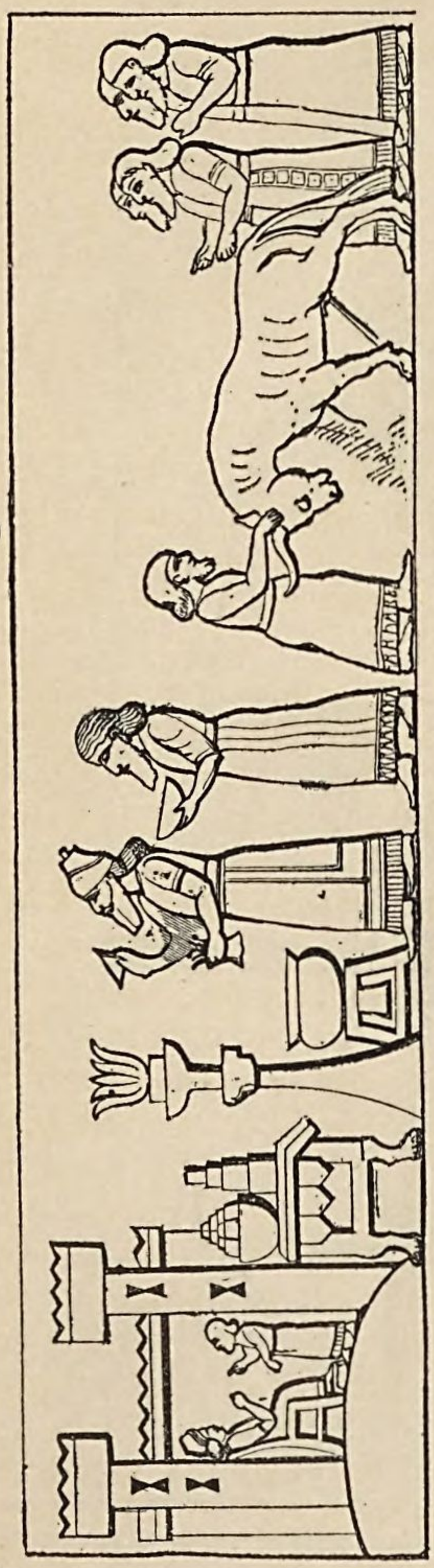


Fig. 1.

Sacrificial scene (from an obelisk found at Nimrud).

Fig. 2

Worshipper bringing an offering (from a cylinder).

Fig. 3.

Figure of Tiglath-Pileser I. (From a rock tablet near Korkhar.)

verb may be either preceded or followed by the accusative. The number of elements in an Assyrian name amounts in rare cases to four, a maximum reached by some Hebrew names, as Maher-shalal-hash-baz.[1] Only one or two of the royal names comes under this category. No Assyrian name exceeds the number of four elements.[2]

An example of the simplest form of name is Sar-gon, or Sargina, "the established king," *i.e.* "(I am) the established king." The roots are *Sar*, or in the full nominative, *sarru*, the common word for "king" (compare Heb. שׂר, שׂרח, etc.,), and *kin* (or *gin*),[3] "to establish," a root akin to the Hebrew כון.

A name equally simple is Buzur-Asshur, which means either "Asshur is a stronghold," or "Asshur is a treasure;" *buzur* being the Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew בצר, which has this double signification. (See Gesen. "Lex." p. 155.) A third name of the same simple form is Saül-mugina (Sammughes), which probably means "Saül (is) the establisher," *mugina* being the participial form of the same verb which occurs in Sar-*gina* or Sargon.[4]

There is another common form of Assyrian name consisting of two elements, the latter of which is the name of a god, while the former is either *shamas* or *shamsi* (Heb. שמשׁ), the common word for "servant," or else a term significative of worship, adoration, reverence, or the like. Of the former kind, there is but one royal name, viz., Shamas-Vul, "the servant of Vul," a name exactly resembling in its formation the Phœnician Abdistartus, the Hebrew Obadiah, Abdiel, etc., and the Arabic Abdallah.[5] Of the latter kind are the two royal names, Tiglathi-Nin and Mutaggil-Nebo. Tiglathi-Nin is from *tiglat* or *tiklat*, "adoration, reverence" (comp. Chald. הכל, "to trust in"), and Nin or Ninip, the Assyrian Hercules. The meaning is "Adoratio (sit) Herculi"—"Let worship (be given to) Hercules." Mutaggil-Nebo is "confiding in" or "worshipping Nebo"—*mutaggil* being from the same root as *tiglat*, but the participle, instead of the abstract substantive. A name very similar in its construction is that of the Caliph Motawakkil Billah.[6]

With these names compounded of two elements it will be convenient to place one which is compounded of three, viz., Tiglath-Pileser, or *Tiglat-pal-zira*. This name has exactly the same meaning as Tiglathi-Nin—"Be worship given to Hercules;" the only difference being that Nin or Hercules is here designated by a favorite epithet, *Pal-zira*, instead of by any

of his proper names. In *Pal-zira*, the first element is undoubtedly *pal*, "a son;" the other element is obscure;[7] all that we know of it is that Nin was called "the son of *Zira*," apparently because he had a temple at Calah which was called *Bit-Zira*, or "the house of *Zira*."[8] M. Oppert believes *Zira* to be "the Zodiac;"[9] but there seem to be no grounds for this identification.

Names of the common threefold type are Asshur-iddin-akhi, Asshur-izir-pal,[10] Sin-akhi-irib (Sennacherib), Asshur-akh-iddina (Esar-haddon), and Asshur-bani-pal. Asshur-idden-akhi is "Asshur has given brothers," *iddin* being the third person singular of *nadan*, "to give" (comp. Heb. נתן), and *akhi* being the plural of *akhu*, "a brother" (comp. Heb. אחי). Asshur-izir-pal is "Asshur protects (my) son," *izir* (for *inzir*) being derived from a root corresponding to the Hebrew נצר, "to protect," and *pal* being (as already explained[11]) the Assyrian equivalent for the Hebrew בן and the Syriac *bar*, "a son." The meaning of Sin-akhi-irib (Sennacherib) is "Sin (the Moon) has multiplied brethren," *irib* being from *raba* (Heb. רבה), "to augment, multiply." Asshur-akh-iddina is "Asshur has given a brother," from roots already explained; and Asshur-bani-pal is "Asshur has formed a son," from *Asshur*, *bani*, and *pal*; *bani* being the participle of *bana*, "to form, make" (comp. Heb. בנה).

Other tri-elemental names are Asshur-ris-ilim, Bel-kudur uzur, Asshur-bil-kala, Nin-pala-zira, and Bel-sumili-kapi. Asshur-ris-ilim either signifies "Asshur (is) the head of the gods," from Asshur, *ris*, which is equivalent to Heb. ראש, "head," and *ilim*, the plural of *il* or *el*, "god;" or perhaps it may mean "Asshur (is) high-headed," from *Asshur*, *ris*, and *elam*, "high," *ris-elim* being equivalent to the *sir-buland* of the modern Persians.[12] Bel-kudur-uzur means "Bel protects my seed," or "Bel protects the youth," as will be explained in the next volume under Nebuchadnezzar. Asshur-bil-kala means probably "Asshur (is) lord altogether," from *Asshur*, *bil*, "a lord" (Heb. בצל), and *kala*, "wholly;" a form connected with the Hebrew כל or כל "all," Nin-pala-zira is of course "Nin (Hercules) is the son of Zira," as already explained under Tiglath-Pileser.[13] Bel-sumili-kapi is conjectured to be "Bel of the left hand,"[14] or "Bel (is) left handed," from *Bel*, *sumilu*, an equivalent of שמאל, "the left," and *kapu* (= כ), "a hand."

Only two Assyrian names appear to be compounded of

four elements.[15] These are the first and last of our list, Asshur-bil-nisi-su, and the king commonly called Asshur-emid-ilin, whose complete name was (it is thought) Asshur-emid-ili-kin, or possibly Asshur-kinat-ili-kain. The last king's name is thought to mean "Asshur is the establisher of the power of the gods"—the second element, which is sometimes written as *emid* (comp. צמר), sometimes as *nirik*, being translated in a vocabulary by *kinat*, "power," while the last element (which is omitted on the monarch's bricks) is of course from *kin* (the equivalent of כון), which has been explained under Sargon. The name of the other monarch presents no difficulty. Asshur-bil-nisi-su means "Asshur (is) the lord of his people," from *bil* or *bilu*, "lord," *nis*, "a man" (comp. Heb. אנוש), and *su*, "his" (= Heb. וֹ).

To these names of monarchs may be added one or two names of princes, which are mentioned in the records of the Assyrians, or elsewhere; as Asshur-danin-pal, the eldest son of the great Shalmaneser, and Adrammelech and Sharezer, sons of Sennacherib. Asshur-danin-pal seems to be "Asshur strengthens a son," from *Asshur*, *pal*, and *danin*, which has the force of "strengthening" in Assyrian.[16] Adrammelech has been explained as *decus regis*, "the king's glory;"[17] but it would be more consonant with the propositional character of the names generally to translate it "the king (is) glorious," from *adir* (אדר or אריר), "great, glorious," and *melek* (מלך), "a king." Or Adrammelech may be from *ediru* (comp. צרר), a common Assyrian word meaning "the arranger" and *melek*, and may signify "the king arranges," or "the king is the arranger."[18] Sharezer, if that be the true reading, would seem to be "the king protects," from *sar* or *sarru*, "a king" (as in Sargon), and a form, *izir*, from *nazar* or *natsar*,[19] "to guard, protect." The Armenian equivalent, however, for this name, San-asar, may be the proper form; and this would apparently be "The Moon (Sin) protects."

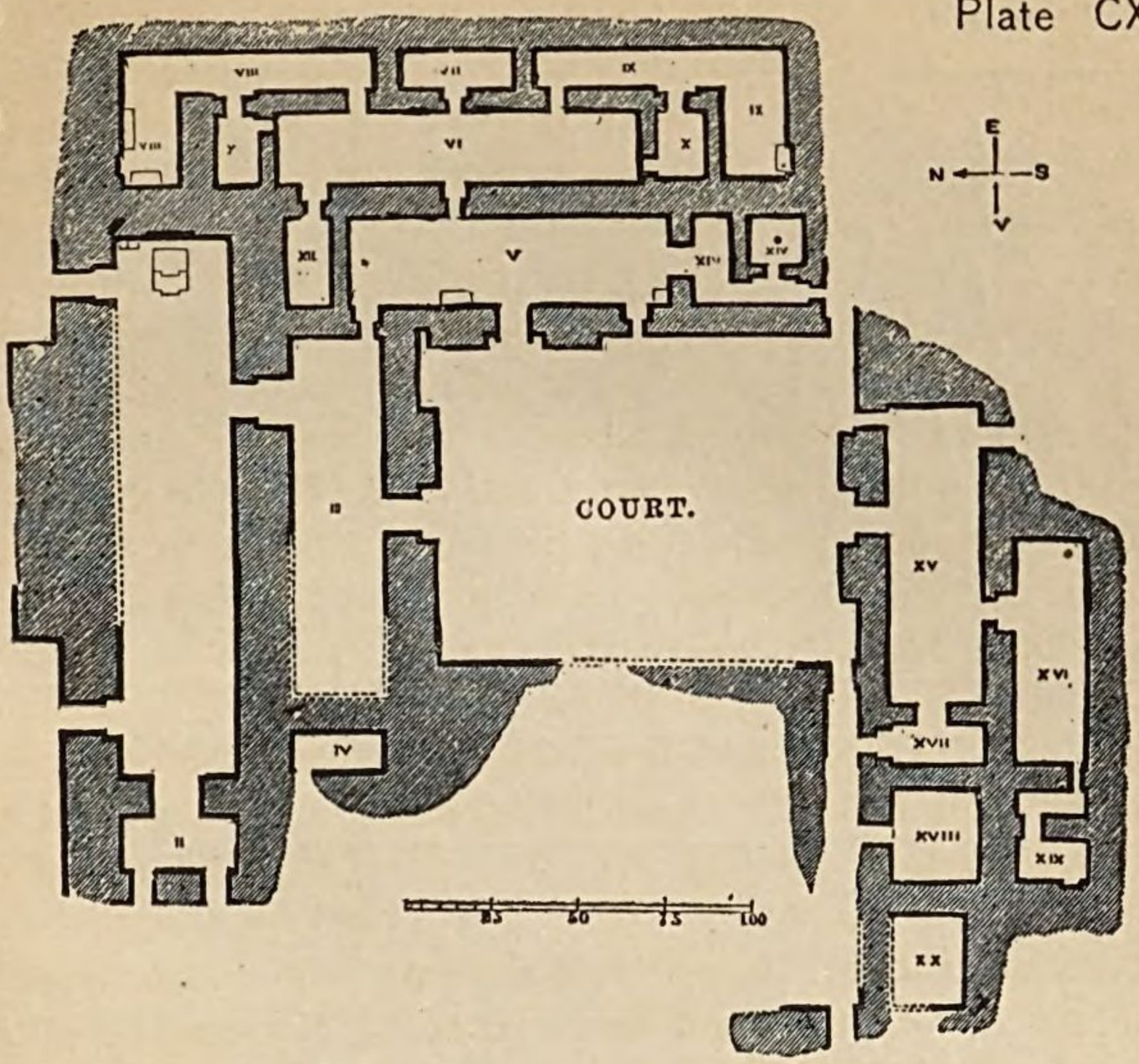
Nothing is more remarkable in this entire catalogue of names than their predominantly religious character. Of the thirty-nine kings and princes which the Assyrian lists furnish, the names of no fewer than thirty-one contain, as one element, either the name or the designation of a god. Of the remaining eight, five have doubtful names,[20] so that there remain three only whose names are known to be purely of a secular character.[21] Thirteen names, one of which was borne by two kings, contain the element Asshur; three, two of which occur

twice, contain the element Nin;[22] two, one of which was in such favor as to occur four times,[23] contain the element Vul; three contain the element Bel; one the element Nebo; and one the element Sin.[24] The names occasionally express mere facts of the mythology, as Nin-pala-zira, "Nin (is) the son of Zira," Bel-sumili-kapi, "Bel (is) left-handed," and the like. More often the fact enunciated is one in which the glorification of the deity is involved; as, Asshur-bil-nisi-su, "Asshur (is) the lord of his people;" Buzur-Asshur, "a stronghold (is) Asshur;" Asshur-bil-kala, "Asshur (is) lord altogether." Frequently the name seems to imply some special thankfulness to a particular god for the particular child in question, who is viewed as having been his gift, in answer to a vow or to prayer. Of this kind are Asshur-akh-iddina (Esar-haddon), Sin-akhi-irib (Sennacherib), Asshur-bani-pal, etc.; where the god named seems to be thanked for the child whom he has caused to be born. Such names as Tiglathi-Nin, Tiglath-Pileser, express this feeling even more strongly, being actual ascriptions of praise by the grateful parent to the deity whom he regards as his benefactor. In a few of the names, as Mutaggil-Nebo and Shamas-Iva, the religious sentiment takes a different turn. Instead of the parent merely expressing his own feelings of gratitude towards this or that god, he dedicates in a way his son to him, assigning to him an appellation which he is to verify in his after-life by a special devotion to the deity of whom in his very name he professes himself the "servant" or the "worshipper."

Vol I

Plate CXLV.

Fig 1



Plan of Palace of Asshur-idanni-pal.

Fig. 2.

Stele of Asshur-idanni-pal, with altar in front (Nimrud).

Israelites bringing tribute to Shalmaneser II. (Nimrud).

Fig. 2.

Assyrian sphinx. (Time of Asshur-bani-pal.)

Fig. 3.

Scythian soldiers, from a vase found in a Scythian tomb.

B.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE NAMES ASSIGNED TO THE ASSYRIAN KINGS AT DIFFERENT TIMES AND BY DIFFERENT WRITERS.

Sir H. Rawlinson in 1860.	G. Smith in 1870.	Dr. Hincks.	M. Oppert in 1869.[a]
. . . . .	Bel-sumili-kapi ?	. . . . .	Bel-kat-irassu.
. . . . .	Asshur-bilu-nisi-su	. . . . .	Asur-bel-nisi-su.
. . . . .	Buzur-Asshur	. . . . .	Busur-Asur
. . . . .	Asshur-upallit	. . . . .	Asur-uballat.
Bel-lush	Bilu-nirari (?)	. . . . .	Bel-likh-khis.
Pud-il	Pudi-el.	. . . . .	Pudi-el.
Vul-lush I.[b]	Vul-nirari I. (?)	. . . . .	Bin-likh-khis I.
Shalma-Bar[c]	Sallim-manu-uzur I.	Divanu-rish	Salman-asir II.
. . . . .	Tukulti-Ninip I.	. . . . .	Tuklat-Ninip I.
. . . . .	Vul-nirari II. (?)	. . . . .	Bin-likh-khis II.
Nin-pala-kura[d]	Nin-pala-zara	Ninip-pal-isri	Ninip-habal-asar.
Asshur-daha-il	Asshur-dayan I.	Assur-dayan	Asur-dayan.
Mutaggil-Nebo	Mutaggil-Nabu:	. . . . .	Mutakkil-Nabu.
Asshur-ris-ilim	Asshur-ris-elim	. . . . .	Asur-ris-isi.
Tiglath-Pileser I.	Tukulti-pal-zara I.	Tiklat-pal-isri I.	Tuklat-habal-asar I.
Asshur-bani-pal I.	Asshur-bil-kala	. . . . .	Asur-iddanna-habal
. . . . .	Samsi-Vul I.	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	Asshur-rabu-amar	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	Asshur-muzur	. . . . .	. . . . .
Asshur-adan-akhi	Asshur-iddin-akhi	. . . . .	Asur-iddin-akhe.
Asshur-dan-il	Asshur-dayan II.	. . . . .	Asur-edil-el I.
Vul-lush II.	Vul-nirari III. (?)	. . . . .	Bin-likh-khis III.
Tiglathi-Ninip	Tukulti-Ninip II.	Shimish Bar	Tuklat-Ninip II.
Asshur-idanni-pal	Asshur-nazir-pal[e]	Asshur-yuzhur bal[f]	Asur-nazir-habal
Shalmanu-sar I.	Sallim-manu-uzur II.	Divanu-Bara	Salman-asir III.
Shamash-Vul	Samsi-Vul II.	Shamsi-Yav	Samas-Bin.
Vul-lush III.	Vul-nirari IV. (?)	. . . . .	Bin-likh-khis IV.
. . . . .	Sallim-manu-uzur III.	. . . . .	Salman-asir IV.
. . . . .	Asshur-dayan III.	. . . . .	Asur-edil-el II.
. . . . .	Asshur-nirari (?)	. . . . .	Asur-likh-khis.
Tiglath-PileserII.[g]	Tukulti-pal-zara II.	Tiklat-pal-isri II.	Tuklat-habal-asa II.
Shalmanu-sar II.	Sallim-manu-uzur IV.	. . . . .	Salman-asir V.
Sargina	Sar-gina[h]	Sar-gina	Saryu-kin.
Sennacherib	Sennacherib[i]	Tsin-akhi-irib	Sin-akhe-irib.
Esar-haddon	Esar-haddon[i]	Asshur-akh-idin	Asur-akh-iddin.
Asshur-bani-pal	Asshur-bani-pal	Asshur-idanna-bal	Asur-bani-habal.
Assur-emit-ili	Asshur-emit-ilin	. . . . .	Asur-edil-el III.

[a] In this list I have taken the forms of the names either from M. Oppert's own article in the *Revue archéologique* for 1869, or from the "Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient" of his disciple, M. François Lenormant (5th ed. 1869).

[b] This name is composed of three elements, all of which are doubtful. The first is the god of the atmosphere, who has been called Vul, Iva, Yav, Yam, Yem, Ao, Bin, and U or Hu. The second element has been read as *likh*, *zala*, and *erim;* the third as *gab*, *khus*, and *pathir*. Both of them are most uncertain.

[c] Or Shalma-ris. This name was originally thought to be different from that of the Black-Obelisk king, but is now regarded as a mere variant, and as equivalent to the Scriptural Shalmaneser. The last element is the same word as the name of the Assyrian Hercules, who has been called Bar, Nin or Ninip, and Ussur, and who possibly bore all these appellations. Sir H. Rawlinson originally called this king Temenbar. ("Commentary," p. 22.)

[d] Or Nin-pala-*zira*. (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," 1st edition.)

[e] The middle element of this name was thought to represent the root "to give," and to have the power of *iddin* or *idanni;* but a variant reading in the recently discovered Canon employs the phonetic complement of *ir*, thus showing that the root must be the one ordinarily represented by the character, namely נצר, "to protect," which will form *nazir* in the Benoni, and *izir* (for *inzir*) in the third person of the aorist.

[f] Originally Dr. Hincks called this monarch Asshur-*akh*-bal. (Layard's "Nin. and Bab." p. 615.) Mr. Fox Talbot still prefers this reading. ("Athenæum," No. 1839, p. 120.)

[g] This, of course, is following the Hebrew literation. The Assyrian is read as Tukulti-pal-zara.

[h] Or, more fully, Sarru-gina.

[i] The Assyrian names of Sennacherib and Esar-haddon, according to Mr. G. Smith, were Sin-akhi-irba and Asshur-akh-iddina.

NOTES TO THE FIRST MONARCHY.

CHAPTER I.

[1] Humboldt, "Aspects of Nature," vol. i. pp. 77, 78, E. T.

[2] Even the title of Shinar, the earliest known name of the region (Gen. xi. 2), may be no exception; for it is perhaps derived from the Hebrew שְׁנַיִם, "two," and *ar* or *nahr* (Heb. נָהָר), "a river." The form *ar* belongs to the early Scythic or Cushite Babylonian, and is found in the Ar-malchar of Pliny ("H. N." vi. 26), and the Armacles of Abydenus—terms used to designate the *Nahr-malcha* (Royal River) of other authors. (See the "Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum," vol. iv. pp. 283, 284.)

[3] Herodotus, ii. 5. Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes that Herodotus is mistaken in this instance. The Nile never emptied itself into a gulf, but from the first laid its deposits on ground already raised above the level of the Mediterranean. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 6, note [4].)

[4] Loftus's "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 282.

[5] See Strabo, xvi. 1, § 6; Pliny, "H. N." vi. 28; Ptolemy, v. 20; Beros. ap. Syncell. pp. 28, 29.

[6] See text, pp. 10, 11, etc.

[7] Ross came to the end of the alluvium and the commencement of the secondary formations in lat. 34°, long. 44°. ("Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 446.) Similarly Captain Lynch found the bed of the Tigris change from pebbles to mere alluvium near Khan Tholiyeh, a little above its confluence with the Adhem. (Ib. p. 472.) For the point where the Euphrates enters on the alluvium, see Fraser's "Assyria and Mesopotamia," p. 27.

[8] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 282.

[9] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xxvii. p. 186. The increase did not escape the notice of the ancients. It is mentioned and exaggerated by Pliny, who says that Charax of Spasinus was originally built by Alexander the Great at the distance of little more than a mile from the shore, but that in the time of Juba the Mauritanian it was 50 miles from the sea, and in his own day 120 miles! ("Hist. Nat." vi. 27.) This would give for the first period a rate of increase exceeding a mile in seven years, and for the second a rate of about a mile a year; or for the whole period, a rate of a mile in three and one half years.

[10] Loftus, in "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xxvi. p. 146.

[11] See Clinton's "Fasti Hellenici," vol. ii. p. 473, where the whole area of European Greece, including Thessaly, Acarnania, Ætolia, Eubœa, and the other littoral islands, is shown to be 22,231 miles.

[12] See text, p. 2.

[13] Gen. ii. 14, marginal rendering.

[14] See the remark of Mela:—"Occidentem petit, ni Taurus obstet, in nostra maria venturus." ("De Sit. Orb." iii. 8.)

[15] In one part of its course, viz., from Kut-el-Amarah at the mouth of the Shat-el-Hie to Hussun Khan's fort, 50 miles lower down the stream, the direction of the Tigris is even north of east.

[16] From El Khitr to Serut the direct distance is 104 miles, from Serut to Kurnah 110, and from Kurnah to El Khitr 115.

[17] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. pp. 38 and 40.

[18] Ibid. vol. i. p. 44.

[19] Ibid. p. 15. It only attains this width, however, in the season of the floods. Generally it is at Diarbekr about 100 or 120 yards wide.

[20] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 3.

[21] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 32; compare Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. ch. xiii. p. 92.

[22] The *Euphrates* steamer, under Lieutenant Lynch, ascended the Tigris nearly to Nimrud in 1838; but was stopped by an artificial bund or dam thrown across the stream near that place. (Chesney, vol. i. p. 32.) The *Nitocris* in 1846 attempted the ascent, but was unable to proceed far above Tekrit, from a want of sufficient power. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. ch. v. p. 139.)

[23] Chesney, vol. i. pp. 53–57.

[24] Ibid. p. 62.

[25] Strab. xi. 12, § 4; § 14, § 2, etc.

[26] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. xv. p. 22. Compare ch. xi. pp. 269, 270.

[27] Xenophon, "Anabasis," iv. 3, § 1.

[28] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. iii. p. 49. The Bitlis Chai at Til, just above the point of confluence, was found by Mr. Layard to be "about equal in size" to the united Myafarekin and Diarbekr rivers.

[29] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 308; "Journ. of Geograph. Society," vol. ix. p. 95.

[30] "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. pp. 59, 60.

[31] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. xxi. p. 475; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 45.

[32] Heeren's statement, which is directly the reverse of this ("Asiatic Nations," vol.

ii. p. 131, E. T.), is at once false and self-contradictory. The "deep bed" and "bold shores" of the Tigris are the consequence of the *higher* level of the plain in its vicinity. The fall of the Tigris is much greater than that of the Euphrates in its lower course, and the stream cuts deeper into the alluvium, on the principle of water finding its own level.

[33] Loftus, p. 44.

[34] Arrian, "Exped. Alex." vii. 21, 22; Strab. xvi. 1, §§ 11, 12. The "lacus Chaldaici" of Pliny ("Hist. Nat." vi. 27) refer rather to the marshes on the Lower Tigris.

[35] Arrian, "Exped. Alex." vii. 7; Plin. "Hist. Nat." l. s. c.

[36] Arrian, vii. 21.

[37] Herod. i. 193.

[38] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 297.

[39] See text, page 9.

[40] Herod. i. 179, 180.

[41] Ibid. i. 189; Xen. "Anab." ii. 4, § 25. The site of Opis is probably marked by the ruins at *Khafaji*. (See the remarks of Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 326, note [8].)

[42] Sir H. Rawlinson, "Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia," p. 77, note.

[43] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 112. Some rather considerable changes in the bed of the Tigris are thought to be traceable a little below Samarah. (See "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 472.)

[44] Shapur Dholactuf, in the fourth century of our era, either cut or reopened this canal. He is said to have intended it as a defence against the Arabs. In Arabian geography it is known as *Khandak Sabur*, or "Shapur's ditch." The present name is *Kerreh Saideh*.

[45] Justin, xviii. 3, § 2.

[46] Loftus, p. 50.

[47] Ibid. l. s. c.

[48] Gen. x. 10. The sacred historian perhaps further represents the Assyrians as adopting the Babylonian number on their emigration to the more northern regions: —"Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen." (Gen. x. 11, 12.)

[49] In three out of these four cases, the similarity of the name forms a sufficient ground for the identification. In the fourth case the chief ground of identification is a statement in the Talmud that Nopher was the site of the Calneh of Nimrod.

[50] Sippara is the Scriptural Sepharvaim. The Hebrew term has a dual ending, because there were two Sipparas, one on either side of the river.

[51] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xxvii. p. 185.

[52] Mr. Taylor in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 260. Sir H. Rawlinson prefers the derivation of *Umqir*, "the mother of bitumen."

[53] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 128.

[54] Gen. xiv. 1.

[55] Beros. ap. Syncell., "Chronographia," p. 39.

[56] Apollod. "Bibliotheca," ii. 4, § 4.

[57] Loftus, p. 244.

[58] The LXX translators express the Hebrew אֶרֶךְ by Ὀρέχ.

[59] Strab. xvi. 1, § 6; Ptol. v. 20, p. 137. See also Pliny, "Hist. Nat." vi. 27.

[60] Loftus, pp. 162–170.

[61] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. xxiv. p. 551. Boats smeared with bitumen, and similar to those still in use in Lower Mesopotamia, are said to be occasionally found, beneath the soil, in this ravine.

[62] Loftus, p. 101.

[63] In the early Scythic or Cushite Babylonian the name of the city is represented by the same characters as are used for the god Belus, though of course with a different determinative; and it thus seems highly probable that we have the vernacular pronunciation of the name in the Βίλβη of Ptolemy, which he joins with *βάρσιτα* and *Διγόνα* precisely as the inscriptions are joined Borsip, Nipur, and Cutha, or Tiggaba. *Nipur* is given in the bilingual tablets as the Semitic translation of the Scythic *Bilu*.

[64] See note [49] of this chapter.

[65] Gen. x. 10.

[66] Isaiah x. 9.

[67] Rich, "Second Memoir on Babylon," p. 32; Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 172; Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii. p. 379. See also Oppert's map, entitled "Babylon Antiqua," in his "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," Paris, Gide, 1858.

[68] Berosus, "Fr." 14; Strab. xvi. 1, § 7; Justin, xii. 13; Steph. Byz. ad voc.

[69] Rich, "First Memoir," p. 34, note.

[70] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 569. Mr. Loftus suggests that the remains here are of a later date. ("Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 85.) Sir H. Rawlinson regards the existing buildings at Akkerkuf and Hammam as also of the Parthian age, though occupying the sites of earlier Chaldæan cities.

[71] Hammam is thought to be the Gulaba of the cuneiform inscriptions (Loftus, p. 113); but this identification is uncertain.

[72] See Fraser's "Mesopotamia and Assyria," pp. 150-155; Ainsworth's "Researches in Mesopotamia," p. 127 and p. 177; Ross and Lynch, in "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. pp. 443, et seq.; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," passim; and "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. xxvi. pp. 133–144.

[73] This district has been visited by Mr. Taylor, but its marshy character makes it very difficult to explore at all completely.

[74] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 251.

[75] Ibid. p. 435.

[76] See text, p. 3.

[77] See the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 404.
[78] See the elder Niebuhr's "Description de l' Arabie," pp. 7, 8.
[79] See text, p. 7.
[80] Dan. viii. 2.
[81] Æschylus, "Persæ," 123; Herodotus, v. 52.
[82] Strabo, xv. 3, § 12.

CHAPTER II.

[1] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 9.
[2] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 106.
[3] Loftus, p. 280. This traveller found the temperature at Mohammrah, in June, 1850, to rise often to 124° of Fahrenheit in the shade.
[4] Ibid. p. 285.
[5] Loftus, p. 9, note.
[6] Ibid. p. 241; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 546.
[7] Loftus, pp. 81, 82.
[8] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," l. s. c.; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 73; Fraser, "Travels," vol. ii. pp. 37 and 47.
[9] Mr. Loftus tells us that he has seen this effect of the cold.
[10] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 331, note [8]; Rich, "First Memoir," p. 13; Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. pp. 38, 39, and 61, 62.
[11] Humboldt, "Aspects of Nature," vol. i. p. 18. See, for the fact, Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 549; Loftus, p. 113.
[12] Herodotus, i. 193.
[13] Theophrast. "Hist. Plant." viii. 7.
[14] Strabo, xvi. 1, § 14. Compare Xen. "Anab." ii. 3, §§ 14–16.
[15] Pliny, "Hist. Nat." xviii. 17.
[16] Herodotus, iii. 92. If we set aside the Indian gold tribute, this was one-ninth of the whole tribute of the empire.
[17] Herodotus, i. 192. This proportion appears excessive. Perhaps Babylonia really supplied one-third of the *grain* which the court consumed.
[18] Ibid. l. s. c.
[19] Xen. "Anab." ii. 4, § 22.
[20] Ibid. § 13. Compare Ainsworth, "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," pp. 105–114. He regards the district intended as that between the Shat-Eidha and the bend of the Tigris, in lat. 34°. I should place it lower down, below Baghdad, near the ruins of Ctesiphon.
[21] Rich, "First Memoir," p. 12.
[22] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 14.
[23] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. ii. p. 602.
[24] Loftus, l. s. c.
[25] Berosus, Fr. 1.
[26] See text, p. 21.
[27] That of Theophrastus, the professed naturalist. See text, p. 21, and note [13] of this chapter.
[28] "Geograph. Journ." vol. ix. p. 27. Compare Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 134.
[29] Humboldt, "Aspects of Nature," vol. ii. p. 20, E. T.
[30] Xen. "Anab." ii. 3, § 15; Philostrat. "Vit. Apollon. Tyan." i. 21.
[31] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 25.
[32] Strabo, xvi. 1, § 14.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Xen. "Anab." l. s. c. "The peasantry in Babylonia now principally subsist on dates pressed into cakes." Rich, "First Memoir," p. 59, note.
[35] Ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαλγὲς δέ. Xen. "Anab." l. s. c.
[36] Hamilton's "Wanderings in North Africa," ch. xiv. pp. 189, 190.
[37] Xen. "Anab." ii. 3, § 16.
[38] Theophrast. "Hist. Plant." ii. 7; p. 66.
[39] Ibid. v. 4 and 6.
[40] Theophrast. "Hist. Plant." ii. 7, p. 64; Plin. "H. N." xiii. 4.
[41] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 127 and p. 277; Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 105.
[42] Herod. i. 193.
[43] Amm. Marc. xxiv. 3; Zosim. iii. pp. 173–9.
[44] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xxvii. p. 186.
[45] Theophrast. "Hist. Plant." ii. 2; p. 53.
[46] Ibid. ii. 7; p. 64.
[47] Ibid. p. 67.
[48] Berosus, Fr. 1, § 2; Herod. i. 193.
[49] Rich, "First Memoir," p. 26; Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 158; Ainsworth, "Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa," p. 125.
[50] Ainsworth, "Researches," p. 129; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 553. Mr. Loftus says "12 or 14 feet." ("Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 105.)
[51] Layard, pp. 522–524.
[52] Ibid. p. 928.
[53] Xenophon states that millstones were supplied to Babylon from a place which he calls Pylæ (Felujiah ?) on the middle Euphrates. ("Anab." i. 5, § 5.)
[54] Rich, "First Memoir," p. 65.
[55] Thothmes III. brought bitumen from Hit to Egypt about B.C. 1400. (See Sir G. Wilkinson's "Historical Notice of Egypt" in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 360.) Herodotus mentions Hit as the great place for bitumen, about B.C. 450 (Herod. i. 179). Isidore of Charax takes notice of its bitumen-springs, about B.C. 150 ("Mans. Parth." p. 5). Shortly afterwards its name was made to include a notice of the bitumen; and thus it is called Ihi-da-kira in the Talmud, Idi-cara in Ptolemy, and Dacira by the historians of Julian—*kier* or *ghier* (قير) being the Arabic term for bitumen.
[56] Rich, "First Memoir," pp. 63–4.
[57] Mr. Layard gives an amusing account of a tame lion which was given him by Osman Pasha, commandant of Hillah ("Nin. and Bab." p. 487). Sir H. Rawlinson

had a tame lion for some years at Baghdad, which was much attached to him, and finally died at his feet, not suffering the attendants to remove him.

[58] The inhabitants call the maneless lions "true believers," those with manes *ghaours* or "infidels." The former, they say, will spare a Mussulman if he prays, the latter never. (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 487, note.) A similar distinction, I learn from Sir Gardner Wilkinson, is made at Cairo between the green and the black crocodile.

[59] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 259.

[60] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 566.

[61] Ibid. p. 567.

[62] Ainsworth, "Researches," pp. 135, 136; Fraser, "Mesopotamia and Assyria," p. 373.

[63] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 108.

[64] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 566.

CHAPTER III.

[1] Gen. xi. 1–9.

[2] Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 130; Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 232; Vaux, "Nineveh and Persepolis," p. 6; Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. ii. p. 18; Lenormant, "Histoire ancienne de l'Orient," vol. ii. p. 5; etc.

[3] Niebuhr, "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 12, E. T.

[4] Ibid. p. 11: "We shall begin with the Assyrians; but with *those of Babylon;* not, like Justin, with those of Nineveh."

[5] Heeren, "As. Nat." vol. ii. p. 145; Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv. p. 568; Kitto, "Biblical Cyclopædia," vol. i. p. 275.

[6] "Philosophy of Universal History," vol. i. p. 193.

[7] "Languages of the Seat of War," pp. 24, 25 (first edition).

[8] Gen. x. 8–10.

[9] "As. Nat." l. s. c.

[10] The portions of the Old Testament written in the so-called Chaldee are Ezra, iv. 8 to vi. 18, and vii. 12-26; Daniel, ii. 4 to vii. 28; and Jeremiah, x. 10. There is also a Chaldee gloss in Genesis, xxxi. 47.

[11] Bunsen, "Philosophy of Universal History," pp. 193 and 201; Müller, "Languages," etc., l. s. c.

[12] See ch. iv. pp. 41–47.

[13] Herod. i. 177.

[14] Ibid. ch. 106.

[15] Ibid. ch. 7.

[16] Ibid. vi. 53.

[17] Ibid. i. 56.

[18] Ibid. iii. 16.

[19] Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 4 and 5; pp. 17–21; ed. Mai.

[20] Diod. Sic. ii. 1, § 7.

[21] Plin. "H N." vi. 26.

[22] Herod. vii 63.

[23] Hom. "Od." i. 23, 24—

Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
Οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.

[24] Strab. i. 2, § 25.

[25] Ibid. § 26.

[26] Ibid. §§ 26–31.

[27] Hesiod. "Theogon." 984: "Μέμνονα χαλκοκορυστὴν Αἰθιόπων βασιλῆα."

[28] Pind. "Nem." iii. 62, 63.

[29] Ap. Strab. xv. 3, § 2.

[30] Herod. v. 54. Compare Strab. l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. ii. 22, § 3.

[31] Diod. Sic. l. s. c.; Pausan. x. 31, § 2; Cephalion ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 15, § 5.

[32] Diod. Sic. ii. 22. § 4.

[33] Euseb. "Chron. Can." ii. p. 278; Syncellus, "Chronograph." p. 151, C. Compare Strab. xvii. 1, § 42; and Plin. "H. N." v. 9.

[34] Demetrius ap. Athen. "Deipnosoph." xv. p. 680, A.

[35] Herod. v. 53; Strab. xv. 3, § 2, xvii. 1, § 42; Diod. Sic. l. s. c.; Plin. "H. N." l. s. c.

[36] Alex. Polyhist. Fr. 111; Plin. "H. N." vi. 30.

[37] Pherecyd. Fr. 40.

[38] Apollodor. "Bibliothec." ii. § 4.

[39] See the Fragments of Polyhistor in Müller's "Fr. Hist. Græc." vol. iii. p. 212; Fr. 3.

[40] Charax ap. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Αἴγυπτος.*

[41] Johann. Antiochen. Fr. 6, § 15.

[42] Herod. iii. 94; vii. 70.

[43] Euseb. "Chron. Can." ii. p. 278.

[44] Hesiod, l. s. c.; Apollod. iii. 12, § 4.

[45] Mos. Choren. "Geograph." pp. 363-5.

[46] Mos. Choren. "Hist. Armen." i. 6; pp. 19, 20.

[47] Ibid. i. 4; p. 12.

[48] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 233.

[49] Ibid. p. 230.

[50] "And Cush *begat* Nimrod," Gen. x. 8. Baron Bunsen says in one work, "Nimrod is called a Cushite, which means a man of the land of Cush" ("Philos. of Univ. Hist." vol. i. p. 191), and proceeds to argue that he was only a Cushite "geographically," because he, or the people represented by him, sojourned for some time in Ethiopia. In another ("Egypt's Place," etc. vol. iv. p. 412), he admits that this view contradicts Gen. x. 8, and allows that "the compiler of our present Book of Genesis" must have meant to derive Nimrod by descent from Ham; but this "compiler" was, he thinks, deceived by the resemblance of כוּשׁ to כוּשׁ Nimrod was not an Ethiopian, but a Cossian or Cossæan; *i.e.* (he says) a Turanian who conquered Babylon from the mountain country east of Mesopotamia. Of course, if we are at liberty to regard the "compiler" of Genesis as "mistaken" when-

ever his statements conflict with our theories, while at the same time we ignore linguistic facts, we may speculate upon ancient history and ethnography much at our pleasure.

[51] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus." vol. i. p. 442.

[52] "The Bible mentions but one Kush, Æthiopia; an Asiatic Kush exists only in the imagination of the interpreters, and is the child of their despair." Bunsen, "Philosophy of Univ. Hist." vol. i. p. 191. See on the other hand Sir H. Rawlinson's article in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. art. ii.; and compare especially Ezek. xxxviii. 5.

[53] Herod. vii. 70.

[54] See Prichard's "Physical Hist. of Mankind," vol. ii. p. 44.

[55] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 202.

[56] See the Cylinders, *passim*; and compare Herod. i. 195.

[57] Skeletons have been found in abundance, but they have undergone no scientific examination.

[58] Ps. lxxviii. 51; cv. 23. 27; cvi. 22. Egypt is called *Chemi* in the native inscriptions.

[59] See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 442, note (1st edition).

[60] See an Essay by the same writer in the fourth volume of the same work, pp. 250–254 (1st edition).

[61] Chedor-lao-mer, by his leadership of the Elamites or Susianians, should be a Cushite; Tidal, king of nations, *i.e.* of the wandering tribes, should be a Scyth, or Turanian; Arioch recalls the term "Arian," while Amraphel is a name cast in a Semitic mould. See a note by Sir H. Rawlinson in the first volume of the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. Essay vi. § 21, note [7] (second edition).

[62] Berosus, Fr. i. §§ 5, 6, 11, etc.

[63] Gesenius, "Comment. in Esaiam," xxiii. 13, and "Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache," pp. 63, 64; Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 147; Niebuhr, "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 20, note; Winer, "Realwörterbuch," vol. i. p. 218; Kitto, "Biblical Cyclopædia," vol. i. p. 408, etc. Mr. Vaux ("Dict. of Antiquities." vol. i. p. 601) with good reason questions the common opinion.

[64] As that Nebuchadnezzar *might* be the Sclavonic sentence *Nebye kad zenur tzar* or "De cœlo missus dominus,"—that Merodach might be the Persian *mardak*, "homunculus," etc. (See Prichard's "Phys. Hist. of Mankind," vol. iv. pp. 563, 564.) A more refined argument was that of Gesenius, "that the construction of the names was according, not to Semitic, but to Medo-Persian principles;" but, being based upon conjectures as to the possible etymology of the words, it was really worthless.

[65] Isaiah xxiii. 13.

[66] Habakkuk i. 6–10.

[67] Job i. 17.

[68] Gen. xi. 28 and 31.

[69] Isaiah xlvii. 1 and 5.

[70] Isaiah xiii. 19.

[71] Ibid. xiv. 6.

[72] Ibid. xlvii. 5.

[73] Ibid. xiii. 19.

[74] Berosus, Fr. 11 and 12.

[75] See Niebuhr, "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 20, note; and Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv. pp. 563, 564.

[76] Arist. "Eth. Nic." i. 7, ad fin.

CHAPTER IV.

[1] There is, I believe, a near parallel to this peculiarity in the Ostiak. [It has been compared with our own use of such an expression as "to us-ward:" but here "to" and "ward" are really separate prepositions, both having the same meaning, and the phrase is merely pleonastic. There is no reason to believe that *ki* and *ta* have separately the meaning of "with."]

[2] The bricks in question were found at Warka, the ancient *Huruk* or Erech. (See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 169.)

[3] See Oppert's "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," tom. ii. p. 62.

[4] It has been conjectured that the ideograph for "king," which stands as the first character in the first and second compartments of the second column in the inscription given above (Pl. VI., Fig. 3), is derived from a rude drawing of a bee, the Egyptian emblem of Sovereignty. (See Ménant, "Briques de Babylone," p. 20.)

[5] Oppert, tom. ii. p. 66.

[6] See the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 58, where, in speaking of the devices on the tombs of the Lurs, Sir H. Rawlinson notes "the double-toothed comb" as the distinctive mark of the female sex.

[7] Tools with a triangular point, made in ivory, apparently for employment in cuneiform writing, have been found at Babylon. (See Oppert, tom. ii. p. 63.)

[8] See text, page 43, where the translation of an inscription is given. Other translations of the brick legends belonging to the same king are the following:—

1. On a brick from *Mugheir* (Ur):—"Urukh, king of Ur, is he who has built the temple of the Moon-God."

2. On a brick from the same:—"The Moon-God, his lord, has caused Urukh, king of Ur, to build a temple to him, and has caused him to build the enceinte of Ur."

3. On a brick from the same:—"The Moon-God, brother's son (?) of Anu, and eldest son of Belus, his lord, has caused Urukh, the pious chief, king of Ur, to build the temple of *Tsingathu* (*?*), his holy place."

4. On a brick from *Senkareh*:—"The Sun-God, his lord, has caused Urukh, the pious chief, king of Ur, king of the land (?) of the Akkad, to build a temple to him."

5. On a brick from *Niffer*:—"Urukh, king of Ur, and king of the land (?) of the

Akkad, who has built the temple of Belus."

[9] See Pl. VI., Fig. 3, and Pl. VII., Fig. 1.

[10] The size varies from an inch to four or five inches in length, the width being always less. The envelope is of very thin clay, and does not much add to the bulk.

[11] We have only a representation of this inscription, the cylinder itself being lost. The representation will be found in Sir R. Ker Porter's "Travels," vol. ii. plate 79, No. 6.

[12] I am indebted for the translation of this legend to Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum.

[13] "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xv. pp. 272, 273.

CHAPTER V.

[1] Berosus, Fr. 1, § 3.

[2] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 554, 555; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 91; "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. xxvi. p. 137.

[3] "We were conducted to the *muthif* or reception-hut of the chief, which resembled the other habitations of the place, but was of gigantic size, forty feet long and eighteen feet high. It boasted the almost fabulous age for a reed building (if the Arabs might be credited) of no less than half a century, and appeared likely to last as long again." (Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 92.)

[4] Stieglitz, quoted in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," ad voc. ARCHITECTURE.

[5] See text, p. 25.

[6] Gen. xi. 3.

[7] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 263 and 405.

[8] This ruin is carefully described by Mr. Loftus in his "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 167–170.

[9] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 261.

[10] Wyttenbach, "Guide to the Roman Antiquities of Treves," p. 42.

[11] Rich, "First Memoir," p. 61.

[12] Loftus, p. 130.

[13] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 263, 264.

[14] Ibid. p. 266.

[15] Loftus, p. 133; "Journal of Asiatic Society," l. s. c. The "moulded semicircular bricks" found at Warka (Loftus, p. 175) are probably of the Babylonian, not the Chaldæan, period.

[16] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 263.

[17] Herod. i. 179.

[18] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 169.

[19] Ibid. p. 168.

[20] See this traveller's account of his labors ("Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 167–170).

[21] The whole building is said to be 100 feet above the surface of the plain; but we are not told what is the height from the plain of the mound or platform upon which the temple stands; nor what height the fragment or the second story attains. All that can be gathered from Mr. Loftus is that the first story was *at least* 46 feet high.

[22] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 128. According to Mr. Loftus, this emplacement "is observable in all edifices (temples?) of true Chaldæan origin."

[23] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 129.

[24] The proportions of the lower stage are almost exactly as three to two. Those of the upper are as three and one-fifteenths to two.

[25] On this side the material used is bitumen. (See Mr. Taylor's article in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 261.)

[26] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 264.

[27] Herod. i. 181.

[28] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 264, note.

[29] See Mr. Taylor's description in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 405–408.

[30] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 406, note.

[31] See ch. viii. p. 109.

[32] See ch. i. p. 16.

[33] Mr. Loftus says—"I know of nothing more exciting or impressive than the first sight of one of these great Chaldæan piles, looming in solitary grandeur from the surrounding plains and marshes." ("Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 113.)

[34] See Herod. i. 181, where the stages (πύργοι) are carefully distinguished from the temple (νηός) at the summit.

[35] See p. 54.

[36] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 407.

[37] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 133.

[38] "Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. pp. 265, 266.

[39] Ibid. pp. 408, 410.

[40] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 188, 189. The building discovered by Mr. Loftus (from which the representation Pl. X., Fig. 1, is taken) was at Warka, and therefore might perhaps not be *Chaldæan*. The vast number of similar cones, however, which occur at Abu-Shahrein ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 411) and other purely Chaldæan ruins, sufficiently indicate the style of ornamentation to belong to the first empire.

[41] Mr. Taylor found remnants of these at Mugheir. ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 266.)

[42] Mr. Loftus believes that Chaldæan buildings were usually roofed in this way. ("Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 182, 183.) Mr. Taylor also believes that some of the chambers which he excavated must have been domed. ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 411.)

[43] Loftus, p. 182.

[44] Ibid. p. 199.

[45] Loftus, pp. 54 and 65.
[46] Ibid. p. 199.
[47] Position of the relics *in situ*, character of the tomb or coffin, and apparent antiquity, or the reverse, of the enclosed vessels and ornaments, will commonly determine the age without much uncertainty.
[48] Loftus, p. 134.
[49] See the author's "Herodotus," vol. iii. p. 61.
[50] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 271-274.
[51] Ibid. p. 269.
[52] Ibid. pp. 413, 414.
[53] Ibid. pp. 268, 269.
[54] Ibid. p. 272; Loftus, p. 210. Mr. Taylor, however, qualifies this latter statement. "Directly on opening these covers," he says, "were I to attempt to touch the skulls or bones, they would fall into dust almost immediately; but I found, on exposing them for a few days to the air, that *they became quite hard*, and could be handled with impunity." It is to be regretted that Mr. Taylor did not send any of the skulls, when thus hardened, to England, as their examination would have been important towards determining the ethnic character of the race.
[55] The vases represented in the first of the cuts (Pl. XIII., Fig. 1), are in a coarse clay, mixed with chopped straw, which sometimes appears upon the surface.
[56] See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 258.
[57] Ibid. p. 257.
[58] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 608, 609; Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 336; Birch's "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 114.
[59] Sometimes the sides are slightly concave, as in the representation.
[60] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 271.
[61] Mr. Layard found remains of the bronze in one specimen. ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 609.) The representation gives the probable form of the bronze setting.
[62] "Travels in Georgia, Persia," etc., vol. ii. pl. 79, fig. 6.
[63] See Pl. VI., Fig. 3; Pl. VII., Figs. 1. and 3.
[64] Bangles and rings. (See the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 415.)
[65] This view was taken by Mr. Vaux in a paper read by him before the Society of Antiquaries, January, 1860, which he has kindly put into my hands. It may be questioned, perhaps, whether these clay models are not rather the representatives of real weapons and implements, buried in their stead by relatives too poor to part with the originals.
[66] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 411.
[67] As fillets for the head. (Ibid. p. 273.)
[68] These earrings are given as Chaldæan, because they were found at Niffer among remains thought to be purely Chaldæan. At the same time it must be allowed that they very much resemble the Greek "Cupid earrings," of which there are so many in the British Museum.
[69] See Pls. XV., XVI.
[70] See the small woodcut on p. 56.
[71] See Pl. IX., Fig. 3, where a representation of this mode of ornamenting walls is given; and for the use of bronze rings, see "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 411.
[72] Josh. vii. 21.
[73] See Pl. XIV., Fig. 2.
[74] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 271.
[75] Ibid. l. s. c.
[76] Arrian. "Exp. Alex." vi. 29; Athenæus, "Deipnosoph." v. p. 197.
[77] Dan. i. 4.
[78] This passage has often been referred to, but rarely quoted. Simplicius argues that the earlier Greek writers on astronomy have less value than the later ones:—*διὰ τὸ μήπω τὰς ὑπὸ Καλλισθένους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος πεμφθείσας παρατηρήσεις ἀφικέσθαι εἰσ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦτο ἐπισκήψαντος αὐτῷ· ἄστινας διηγεῖται ὁ Πορφύριος χιλίων ἐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐννεακοσίων τριῶν, μέχρι τὸν χρόνον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακέδονος σωζομένας.*
[79] Plin. "H. N." vii. 56. "Epigenes apud Babylonios DCCXX annorum observationes siderum *coctilibus laterculis* inscriptas docet."
[80] See text, p. 52.
[81] This is distinctly asserted of the great temple of Belus by Diodorus (ii. 9, § 4). The careful emplacement of the *earliest* temples makes it probable that they were applied to similar uses.
[82] Herod. ii. 109.
[83] Ibid.
[84] See the passage prefixed as a motto to this chapter (text, p. 48).
[85] Isaiah xliii. 14.
[86] Sir H. Rawlinson in the "Journal of the Asiatic Soc." vol. xxvii. p. 185.
[87] See Heeren's "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 220, E. T.
[88] See text, p. 56.
[89] See "Journal of the Asiatic Soc." vol. xv. p. 218; and compare Loftus's "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 256.
[90] Ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 1, p. 5, ed. Mai.
[91] This is the *ner* of Berosus, which was a period of 600 years. Compare with this notation that of the Mexicans (Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Mexico," vol. i. p. 91), where, besides the unit, the only numbers which had distinct signs were 20, 400, and 8000.

CHAPTER VI.

[1] See text, pp. 57–60.
[2] Mr. Loftus makes this comparison ("Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 257). For representations of the costume see Loftus,

pp. 257, 258, 260; and Rich ("Second Memoir," pl. iii. fig. 13).

[3] See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 258.

[4] "Asiatic Journal," vol. xv. p. 271.

[5] Loftus, p. 258. Compare the central standing figure in the cylinder of which a representation is given. (See Pl. XIV., Fig. 2.)

[6] See the same cylinder, where two of the three standing figures wear the mitre in question.

[7] Taylor in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 272.

[8] At least this is the position which the signet cylinder always occupies in the tombs. ("Asiatic Journal," vol. xv. p. 271.)

[9] Ibid. p. 415.

[10] See the sitting figure in the cylinder (Pl. XIV., Fig. 2); and compare "As. Journ." vol. xv. p. 273.

[11] See text, pp. 22–24.

[12] Herod. iv. 71 (Author's Translation, vol. iii. pp. 61–63).

[13] Ibid. i. 200.

[14] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," ch. xxiv. p. 567.

[15] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 272, note [1].

[16] See the "Fragmenta Hist. Græc." vol. ii. p. 496; Fr. 1, § 2.

[17] Gen. x. 9.

[18] See text, ch. ii. p. 26.

[19] See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 258.

[20] Ibid. ch. xx. p. 259.

[21] For representations of spearheads, see Pls. XV. and XVI.

[22] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 272, note [2].

[23] See Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 21; vol. iii. p. 55; and compare Sophocl. "Antiq." 347, where the invention of nets is united with that of ships, agriculture, and language.

[24] See text, p. 56.

[25] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 264.

[26] "Fragm. Hist. Græc." l. s. c. The "Red Sea" of Berosus, like that of Herodotus, is not our Red Sea, but the sea which washes the south of Asia including both the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. (See Herod i. l.; Author's Translation, vol. i. p. 153, note [2].)

CHAPTER VII.

[1] It appears from Eusebius ("Chron. Can." pars i. c. ii.) and Syncellus ("Chronograph." vol. i. pp. 50-53) that Berosus at any rate gave this turn to the Babylonian mythology. What is commonly reported of Pythagoras, Democritus, and others, who are said to have drawn their philosophies from Chaldæan sources, would seem to show that there was really such an esoteric doctrine as is suggested in the text. We cannot tell, however, which more nearly represented it—the monotheism of the Samian, or the atheism of the Abderite philosopher.

[2] See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 585; from which most of the views contained in this chapter are taken.

[3] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the above-quoted Essay, p. 586.

[4] It is now generally allowed that a Scythic or Turanian race was the first to people Europe. Of this race we have still remnants in the Basques, Fins, Laps, and Esths or Esthocians upon the Baltic. The Etruscans in Italy are perhaps of the same stock. In Greece they probably blended with the Pelasgi (Arians), as they did also with the Celts in several countries. The "lake-dwellings" of Europe may be with great probability assigned to them; and the flint-weapons in the drift are perhaps traces of their burial-grounds.

[5] This name is very doubtful. Mr. Fox Talbot renders it by *Yem;* M. Oppert by *Ao* or *Hu;* Dr. Hincks by *Iv* or *Iva;* M. Lenormant by *Bin.*

[6] These schemes themselves were probably not genealogical at first. In their genealogical shape they were an arrangement given after awhile to separate and independent deities recognized in different places by distinct communities, or even by distinct races. (See Bunsen's "Egypt," vol. iv. p. 66, B. Engl. Transl.)

[7] See Diod. Sic. ii. 30, § 3, where, however, there is a corrupt reading, the word Ἥλου being most absurdly replaced by Ἡλίου.

[8] See his fragments in Müller's "Fragm. Hist. Græc." vol. iii. pp. 567 and 571; Fr. 2, § 14, and Fr. 5.

[9] Loc. sup. cit. Ἰδιᾳ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κρόνον ὀνομαζόμενον καλοῦσιν Ἥλου.

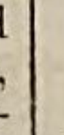
[10] Κρόνος τοίνυν, ὃν οἱ Φοίνικες Ἦλον προσαγορεύουσι, βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας, καὶ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστερα καθιερωθείς, κ.τ.λ. This, however, professes to be Phœnician and not Babylonian mythology.

[11] Fr. 1, § 3, and Fr. 6. Annedôtus (Ἀννήδωτος) is (perhaps) "given by Ana," or "given by God." Oannes is probably *Hoa-ana;* or "the god Hoa."

[12] Fr. 5. Anobret (Ἀνωβρετ) signifies "beloved by Ana."

[13] Damasc. "De Princip." 125.

[14] Hesiod. "Theogon." 455–457; Apollod. "Bibliothec." i. 1, §§ 5, 6.

[15] A single wedge  which according to Chaldæan numeration represents the number 60 (see text, p. 66), is emblematic of the god Ana on the notation tablets; and, as would be expected from this fact, *Ana* is one of the phonetic powers of

Another of its powers is *Dis;* and hence the conclusion is drawn that Dis was probably another name of Ana. (See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 592.)

[16] Cf. Steph. Byz. ad voc. Τελάνη. Τελάνη, *πόλις ἀρχαιοτάτη Συρίας* (i. e. *Ἀσσυρίας*) *ἣν ᾤκει Νῖνος πρὸ τῆς Νίνου κτίσεως.*

[17] See note [8], ch. iv.

[18] Gen. x. 10. The identification of Niffer with Calneh rests on the authority of the Talmud (see text, pp. 11, 12).

[19] See text, pp. 85–86.

[20] "Fragm. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 566.

[21] Bunsen's "Egypt," vol. i. p. 378, E. T.; Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 295.

[22] "De Princip." 125.

[23] *Bil* or *Bilu* is "lord" in the Assyrian and the Semitic Babylonian: *Enu* is the corresponding Cushite or Hamitic term.

[24] The Jupiter Belus worshipped in the great temple at Babylon seems certainly to have been Merodach, who likewise represents the planet Jupiter. (See text, p. 87.)

[25] As by Abydenus (cf. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 12, p. 36, and Mos. Choren. i. 4, p. 13), by Stephen (ad voc. *Βαβυλών*), and, perhaps we may say, by Herodotus (i. 7). Compare also Thallus (Fr. 2) and Mos. Choren. (i. 6, and 9), who absolutely identifies Belus with Nimrod.

[26] Abyden. Fr. 8.

[27] Gen. x. 10.

[28] These walls were known respectively as the *Ingur-Bilu-Nipru*, and the *Nimiti-Bilu-Nipru*. (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 596, and vol. ii. p. 586.)

[29] Gen. x. 10.

[30] See text, pp. 100, 101.

[31] Hence the Mylitta (*Μύλιττα*) of Herodotus (i. 131, 199), and perhaps the Molis (*Μόλις*) of Nic. Damascenus ("Fragm. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 361, note 16). It has been usual to derive these words from the Hebrew ילד, "generare;" but no similar root is found in either Assyrian or Babylonian. *Mul* in Hamitic Babylonian is the exact equivalent of *Bil* in Semitic Assyrian. Both signify "lord," while *Bilta* and *Mulita* signify "lady."

[32] *Mabog* is "the mother of the gods," from *ma* or *nata*, "mother," and *baga*, "god" (Sclavonic *bog*).

[33] Etymologists have been puzzled by the name Rhea (*Ῥέα*)—one of the numerous appellatives of the "Great Goddess"—who is known also as Ceres, Cybele or Cybebe, Mater Dindymene, Magna Mater, Bona Dea, Dea Phrygia, Ops, Terra, and Tellus. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the numerical symbol of this goddess, which was 15, pronounced as *Ri* by the Chaldæans.

[34] The inscription on the open-mouthed lion, now in the British Museum. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 625, note [6]).

[35] "De Princip." l. s. c.

[36] Ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." CCLXXXIX. p. 1594.

[37] Beros. Fr. 1, § 3. Oannes has been otherwise explained. It has been thought to signify "given by Ana."

[38] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 600.

[39] Cf. Hellad. l. s. c., and Beros. Fr. 1, § 3. The latter writer gave the following account of Oannes—*Παραδιδόναι, φησὶ, τοῖς ἀνθρῶποις γραμμάτων καὶ μαθημάτων καὶ τεχνῶν παντοδαπῶν ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ πόλεων συνοικισμοὺς, καὶ ἱερῶν ἱδρύσεις, καὶ νόμων εἰσηγήσεις, καὶ γεωμετρίαν διδάσκειν, καὶ σπέρματα καὶ καρπῶν συναγωγὰς ὑποδεικνύναι, καὶ συνόλως πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἡμέρωσιν ἀνήκοντα βίου παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἄλλο περισσὸν εὑρεθῆναι.*

[40] Berosus and Helladius both agree in regarding Hoa (*Ὣη* or *Ὡάννης*) as the Fish-God; but from the inscriptions it appears that the Fish-God was really Nin or Ninip. (See text, p. 86.)

[41] So Berosus, l. s. c.

[42] Gen. iii. 1.

[43] Job ix. 9; xxxviii. 31; Amos v. 8. There seem to be no grounds for our translating *Kimah* as "the Pleiades." It is not even a plural.

[44] It is not perhaps altogether clear *why* the serpent has been so frequently regarded as an emblem of life. Some say, because serpents are long-lived; others, because the animal readily formed a circle, and a circle was the symbol of eternity. But, whatever the reason, the fact cannot be doubted.

[45] See the passage cited at full length in note [39]. According to Assyrian notions, Hoa did not confine his presents to men. One of the kings of Assyria says:—"The senses of seeing, hearing, and understanding, which Hoa allotted to the whole 4000 gods of heaven and earth, they in the fulness of their hearts granted to me."

[46] Mans. Parth. p. 5.

[47] "De Princip." l. s. c. *Τοῦ δὲ Ἀου καὶ Δαύκης υἱον γενέσθαι τὸν Βῆλον.*

[48] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 601, note [8]. Movers and Bunsen derive *Δαύκη* from the Heb. דוך, "tundere," and interpret it "strife," comparing the Syriac *daukat*. (See Bunsen's "Egypt," vol. iv. pp. 155, 156.)

[49] Beros. Fr. 1, § 6.

[50] *Sin* is used for the moon in Mendæan and Syriac at the present day. It is the name given to the Moon-God in St. James of Seruj's list of the idols of Harran; and

it was the term used for Monday by the Sabæans as late as the ninth century.

[51] As in Daniel iv. 13, 17, and in the Syriac liturgy.

[52] The term *zuna* may perhaps be connected with the Heb. זן "form." *Zanan* is common in Assyrian for "building."

[53] Sin is expressly called "the god of the month Sivan of happy name;" and it may be suspected that his name is a mere contraction of Sivan. The sign used for the month Sivan is also the sign which represents "bricks."

[54] These forms are taken chiefly from the engravings of cylinders published by the late Mr. Cullimore.

[55] It is not uncommon for the second syllable in an Assyrian or Babylonian god's name to be dropped as unimportant. We have both *Asshur* and *As*, both *Sansi* and *San*, both *Ninip* and *Nin*, etc. Thus we might expect to find both *Hur* and *Hurki*. It is not perhaps a proof of the connection—but still it is an argument in favor of it—to find that when Ur changed its name to Camarina (Eupolem. ap. Alex. Polyhist. Fr. 3), the new appellation was a derivative from another word (*Kamar*, Arab.) signifying "the moon." (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 616.)

[56] Nabonidus calls him "the chief of the gods of heaven and earth, the king of the gods, god of gods, he who dwells in the great heavens," etc.

[57] In Hebrew *shani*, שני, is usually translated "scarlet," but some learned Jews suggest that the true meaning is bright. (See Newman's "Hebrew Lexicon" ad voc, and compare Gesenius.)

[58] From שמש "ministrare." (See Buxtorf ad voc.)

[59] Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27; 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, etc. The Hebrew form is בית־שאן, *Beth-shean*, or בית־שן, *Beth-shan*. The LXX give Βαιθσάν, Βαιθσαάν, Βαιθσείμ, and Βηθσάν. Josephus has Βήθσανα, and Βεθσάνη. The Talmud contrasts the word to *Bisan*, גיסן and the existing name is *Beisán*. As Scythopolis, this city was well known to the Greeks and Romans.

[60] See the small treatise of Eugesippus. "De Locis," etc., in the folio edition of the Byzantine Historians (vol. xxiii. sub fin.). "Scythopolis civitas, Galilææ metropolis, quæ et Bethsan, id est, domus solis."

[61] It would seem from this name that *Parra* was also a title under which the Sun was known in Chaldæa in the early times. May not this title be connected with the Egyptian *Ph-ra* or *Pi-ra*, "the sun," whence probably the Hebrew Pharaoh?

[62] Abyden. Fr. 1; Syncell. vol. i. p. 70.

[63] Winer, "Realwörterbuch," ad. voc. "Adrammelech." Sir H. Rawlinson allows this derivation to be not improbable (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 611), suggesting, however, another, from *edim*, "the arranger," and *melek* (ibid.).

[64] 2 Kings xvii. 31.

[65] *Gula* is rendered by *rabu* in the vocabularies, which is the Hebrew *rab*, רב, "a great one"—and thence "a doctor." It is probably connected with the Abyssinian *guda*, "great;" but not with גדל or at any rate only indirectly. *Ai* may perhaps be the same word as the Agau (Abyssinian) *awi*, "light."

[66] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 612.

[67] In Assyria such a threefold worship of the male Sun is found; but even there we have no triple nomenclature.

[68] The only place where these two deities are clearly distinguished from Gula is in the list of the idols contained in the great temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon. But for this notice, the names would certainly have been regarded as nothing more than titles of Gula.

[69] No satisfactory explanation has been given of the word Anammelech. If it represents the female power of the sun, we must suppose that *Ana* is an abbreviated form of Anunit, and that *melek*, מלך, is for *malcah*, מלכה the Jews from contempt not caring to be correct in the names of false gods.

[70] See note [5] of this chapter.

[71] Bolts of the kind represented were also used as trophies of victory. Tiglath-Pileser I. made one of copper, and inscribed upon it a record of his conquests. (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 609.)

[72] See text, p. 108.

[73] See the "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 62.

[74] Hesychius uses the form Σαλαμβὼ, and calls the goddess "the Babylonian Venus." In the Etymologicum Magnum the form used is Σαλάμβας.

[75] The second element in Salambo or Salambas is probably *amma* (Heb. אם), "a mother."

[76] See Mos. Choren. "Hist. Armen." i. 13, "Barsamum ob fortissimas res gestas in Deos ascriptum ad longum tempus Syri coluere." ii. 13, "Tigranes in Mesopotamiam descendit, et nactus ibi Barsami statuam, quam ex ebore et beryllo factam argento ornaverat, deportari eam jubet, et in Thordano oppido locari."

[77] Herodian. iii. 1, § 11.

[78] Herod. i. 7.

[79] Lydus, "De Mensibus," iv. 46; Athenag. "Leg. pro Christ." xv. 6; Damasc. "De Princip."

[80] See the Memoir of M. Raoul Rochette on the Assyrian Hercules in the 17th volume of the "Mém. de l'Institut.," where this point is abundantly proved.

[81] Fr. 1, § 3. Τὸ μὲν ὅλον σῶμα ἔχον

ἰχθύος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν παραπεφυκυῖαν ἀλλην κεφαλὴν ὑποκάτω τῆς του ἰχθύος κεφαλῆς, καὶ πόδας ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπου, παραπεφυκότας δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ ἰχθύνς.

82 The Fish-god (Ὡάννης) comes out of the Red Sea (Persian Gulf) to instruct the settlers in *Chaldæa*.

83 That the Assyrians commonly used the Hamitic Nin, or Ninip, and not the Semitic Bar, or Barshem, is proved by the traditions concerning Ninus, and by the name of their capital city.

84 Tacit. "Ann." xii. 13.

85 See text, p. 78.

86 Gesenius, "Lexicon Hebraicum," ad voc. "Merodach."

87 Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopædia," vol. ii. p. 328.

88 This is Ptolemy's name for a district of Babylonia (see his "Geography," v. 20). The Latin translator renders it by Mardocæa.

89 So the Phœnicians worshipped Bel as Βελιθὰν or בל איתז "the *old* Bel" (Damasc. ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." p. 343); and the Sabæans of Harran called their Bel, "Bel, the grave old man." (Chwolsohn, "Ssabier und Ssabismus," vol. ii. p. 39.)

90 The Babylonian kings are fond of including the word Merodach in their names. As early as B.C. 1110, we find a *Merodach-iddin-akki*, the son of an *Irba-Merodach*. Afterwards we have Merodach-Baladan, Mesessimordachus, Evil-Merodach, etc.

91 Herod. i. 181–183. Compare Diod. Sic. ii. 9.

92 Apoc. Dan. xiv. 2.

93 Diod. Sic. ii. 9, § 5: Τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἑστηκὺς ἦν καὶ διαβεβηκός.

94 Ibid. ii. 9, § 6.

95 Succoth, "tents," is probably a mistranslation of Zir, or Zirat, which was confounded with *zarat*, a word having that meaning.

96 As Tiglath-Pileser I., about B.C. 1100, and Asshur-izir-pal, about B.C. 850.

97 Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 632.

98 See 2 Kings xvii. 30.

99 The Sabæans of Harran, who used generally the Babylonian appellations of the gods, applied the name of *Ares* to the third day of the week—the "dies Martis" of the Romans. (Chwolsohn, "Ssabier und Ssabismus," vol. ii. p. 22.)

100 2 Kings xi. 5 and 33. Ashtoreth (עשתות,) "*the* goddess of the Sidonians" Ἀστάρτη of LXX.), is to be distinguished from Ashtaroth (עשתרות,) the plural form (ταῖς Ἀστάρταις of LXX.), which seems be a generic word for "false goddesses."

101 2 Mac. i. 13–15.

102 The name of *Nani* is given by the Syrian lexicographer Bar-Bahlul as one of the fifteen titles applied to the planet Venus by the Arabs. The word is also found further east, as in Affghanistan, where many places are called *Bibi Nani*, after "the lady Venus." The same origin may be assigned to the Greek "Νάννιον," the name of a courtesan. (Athen. xiii. p. 576.)

103 As Gesenius, Movers, and Fürst. Bunsen's argument against an Iranian derivation of the name of a Semitic god ("Egypt's Place," vol. iv. p. 349, E. T.) is perfectly sound; but his suggestion that the true etymology of Ashtoreth is *hastoreth*, "the seat of the cow," seems scarcely entitled to acceptance.

104 Compare the Roman notion by which the best throw on the dice was called "Venus," or "jactus Venereus." (Plaut. "Asin." v. ii. 55; Cic. "de Div." ii. 50, etc.)

105 This is her character in the records of Asshur-sani-pal, the son and successor of Esar-haddon.

106 Nebuchadnezzar speaks of having "made the way of *Nana*" in Babylon, by which he probably means a way or road to her temple. (See the Standard Inscription, as given in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 586.)

107 Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," ch. xviii. p. 214; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. ch. 7.

108 The conjunction appears to belong only to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Sir H. Rawlinson observes that, as Nebuchadnezzar never once mentions Varamit, the true wife of Nebo, in his inscriptions, it is evident she was out of favor with him, and that therefore Nana "may have been thrust temporarily into her place." (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 637.)

109 The Babylonian form is *Nabiu*, the Assyrian *Nabu*. The word forms the initial element in Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus or Labynetus, Nebuzaradan, and possibly in Laborosoarchod.

110 In the great temple of Nebo at Borsippa there is an interior chamber, which seems to have been a chapel or oratory, all the bricks of which are found to be stamped—in addition to the ordinary legend of Nebuchadnezzar—with the figure of a wedge or arrow-head. It is probably with reference to this symbol that Nebo received the name of *Tir*, which is at once "an arrow," and the name of the planet Mercury in ancient Persian.

111 When Nebo first appears in Assyria, it is as a foreign god, whose worship is brought thither from Babylonia. His worship was never common in the more northern country.

112 This is the monarch whose name is read as *Mutaggil-Nebu*, the grandfather of Tiglath-Pileser I., who is mentioned in that monarch's great inscription.

113 There is a confusion here in Polyhistor both as reported by Eusebius ("Chron. Can." i. 2, pp. 11, 12) and by Syncellus ("Chronograph." vol. i. p. 53), which can scarcely have belonged to his

authority, Berosus. Belus is first made to cut off his own head, and "the other gods" are said to have mixed his blood with earth and formed man; but afterwards the account contained in the text is given. It seems to me that the first account is an interpolation in the legend.

[114] I have placed this phrase a little out of its order. It occurs in the passage, which appears to me interpolated, and which is perhaps rather an explanation which Berosus gave of the legend than part of the legend itself. However, Berosus has no doubt here explained the legend rightly.

[115] So Niebuhr says ("Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 16, E. T.), but without mentioning to what writers he alludes.

[116] Bunsen, "Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iv. p. 365, E. T.

[117] The Chaldee narrative is extravagant and grotesque; the Mosaical is miraculous, as a true account of creation must be; but it is without unnecessary marvels, and its tone is sublime and solemn.

[118] In Genesis the point of view is the divine—"*In the beginning God created* the heaven and the earth, and the *Spirit of God* moved upon the face of the waters." In the Chaldee legend the point of view is the physical and mundane, God being only brought in after awhile as taking a certain part in creation.

[119] "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 17, E. T.

[120] This is not expressly stated in the legend; but the divine warning to Xisuthrus, and the stress laid by Xisuthrus in his last words on the worship of God, seem to imply such a belief.

[121] Gen. ix. 1.

[122] So in Syncellus ("Chronograph." p. 54); but in the Armenian Eusebius we read "*other* birds" ("Chron. Can." i. 3, p. 15).

[123] The Armenian translator turns the pilot (*κυβερνήτην*) into the "architect of the ship." M. Bunsen follows him ("Egypt," etc., vol. iv. p. 371).

[124] This is plainly stated both in the Greek and in the Armenian. M. Bunsen has, "threw himself upon the earth and prayed" (l. s. c.).

[125] I have inverted the order of this clause and the preceding one, to keep the connection more clear.

[126] Two separate versions of this legend have descended to us. They came respectively from Abydenus and Polyhistor. We have the words of the authors in Euseb. "Præp. Ev." ix. 14, 15, and Syncell. "Chronograph." vol. i. p. 81. We have also a translation of their words in the Armenian Eusebius ("Chron. Can." i. 4 and 8).

[127] Gen. vi. 13.

[128] Ib. 14–16.

[129] Ib. verse 18.

[130] Ib. verse 20.

[131] Ib. viii. 7.

[132] Ib. 9–11.

[133] Gen. viii. 12.

[134] Ib. verse 13; "Noah *removed the covering of the ark*, and looked, and, behold, the face of the earth was dry."

[135] Ib. viii. 20. "And Noah *builded an altar* unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and *offered* burnt offering upon the altar."

[136] Ib. verse 8: "And the ark rested . . . upon the mountains of Ararat." Ararat is the usual word for Armenia in the Assyrian inscriptions.

[137] Ib. xi. 2.

[138] Ib. 4–9.

[139] The ark is made more than *half a mile* long, whereas it was really only 300 cubits, which is at the utmost 600 feet, or less than an eighth of a mile.

[140] According to some writers, the principles of naval architecture were not concerned in the building of the ark, since (as they say) "it was not a ship, but a house" (Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopædia," vol. i. p. 212). But would "a floating house," not shaped shipwise, have been safe amid the winds and currents of so terrible a crisis? The Chaldæans, despite the absurd proportions that they assign it, term the ark "a ship," and give it "a pilot."

[141] The expression in Gen. xi. 4, "a tower whose top may reach unto heaven," is a mere common form of Oriental hyperbole, applied to any great height. (See Deut i. 28, where the spies are said to have brought back word that the cities of the Canaanities were great, and "walled up to heaven.") But in the Chaldee version of the story we are told that the men built the tower "in order that they might mount to heaven" (*ὅπως εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβῶσι*).

[142] Baron Bunsen observes with reason—"The general contrast between the Biblical and the Chaldee version is very great. What a purely special local character, legendary and fabulous, without ideas, does it display in every point which it does not hold in common with the Hebrew!" ("Egypt's Place," vol. iv. p. 374, E. T.)

CHAPTER VIII.

[1] Simplicius relates ("Comment. in Aristot. de Cælo," ii. p. 123) that Callisthenes, the friend of Alexander, sent to Aristotle from Babylon a series of stellar observations made in that city, which reached back 1903 years before the conquest of the place by Alexander. (B.C. 331 + 1903 = B.C. 2234.) Philo-Byblius, according to Stephen (ad voc. *Βαβυλών*), made Babylon to have been built 1002 years before Semiramis, whom he considered contemporary with, or a little anterior to, the Trojan War. ("Fragm. Hist. Græc." vol. iii. p. 563.) We do not know his date for this last event, but supposing it to be that of the Parian Chronicle, B.C. 1218, we should have B.C. 2220 for the building of the city, according to him. Again, Berosus and Critodemus are said

by Pliny ("H. N." vii. 56) to have declared that the Babylonians had recorded their stellar observations upon bricks for 480 years before the era of Phoroneus. At least the passage may be so understood. (See the "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 222.) Now the date of Phoroneus, according to Clinton ("F. H." vol. i. p. 139), is B.C. 1753; and B.C. 1753 + 480 gives B.C. 2233.

[2] The most authentic account seems to be that which Eusebius copied from Polyhistor ("Chronica," i. 4). Syncellus is far less to be trusted, on account of his elaborate systematizing.

[3] This view is taken by Mr. William Palmer in his Appendix on "Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities." (See his "Egyptian Chronicles," vol. ii. pp. 942, 943.)

[4] Manetho assigns 24,925 years to the reigns of Gods, Demigods, and Manes, who ruled Egypt before Menes—the first historical king. (See "Fragm. Hist. Gr." vol. ii. p. 528.)

[5] Eusebius and Josephus.

[6] The 48 years of the third dynasty are not in the text of the Armenian Eusebius, but in the margin only. The text of the same authority assigns 224 years to the second dynasty, but the margin gives 234.

[7] The Canon mentions five only of these kings, omitting one (Laborosoarchod), because he reigned less than a full year.

[8] G. Smith in "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache," November, 1868.

[9] Herod. i. 95; Aristot. "De Cælo," ii. 12, § 3; Simplic. "Comment. ad Aristot. de Cælo," ii. p. 123.

[10] Mr. Bosanquet is almost the only chronologer who still disputes the accuracy of this document. (See his "Messiah the Prince," Appendix, pp. 455–8, 2d edition.)

[11] Syncellus gave 225 years to the first Chaldæan dynasty in Babylonia; but it is difficult to say on what basis he went. He admitted seven kings, to whom he gave the names of Evechius, Chomasbelus, Porus, Nechubus, Nabius, Oniballus, and Zinzerus. These names do not much encourage us to view the list as historical. Three of them belong to the late Babylonian period. One only (Chomasbelus, perhaps Shamas-Bel) has at all the air of a name of this early time.

[12] Gen. x. 10.

[13] Gen. x. 9: "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord; wherefore *it is said*, Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord."

[14] The Greek forms, Νεβρὼδ and Νεβρὼθ, serve to connect *Nipru* with נמרד. The native root is thought to be *napar*. "to pursue," or "cause to flee." (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 597.)

[15] Yacut declares that Nimrod attempted to mount to heaven on the wings of an eagle, and makes Niffer (Calneh) the scene of this occurrence. ("Lex. Geograph." in voc. *Niffer*.) It is supposed that we have here an allusion to the building of the tower of Babel. The Koran contains a story of Nimrod's casting Abraham into a fiery furnace.

[16] The Arabic "Jabbar" represents the Hebrew גבר, which is the epithet applied to Nimrod in Gen. x. 8. The identification of Nimrod with Orion is noted by Greek writers. (See John of Antioch, Fr. 3; "Pasch. Chron." vol. i. p. 64; John of Malala, p. 17; Cedrenus, vol. i. p. 27; etc.) Orion is a "mighty hunter," even in Homer. (See Odyss. xi. 572–575.)

[17] "Journ. of Asiatic Soc." vol. xv. p. 230.

[18] The great temple of Borsippa is known as the *Birs-i-Nimrud*; and the simple name *Nimrud* is given to probably the most striking heap of ruins in the ancient Assyria.

[19] Gen. x. 11, 12.

[20] Herod. i. 1; vii. 89; Strab. xvi. 3, § 4; Justin., xviii. 3, § 2; Plin. "H. N." iv. 22; Dionys. Per. l. 906.

[21] Gen. xi. 31.

[22] This conjectural reading of the name has led to a further conjecture, viz., that in this monumental sovereign we have the real original of the "Orchamus" of Ovid, whom he represents as the seventh successor of Belus in the government of Babylon ("Metaph." iv. 212–13). But the phonetic value of the monograms, in which the names of the early Chaldæan kings are written, is so wholly uncertain that it seems best to abstain from speculations which may have their basis struck from under them at any moment.

[23] See Sir H. Rawlinson's remarks in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 425; and compare text, pp. 35, 43.

[24] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 261-263; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 168.

[25] As in the Bowariyeh ruin at Warka (Loftus, p. 167).

[26] See text, pp. 51, 52.

[27] Gen. xiv. 1.

[28] Herod. ii. 124, 128; Arist. Pol. vii. 11.

[29] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 246.

[30] See Pl. VI., Fig. 3, and Pl. VII., Fig. 1.

[31] Compare the slight buttresses, only 13 inches thick, supporting the Mugheir temple, which has a facing of burnt brick to the depth of ten feet, with the strong ones at Warka (where unburnt brick is the material used), which project seven feet and a half from the central mass. (Loftus, pp. 128, 129, and p. 169.)

[32] Loftus, p. 128.

[33] See text, p. 71.

[34] See text, pp. 67 and 68.

[35] At this early period in the world's history, the differences between the great families of human speech were but very partially developed. Language was altogether in an agglutinate, rather than in an inflected, state. The intricacies of Arian—even the lesser intricacies of Semitic grammar—had not been invented.

Languages differed one from another chiefly in their vocabularies. What we observe with respect to the Susianians or Elamites is, that while their vocabulary is mainly Turanian, it also contains numerous words which were continued in the later Arian speech. For instance, *Nakhunta* is beyond a doubt the *Anahita* of the Persians and the *Anaitis* of the Greeks. *Kudur* is the same word as the Persian *chitra*, "sprung from" (compare Zend *chithra*, "seed"). *Mabuk* is, perhaps, *Mabog*, which is formed from the two thoroughly Arian roots, *ma*, "mother," and *bog* (Old Pers. *baga*, Slavon. *bog*, *bogie*), "God."

[36] See "Behist. Inscr." col. i. pars. 16, 17; col. ii. pars. 3, 4. The transfer of the Persian capital to Susa, which took place soon after this, was probably in part an acknowledgment of the superior antiquity and dignity of the Elamitic capital.

[37] The date of Asshur-bani-pal's conquest of Susa is doubtful. It may have been as early as B.C. 661. (See Mr. G. Smith's paper in the "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache" for Nov. 1868, p. 116.) The conquest of Chaldæa by Kudur-Nakhunta may therefore have fallen as early as B.C. 2296.

[38] "Zeitschrift," l. s. c.

[39] It was long ago suggested by Sir H. Rawlinson that the etymology of this name is to be sought in the languages of the Semitic rather than in those of the Arian family ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 227, note [2]); and that its true meaning is "the seed of Ishtar (Venus)." If so, *Kudar-Nakhunta* would exactly correspond to *Zoro-aster* (or *Ziru-Ishtar*). See note [35] of this chapter.

[40] Ap. Syncell. "Chronograph." p. 78, B. Compare Mos. Choren. "Hist. Armen." i. 5. "Zorastrem Magum . . . qui fuit Medorum principium."

[41] By calling his second dynasty "Median," Berosus probably only meant to say that it came from the mountain tract east of Babylonia, which in his own day had been for so many ages the seat of Medo-Persic power. Susiana had in his time been completely absorbed into Persia. (Strabo, xv. 3, § 2.)

[42] Gen. xiv. 1.

[43] For the Tidal (תרעל) of the present Hebrew text, the LXX. have Thargal (Θαργάλ), which implies a reading of תרעל in their copies. Turgal would be significative in early Babylonia, meaning "the great chief." (See Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc. TIDAL.)

[44] Gen. xiv. 2.

[45] The scene of the battle seems to have been that part of the plain which was afterwards submerged, when the area of the Dead Sea was extended. Compare the expression (Gen. xiv. 3), "All these were joined together in the vale of Siddim *which is* the salt sea;" and see Mr. Ffoulkes's article on GOMORRAH in Dr. Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. pp. 709, 710.

[46] "Twelve years they served Chedor-laomer, and in the thirteenth year they rebelled." (Gen. xiv. 4.)

[47] Among the nations chastised by Chedor-laomer on his second invasion we find the Rephaim or "Giants," the Zuzim, the Emim, the Horites, the Amorites, and the Amalekites. (Gen. xiv. 5–7.)

[48] Gen. xiv. 9–12.

[49] Ibid. 16.

[50] May not the tradition, that Abraham was king of Demascus (Nic. Dam. Fr. 30), be connected with this exploit? It could scarcely have been grounded on the mere fact that he had for steward a native of that city. (Gen. xv. 2.)

[51] The expression in verse 17 of the Authorized Version, "the *slaughter* of Chedor-laomer, and of the kings which were with him," is over strong. The Hebrew phrase מהכת does not mean more than "defeat" or "overthrow."

[52] It is not, perhaps, quite certain that Sinti-shil-khak was a Chaldæan monarch. His name appears only in the inscriptions of his son, Kudur-Mabuk, where he is not given the title of king.

[53] *Martu* certainly means either "the West" generally, or Syria in particular, which was the most western country known to the early Babylonians. *Apda* is perhaps connected with the Hebrew root אבך, which in the Hiphil has the sense of "destroy" or "ravage."

[54] The inscriptions of Kudar-Mabuk and Arid-Sin have been found only at Mugheir, the ancient Ur. (See "British Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 2, No. iii., and Pl. 5. No. xvi.)

[55] It is true that the number 48 occurs only in the margin of the Armenian MS. But the inserter of that number must have had it before him in some copy of Eusebius; for he could not have conjectured it from the number of the kings.

[56] Compare the rapid succession in the seventh dynasty, which is given (partially) in the Canon of Ptolemy, more fully in the fragments of Berosus and Polyhistor.

[57] See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. Essay vi. p. 433, note [1].

[58] If Sennacherib's 10th year is B.C. 692, Tiglath-Pileser's defeat must have been in B.C. 1110. His restoration of the temple was certainly earlier, for it was at the very beginning of his reign—say B.C. 1120. Add the sixty years during which the building had been in ruins and the 641 during which it had stood, and we have B.C. 1821 for the building of the original temple by Shamas-Vul. The date of his father's accession should be at least 30 years earlier—or B.C. 1851.

[59] Three or four tablets of Babylonian satraps have been discovered at Kileh-Sherghat. The titles assumed are said to "belong to the most humble class of dignities." (Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 448, note[7].)

[60] For inscriptions of Gurguna, see "British Museum Series," vol. i. Pl. 2, No. vi. Some doubt has been entertained as to whether this prince was the son or the grandson of Ismi-dagon, but on the whole the verdict of cuneiform scholars has been in favor of the interpretation of these inscriptions which makes him the son.

[61] See text, pp. 58-61.

[62] Berosus gave no doubt the complete list; but his names have not been preserved to us. The brief Chaldæan list in Syncellus (p. 169) probably came from him; but the names seem to have belonged to the first or mythical dynasty. One might have hoped to obtain some help from Ctesias's Assyrian list, as it went back at least as far as B.C. 2182, when Assyria was a mere province of the Chaldæan Empire. But it presents every appearance of an absolute forgery, being composed of Arian, Semitic, Egyptian, and Greek appellations, with a sprinkling of terms borrowed from geography.

[63] "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 3, No. 7.

[64] The fact is recorded by Nabonidus—the Labynetus of Herodotus—on the famous Mugheir cylinder. ("Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 69; col. 2, l. 30.)

[65] "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 3, No. 8.

[66] Sin-Shada seems to have immediately succeeded a queen. He calls himself "son of Bilat**at," which is certainly a female name.

[67] Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," ch. xvi. p. 184.

[68] See text, pp. 54, 55.

[69] Rim-Sin has left a very fine inscription on a small black tablet, found at Mugheir. ("Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 3, No. 10.)

[70] As Ptolemy did in his Canon.

[71] Some writers have exaggerated the number of the names to twenty-four or twenty-five. (See Oppert, "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," vol. i. p. 276: and compare Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient," vol. ii. pp. 25, 32.) But this is by misunderstanding a tablet on which nine of them occur. M. Lenormant obtains *thirteen* successors to Khammu-rabi (p. 32) by not seeing that the tablet is bilingual, and counting in five *translations* of names which he has already reckoned. M. Oppert does not fall into this error, but unduly enlarges his royal list by counting twelve names from the obverse of the tablet which there is no ground for regarding as royal names at all.

[72] Eight royal names follow Khammu-rabi on the tablet above mentioned (see last note). It might have been supposed that they would occur in chronological order. But, in fact, Khammu-rabi's successor, his son, Samsu-iluna, is omitted; and Kurri-galzu, the son of Purna-puriyas, who was the third king after his father, is put in the fifth place before him. The order of the names cannot, therefore, be chronological.

[73] This inscription is on a white stone in the Museum of the Louvre. It has been published with a comment by M. Ménant ("Inscriptions de Hammourabi, roi de Babylone," Paris, 1863), and has also been translated by M. Oppert in the "Expédition," vol. i. pp. 267, 268. M. Lenormant assumes without reason ("Manuel," vol. ii. p. 31) the identity of the *Nahr-Khammu-rabi* with the *Nahr-Malcha* of Nebuchadnezzar.

[74] See "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 4, No. xv.: Inscr. 2 (translated by M. Oppert, "Expédition," vol. i. p. 267); and compare the cylinder of Nabonidus. ("Brit. M. Series." vol. i. Pl. 69, col. ii. l. 1.)

[75] "Brit. M. Series," vol. i. Pl. 4, No. xv. Ins. 3.

[76] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 65.

[77] The position of the kings, Asshur-bel-nisi-su, Buzur-Asshur, and Asshur-upallit, in the Assyrian list, has been definitely fixed by Mr. G. Smith's discovery in 1869 of an inscription of Pudiel, in which he states that Asshur-upallit was his grandfather. We have thus now a continuous succession from Asshur-bel-nisi-su to Tiglathi-Nin, the conqueror of Babylon; and as this conquest is fixed to about B.C. 1300, we can count back to Asshur-bel-nisi-su by allowing an average of twenty years to a reign, and approximately fix his date as from B.C. 1440 to 1420.

[78] "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 4, No. xiii.

[79] Ibid. Pl. 4, No. xiv.

[80] The inscription on the seal is read as follows:—"Kurri-galzu, king of . . . . . , son of Purna-puriyas, king of Babylon." (See "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Table of Contents, Pl. 4, No. xiv.)

[81] Ibid. Pl. 69, col. ii. l. 32.

[82] See text, p. 15. The bricks of Kurri-galzu are not found, however, in the great ruin, which is most probably a Parthian work.

[83] Saga-raktiyas is by some regarded as the father of Naram-Sin (Oppert, "Expédition," vol. i. p. 273, note [2]; Lenormant. "Manuel," vol. ii. p. 27). But the foundation of this notion is the identification of a temple bearing the name of *Ulmas* at Agana, with a temple of the same name at Sippara. Agana and Sippara must, however, have been distant cities.

[84] "Brit. Mus. Series," vol. i. Pl. 69, col. iii. l. 20.

[85] See note [72] of this chapter.

[86] Kudur-Nakhunta, and Kudur-Mabuk, who are certainly to be *connected* with the Chedor-laomer (Kudur-Lagamer) of Scripture. (See text, pp. 106, 107.)

[87] Kudur-Nakhunta and Ismi-dagon. (See text, p. 108.)

[88] Sir H. Rawlinson says:—"All the kings whose monuments are found in ancient Chaldæa used the same language and the same form of writing; they professed the same religion, inhabited the same cities, and followed the same traditions. Temples built in the earliest times

received the veneration of successive generations, and were repaired and adorned by a long series of monarchs, even down to the time of the Semitic Nabonidus." (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i. Essay vi. p. 441.)

[89] See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p 440.

[90] See the fragments of this writer preserved by Eusebius ("Chron. Can." pars. i. c. 4).

[91] The words of Polyhistor are reported to us by Eusebius in a work (his "Chronica") the original of which is lost, and which we have only in an Armenian version. Polyhistor himself does not appear to have read the work of Berosus. He derives his knowledge of it from Apollodorus. Thus we have Berosus at fifth hand —through Apollodorus, Polyhistor, Eusebius, and the Armenian translator. Hence the excellent advice of C. Müller—"Igitur cum per tot manus migraverint quæ ad nos perdurarunt fragmenta, haud miraberis variis modis verba Berosi deformata esse, cavendumque ne Beroso imputemus quæ sunt imputanda excerptoribus." ("Fragm. Hist. Gr." vol. ii. p. 496.)

[92] The change of ΑΘ into ΔΘ is one very likely to occur, and has numerous parallels.

[93] Gen. xv. 18; Deut. i. 7; Josh. i. 4.

[94] The alphabets, as well as the languages, of these various races differ; but, as all assume the wedge as the ultimate element out of which their letters are formed, it seems almost certain that they learnt the art of writing from one another. If so, Chaldæa has on every ground the best claim to be regarded as the teacher of the others.

[95] Gen. x. 8.

[96] Ib. verse 9.

[97] Ib. verse 10.

[98] In later times, when civilization was more advanced, less fruitful tracts may, by calling forth men's powers, have produced the most puissant races (see Herod. ix. ad fin.); but in the first ages only fertile regions could nurture and develop greatness. Elsewhere man's life was a struggle for bare existence.

[99] Josephus makes Nimrod the prime mover in the building of the tower ("Ant. Jud." i. 4, § 2). The Targums generally take the same view. Some of the Arabic traditions have been already mentioned. (See note [15] of this chapter.) The Armenian account will be found in Moses of Chorene, who, identifying Nimrod with Belus, proceeds to describe him as the chief of the Giants, by whom the tower was built, proud and fierce, and of insatiable ambition, engaged in perpetual wars with his neighbors. ("Hist. Armen." i. 6–10.

[100] Gen. xi. 1–9.

[101] Nimrod is called "a mighty one in the earth," and "a mighty hunter *before the Lord*." Many commentators have observed that the phrase in italics is almost always used in a good sense, implying the countenance and favor of God, and his blessing on the work which is said to have been done "before" him, or "in his sight."

[102] Commentators seem generally to have supposed that the building, or attempt to build, described in Gen. xi. 1–9, is the building of Babel ascribed to Nimrod in Gen. x. 10. But this cannot be so; for in Gen. xi. we are told, "they *left off* to build the city." The truth seems to be that the tenth chapter is parenthetical, and the author in ch. xi. takes up the narrative from ch. ix., going back to a time not long after the Deluge.

[103] If, that is, the Orchamus of Ovid, is really to be connected with the word now read as Urukh.

[104] See the article on the "Tower of Babel" in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. i. pp. 158–160.

[105] See text, p. 102.

[106] The march would necessarily be along the Euphrates to the latitude (nearly) of Aleppo, and then down Syria to the Dead Sea. This is 1200 miles. The direct distance by the desert is not more than 800 miles; but the desert cannot be crossed by an army.

[107] See the "Historical Essay" of Sir G. Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 341–351.

[108] Compare ch. i. p. 3.

[109] See note [59] of this chapter.

[110] See text, p. 109.

[111] Hence Herodotus always regards the Babylonians as Assyrians, and Babylonia as a district of Assyria. (See i. 106, 178, 188, 192, etc.; iii. 92 and 155.)

[112] Herod. vii. 63.

[113] Strab. xvi. 1, § 6; Plin. "H. N." vi. 28.

[114] Juv. "Sat." vi. 552; x. 94; Tacit. "Ann." ii. 27; iii. 22; vi. 20, etc.; Sueton. "Vit. Vitell." 14; "Vit. Domit." 14.

NOTES TO THE SECOND MONARCHY.

CHAPTER I.

[1] Herod. i. 106, 192; iii. 92. Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης.

[2] Plin. "Hist. Nat." vi. 26. "Mesopotamia tota Assyriorum fuit."

[3] Strabo says: "The Assyrians adjoin on Persia and Susiana; for by this name they call Babylonia, and a vast tract of the surrounding country, including Aturia (which contains Nineveh) and Apollonias, and the Elymæans, and the Parætacæ, and the district about Mount Zagros called Chalonitis, and the plain tracts near Nineveh—Dolomené, and Calachené, and Chazené, and Adiabené—and the Mesopotamian nations about the Gordiæans, and the Mygdonians about Nisibis, as far as the passage of the Euphrates, and a great part of the country beyond the Euphrates (which is in possession of the Arabs), and the people now called by way of distinction Syrians, reaching to Cilicia, and Phœnicia, and Judæa, and to the sea over against the sea of Egypt and the gulf of Issus." ("Geograph." xvi. 1, § 1.)

[4] See text, p. 3.

[5] See text, p. 7.

[6] This is the division adopted in the geographical essay, contained in vol. i. of the author's "Herodotus" (p. 569). It was thought most suitable to a general review of the geography of Western Asia; but is less adapted to a special account of the empire of the Assyrians.

[7] Xenophon, "Anab." i. 5, § 1; Plin. "H. N." v. 24; Strab. xvi. 1, § 26.

[8] The most important of these is the Khosr, or river of Koyunjik, which, rising from the Ain Sifni hills beyond the Jebel Maklub, forces its way through that range, and after washing Khorsabad, and crossing the great plain, winds round the eastern base of the mound at Koyunjik, and runs on to the Tigris. It is a narrow and sluggish stream, but deep, and only fordable about Koyunjik in a few places. (See Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 77.

[9] Layard, p. 222.

[10] Ibid. p. 223.

[11] Mr. Layard forded the Khabour on his way to Mosul in 1849. The water was above the horses' bellies. ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 56.)

[12] Ainsworth, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. xi. p. 70. Compare Mr. Layard's large map at the end of his "Nineveh and Babylon."

[13] Layard, p. 169.

[14] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 24.

[15] Ibid. p. 22, note [3].

[16] See the account of its source given by Sir H. Rawlinson, who was the first European to explore this region, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. x. p. 31.

[17] Chesney, vol. i. p. 25.

[18] See the map attached to Sir H. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Atropatenian Ecbatana, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. x.

[19] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 35.

[20] This region has been traversed by few, and described by fewer, Europeans. The best published account which I have been able to find is that of the elder Niebuhr. (See his "Voyage en Arabie," pp. 300–334.) Some careful MS. notes have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. A. D. Berrington, who has traversed it. On the general fertility of the region, compare Niebuhr's "Description de l'Arabie," pp. 134, 135. Strabo's words are well weighed, and just meet the case: Ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν παρόρειος εὐδαίμων ἱκανῶς. xvi. i. § 23.

[21] Niebuhr, "Voyage en Arabie," pp. 328–334; Pocock, "Description of the East," vol. ii. pp. 158–163; Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 107.

[22] Niebuhr, p. 317; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 51.

[23] Isid. Char. p. 3.

[24] Aborrhas by Strabo (xvi. i. § 27) and Procopius ("Bel. Pers." ii. 5); Chaboras (Χαβώρας) by Pliny (xxx. 3), and Ptolemy (v.18). Other forms of the word are Aburas (Ἀβούρας, Isid. Char. p. 5), and Abora (Ἀβώρα, Zosim. iii. 12).

[25] Plin. "H. N." v. 24; Dio Cass. xxxvii. 5; Strab. xvi. 1, § 23, etc.

[26] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 48.

[27] Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 79, note [1].

[28] "Ras. el Ain." (Niebuhr, p. 316; Layard, p. 308; Ainsworth, p. 75.)

[29] Ainsworth, l. s. c.

[30] Layard, p. 304.

[31] Ibid. p. 51.

[32] Ibid, p. 324.

[33] Ibid. pp. 242, 325.

[34] Ibid. p. 308. *Koukab* is said to signify "a jet of fire or flame."

[35] See Mr. Layard's maps at the end of his "Nineveh and Babylon." For a general description of the lake, compare the same work, p. 324, with C. Niebuhr's "Voyage en Arabie," p. 316.

[36] A long swamp, called the Hol, ex-

tends from the lake to within a short distance of the Khabour (Layard, l. s. c.). This is probably the Holi, or Hauli of some writers, which is represented as a tributary of the Khabour. (See Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 51; "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 423, etc.)

[37] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 250.

[38] Ibid. p. 256. Compare "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 315, note.

[39] Layard "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 253–256.

[40] Ibid. p. 265.

[41] This is the view of Colonel Chesney. (See his "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 105.)

[42] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 242, note, and p. 249.

[43] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," p. 49.

[44] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 312.

[45] Ibid. pp. 240, 241.

[46] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," pp. 52, 53. The hills in this region are of chalk formation, as is the Abd-el-aziz, according to the same author. (Ibid. p. 105.)

[47] Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 1. *Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον, ἅπαν ὁμαλὸν ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πλῆρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη, ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν.*

[48] "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 455.

[49] Chesney, p. 50.

[50] Ibid. p. 51; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 315, note.

[51] Strab. xvi. i. § 1.

[52] The form Aturia (*Ἀτουρία*) is used likewise by Arrian ("Exp. Al." iii. 7), and by Stephen (ad voc. *Νῖνος*). Dio Cassius writes Atyria (*Ἀτυρία*), and asserts that the *τ* was always used for the *ς* "by the barbarians" (lv. 28). It was certainly so used by the Persians (see the "Behistun Inscription," passim); but the Assyrians themselves, like the Jews and the Greeks, seem to have employed the *ς*.

[53] Dolomené is ingeniously connected by Mons. C. Müller with the Dolba of Arrian. (Fr. 11. See the "Fragment. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 588.) It is clear that the ethnic *Δολβηνὴ* (Steph. Byz. ad voc.) would easily pass into *Δολομηνή*. Dolba, according to Arrian, was a city in Adiabené.

[54] Ptol. vi. 1. As Ptolemy, however, places Calaciné *above* Adiabené, he may possibly intend it for Chalonitis.

[55] Chazené was indeed mentioned by Arrian in his "Parthica;" and if we possessed that work, we should probably not find much difficulty in locating it. But the fragment in Stephen (ad voc. *Χαζηνή*) tells us nothing of its exact position Stephen himself is clearly wrong in placing it on the *Euphrates*. Arrian probably included it in the territory of Dolba, which was with him a part of Adiabené. (See above, note [8], and compare the fragment of Arrian: *Ἐνταύτηῆτ Ὀλβία* (leg. *Δολβία* vel *Δολβαία καὶ τὰ πεδία τῆς Χαζηνῆς σατραπείας ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀποτεταμένα.*)

[56] See Strab. xvi. 1, § 1 and § 19; Plin. "H. N." v. 12, vi. 13; Ptol. vi. 1; Arrian, Fr. 11–13; Pomp. Mel. i. 11; Solin. 48; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 20, etc.

[57] So Ammianus explains the name—"Nos autem id dicimus, quod in his terris amnes sunt duo perpetui, quos et transivimus, Diabas et Adiabas, juncti navalibus pontibus; ideoque intelligi Adiabenam cognominatam, ut a fluminibus maximis Ægyptus, et India, itidemque Hiberia et Bætica." (xxiii. 6.)

[58] Pliny seems to give to Adiabené this extended signification, when he says,—"Adiabenen Tigris et montium sinus cingunt. At lævâ ejus regio Medorum est." ("H. N." vi. 9; compare ch. vi. 26.)

[59] Amm. Marc. l. s. c.

[60] As by Ptolemy ("Geograph." vi. 1).

[61] Strab. xv. 3, § 12; xvi. 1, § 1.

[62] The position of Chalonitis is pretty exactly indicated by Strabo, Polybius, and Isidore of Charax. Strabo calls it *τὴν περι τὸ Ζάγρον ὄρος Χαλωνῖτιν* (xvi. 1, § 1). Polybius connects it with the same mountain range (v. 54, § 7). Isidore distinctly places it between Apolloniatis and Media ("Mans. Parth." p. 5). See also Dionys. Perieg. i. 1015, and Plin. "H. N." vi. 27.

[63] Isid. "Mans. Parth." l. s. c. Tacitus probably intends the same city by his "Halus" ("Ann." vi. 41), which he couples with Artemita. It does not appear to have been identical either with the Halah of the Book of Kings, or with the Calah of Genesis.

[64] The ruins of Holwan were visited by Sir H. Rawlinson in the year 1836. For an account of them, and for a notice of the importance of Holwan in Mahometan times, see the "Journal of the Geographical Soc." vol. ix. pp. 35–40.

[65] Strabo identifies Sittacené with Apolloniatis (xv. 3, § 12); but from Ptolemy (vi. 1) and other geographers we gather that Sittacené was further down the river.

[66] Sittacé was first noticed by Hecatæus (Fr. 184). It was visited by Xenophon ("Anab." ii. 4, § 13). Strabo omits all mention of it. We have notices of it in Pliny ("H. N." vi. 27), and Stephen (ad voc. *Ψιττακή*).

[67] Strab. xvi. 1, § 1, te passim; Ptol. vi. 1.

[68] Ptol. v. 18.

[69] Strab. xvi. 1, § 1. and § 23.

[70] Ibid. § 27. Anthemusia derived its name from a city Anthemus. (Steph. Byz.), or Anthemusias (Tacit. Isid.), built by the Macedonians between the Euphrates and the Belik.

[71] Strab. xvi. 1, § 26. Compare Plin. "H. N." v. 24.

[72] Ptol. v. 18.

[73] 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11; xix. 12; 1 Chron. v. 26; Is. xxxvii. 12. The identification does not depend upon the mere resemblance of name; but upon that, combined with the mention of the Habor (or Khabour) as the river of Gozan, and the implied vicinity of Gozan to Haran (Harran) and Halah (Chalcitis).

[74] See the article on "Gozan" in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 726. The initial *m* (מ) in the word Mygdonia is probably a mere adjectival or participial prefix; while the *d* represents the Semitic *z* (ז), according to an ordinary phonetic variation.

[75] 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11; 1 Chron. v. 26.

[76] One of the mounds on this stream is still called Gla, or Kalah, by the Arabs. (See Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 312, note.)

[77] Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 2–7, etc. The name is only used in Genesis.

[78] Stanley, "Sinai and Palestine," p. 128, note [1]. It is curious, however, that both *Padan*-Aram and Aram-*Naharaim* recall the names of nations inhabiting these parts in the Assyrian times. The chief inhabitants of the Mons Masius mentioned by the early Assyrian kings are the *Naïri;* and across the Euphrates, towards Aleppo, there is a tribe called the *Patena*. Probably, however, both coincidences are accidental.

[79] Dio Cass. xl. 19; lxviii. 18, etc. Arrian, Fr. 2; Herodian, iii. 9, etc.

[80] Ptolemy bounds Assyria by the Tigris ("Geograph." vi. 1). Pliny identifies Adiabené with Assyria ("H. N." v. 12). If the Huzzab of Nahum is really "the Zab region" (Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," sub voc.), that prophet would make the same identification. When Strabo (xvi. 1, § 1) and Arrian ("Exp. Alex." iii. 7) place Aturia on the left bank of the Tigris only, they indicate a similar feeling.

[81] See text, p. 122.

[82] They are less numerous north of the Sinjar. (See Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 252.) Still there are a certain number of ancient mounds in the more northern plain. (Ibid. pp. 334, 335; and compare "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 311.)

[83] At Arban. ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 275, 276.)

[84] Ibid. pp. 297–300.

[85] Ibid. p. 312, and note.

[86] The colossal lions at this place, 12 feet long and 7 feet 3 inches high, are unmistakably Assyrian, and must have belonged to some large building. (See Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. pp. 114, 115, whence the representation [Pl. XXIII., Fig. 2] is taken.)

[87] Gen. x. 11, 12.

[88] In the margin we have רחבת עיר translated "the streets of the city," which is far better than the textual rendering. Had *r'hoboth* been the name of a place, the term *'ir* would scarcely have been added.

[89] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 314; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 245, 246, 312, 313, etc.; "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 303, 304.

[90] See text, p. 12.

[91] The early Arabian geographers and historians mentioned the forts of *Ninawi* to the east and of Mosul to the west of the Tigris. ("As. Soc. Journ." vol. xii. p. 418, note [4].) To prove the continuity of the tradition, it would be necessary to quote all travellers, from Benjamin of Tudela to Mr. Layard, who disputes its value, but does not deny it.

[92] See Herod. i. 193; Strab. xvi. 1, § 3; Ptol. vi. 1; Plin. vi. 13, § 16; Amm. Marc. xviii. 7; Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 991.

[93] See text, ch. iv.

[94] So Strabo, xi. 14, § 8; Plin. "H. N." vi. 27; Q. Curt. iv. 9, § 16, etc. There are, however, some difficulties attaching to this etymology. It is Arian, not Semitic —*tigra*, as "an arrow," standing connected with the Sanscrit *tij*, "to sharpen," Armenian *teg*, "a javelin," Persian *tigh*, "a blade," and *tir*, "an arrow." Yet it was used by the Jews, under the slightly corrupted form of *Dekel* (דקל) as early as Moses (Gen. ii. 14), and by the Assyrians about B.C. 1000. ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xiv. p. xcv.) It is conjectured that there was a root *dik* in ancient Babylonian, of cognate origin with the Sanscrit *tij*, from which the forms *Dekel*, *Digla*, or *Diglath* were derived.

[95] Capt. Jones, in the "Journal of the As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 299.

[96] Ibid. p. 298.

[97] So Colonel Chesney ("Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 21.)

[98] Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks agree in reading the ancient name of this city as Calah. At the same time it is not to be denied that there are difficulties in the identification. 1. Nimrud being only 20 miles from Nineveh, it is difficult to find room for Resen, a "great city" (Gen. x. 12) between them, not to mention that there are no important ruins in this position. 2. Calah, moreover, if it gave name to Ptolemy's Calaciné, should be away from the river, for by placing Calaciné *above* Adiabené, he almost certainly meant further from the river.

[99] "Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 342. At the same time it must be admitted that water from the Zab was conducted into the city by a canal and tunnel, of which more will be said in another chapter.

[100] Chesney, l. s. c.

[101] Capt. Jones, in the "Journal of the Asiatic Soc." vol. xv. pp. 347–351.

[102] Ibid. vol. xv. p. 347.

[103] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 656.

[104] Ibid. l. s. c.; "As. Soc. Journal," vol. xv. pp. 342, 343.

[105] See Mr. Layard's "Plan" in his "Nin-

eveh and Babylon," opp. p. 655. For the present state of the ruins, see his "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. opp. p. 331, and compare the chart (supra, p. 200), which is reduced from Captain F. Jones's "Survey."

[106] The platform is not quite regular, being broader towards the south than towards the north, as will be seen in the plan.

[107] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 654.

[108] See text, chap. vi.

[109] Xenophon describes Calah, which he calls Larissa (compare the Lachisa, לְקִסָּה, of the Samaritan Pentateuch), as "a vast deserted city, formerly inhabited by the Medes; it was," he says, "surrounded by a wall 25 feet broad, 100 feet high, and nearly seven miles in circumference, built of baked brick, with a stone basement to the height of 20 feet." He then observes: "Παρὰ αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμις λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλεθρων." ("Anab." iii. 4, § 9.) Ctesias. with his usual exaggeration, made the width nine stades, and the height eight stades, or nearly a mile! He placed the pyramid at Nineveh, and on the Euphrates! (See Diod. Sic. ii. 7, § 1.) The imposing effect of the structure even now is witnessed to by Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 4); Colonel Rich ("Kurdistan," vol. ii. p. 132); Colonel Chesney ("Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 21); and Captain Jones ("As. Soc. Journal," vol. xv. pp. 348, 349).

[110] This is the opinion of Captain Jones ("As. Soc. Journal," vol. xv. p. 349).

[111] See Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 5, and vol. ii. p. 44.

[112] M. Botta purchased and removed this village before he made his great excavations. ("Letters from Nineveh," p. 57, note.)

[113] See Captain Jones's "Survey," sheet I.

[114] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 657.

[115] The name is formed of two elements, the first meaning city, which would be *Dur* or *Beth*. The second element is the name of a god otherwise unknown to us; and this, being a mere monogram, cannot be represented phonetically.

[116] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 351 and 374.

[117] The LXX. interpreters have Δασή in the place of the Hebrew רֶסֶן. The Targums substitute the wholly different name of Tel-Assar (תל־אסר).

[118] Gen. x. 12.

[119] Arbil is etymologically "the city of the four gods;" but it is not known which are the deities intended. This place is first mentioned in the reign of Shamas-Vul, the son of the Black-Obelisk king, about B.C. 850.

[120] "Geograph." vi. 1. Arapkha would be etymologically "the four fish," a name not very intelligible. It was certainly to the east of the Tigris, and probably not far from Arbela.

[121] "Journal of Asiatic Soc." vol. xv. p. 304.

[122] Layard "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 315; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 245, 246.

[123] The name of Haran has not, I believe, been found in the Assyrian inscriptions; but it is mentioned in Kings and Chronicles as an Assyrian city. (2 Kings xix. 12; 1 Chron. v. 26.)

[124] See Mr. Fox Talbot's "Assyrian Texts Translated," p. 31.

[125] See 2 Kings, l. s. c.

[126] See Rich's "Kurdistan," vol. i pp. 48–192; Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii. pp. 137–219; Ainsworth, "Travels," vol. ii. pp. 183–326; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 153–235; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 367–384, and 416–436; "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. ix. pp. 26–56, etc.; Fraser, "Travels in Kurdistan," vol. i. pp. 89–195; vol. ii. pp. 179–204.

[127] Diod. Sic. xix. 21, § 2. Compare Kinneir, "Persian Empire," p. 74; and see also Ainsworth's "Researches," pp. 224, 225.

[128] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 430; "Journal of Geographical Society," vol. xvi. p. 49.

[129] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 6, 7. Compare Strab. xi. 12, § 4.

[130] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 69; Layard, l. s. c.

[131] Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 2.

[132] Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 67; Pocock, "Description of the East," vol. ii. pp. 150–172.

[133] Ainsworth, "Travels and Researches," vol. i. pp. 305–358; Pocock, "Description," etc., vol. ii. p. 155.

[134] See text, pp. 2–10.

CHAPTER II.

[1] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 299. Eastern Assyria is not, however, entirely free from the "torrid blasts," which are the curse of these countries. Mr. Layard experienced at Koyunjik "the *sherghis*, or burning winds from the south, which occasionally swept over the country, driving in their short-lived fury everything before them." ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 364.)

[2] "Journal of Asiatic Society," l. s. c.

[3] Ainsworth's "Assyria," p. 32.

[4] See text, pp. 18–20.

[5] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 106.

[6] See Mr. Layard's account of his visit to the Sinjar and the Khabour in 1850. ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 234–336; cf. particularly pp. 246, 269, 273, and 324.)

[7] Chesney, l. s. c.

[8] Layard "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 124, vol. ii. p. 54; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 242, 243, and 294, 295; Rich's "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 10.

[9] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 294; Jones, "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 360.

[10] Layard, ibid. p. 243.

[11] Mr. Ainsworth estimates the average elevation at thirteen hundred feet ("Assyria," p. 29).

[12] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 107.

[13] Colonel Chesney says: "The heat in summer is 110° under a tent." ("Euphrates Expedition," l. s. c.) Mr. Ainsworth says the thermometer reaches 115° in the shade (p. 31).

[14] Humboldt mentions three ways in which trees cool the air, viz., by cooling shade, by evaporation, and by radiation. "Forests," he says, "protect the ground from the direct rays of the sun, evaporate fluids elaborated by the trees themselves, and cool the strata of air in immediate contact with them by the radiation of heat from their appendicular organs or leaves." ("Aspects of Nature," vol. i. p. 127, E. T.)

[15] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 106.

[16] Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 5.—*Οὐ γὰρ ἦν Χόρτος, οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα.*

[17] Arrian, "Exp. Alex." iii. 7.

[18] As bustards, antelopes, and wild asses.

[19] As the ostrich. It is curious that Heeren should regard the wild ass as gone from Mesopotamia, and the ostrich as still occurring. ("As. Nat." vol. i. pp. 132, 133, E. T.) His statement exactly inverts the truth.

[20] Herod. i. 193; Strab. xvi. 1, § 14; Dionys. Perieg. 992–999; Plin. "H. N." vi. 26; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6, etc.

[21] This peculiarity did not escape Dionysius, a native of Charax, on the Persian Gulf (Plin. "H. N." vi. 27), who speaks feelingly of the "flowery pastures" (*νομοὺς εἰανθέας*) of Mesopotamia (l. 1000). Mr. Layard constantly alludes to the wonderful beauty of the spring flowers in the country at the foot of the Sinjar. ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 268, 273, 301, etc.) Mr. Rich notices the same features in the country near Kerkuk ("Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 47). Captain Jones remarks similarly of the tract in the vicinity of Nimrud. ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 372, 373.)

[22] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 70.

[23] Herod. i. 193. *Ἡ γὴ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔρεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ.*

[24] Layard, ut supra, p. 69.

[25] Isaiah xl. 7.

[26] See text, p. 9.

[27] See the account of these works given by Captain Jones in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 310, 311. Compare Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 80, 81.

[28] Herodotus calls it *κελωνήϊον* (i. 193).

[29] See Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 241.

[30] Pliny speaks of the Assyrian dates as used chiefly for fattening pigs and other animals. ("Hist. Nat." xiii. 4, sub fin.)

[31] As in Chalonitis. (Plin. "H. N." vi. 27.)

[32] Strab. xvi. 1, § 24, sub fin.; Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 1.

[33] Herod. i. 192. Mr. Layard remarks that the kinds of grain mentioned by Herodotus, sesame, millet, wheat, and barley, still constitute "the principal agricultural produce of Assyria." ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423.)

[34] Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

[35] Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 1.

[36] Ibid. i. 5, § 5. See the passage quoted at length in note [7], page 213.

[37] Pliny speaks of "Assyrian silk" as a proper dress for women. ("Assyriâ tamen bombyce adhuc feminis cedimus."—"H. N." xi. 23.)

[38] Ibid. xi. 22.

[39] Ibid. xii. 3. "Odore præcellit foliorum quoque, qui transit in vestes unà conditus arcetque animalium noxia. Arbor ipsa omnibus horis pomifera est, aliis cadentibus, aliis maturescentibus, aliis verò subnascentibus."

[40] Ibid. l. s. c. "Malus Assyria, quam alii Medicam vocant, venenis medetur." Compare Virg. "Georg." ii. 126; Solin. 49, etc.

[41] Plin. "H. N." xii. 3; xvi. 32; Solin. l. s. c.

[42] Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 107; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423.

[43] Strabo, xvi. 1, § 5; Plin. "H. N." xiii. 4.

[44] Chesney, l. s. c; Layard, l. s. c.

[45] Niebuhr, "Voyage en Arabie," p. 323. (Compare his "Description de l'Arabie," p. 128.) Mr. Berrington observed two species of oak in the Jebel Tur, one of which he identified with the Valonia oak.

[46] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 256 and 312.

[47] Chesney, p. 108.

[48] Ainsworth, "Assyria," p. 34.

[49] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 366. Mr. Berrington found walnuts near Ain Kaf in the Jebel Tur range.

[50] Pocock, "Description of the East," vol. ii. pp. 158 and 163.

[51] It is grown on terraces, like the vine in Switzerland and on the banks of the Rhine. (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 254, 255.) Niebuhr speaks of the Sinjar figs as in great request—"fort recherchés." ("Voyage en Arabie," p. 315.)

[52] Layard, l. s. c. The vine is also cultivated at Bavian (Berrington) and near Kerkuk (Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 50).

[53] Pocock, vol. ii. p. 158; Niebuhr, p. 318. The vine was at one time cultivated as low down as the commencement of the alluvium. See "Amm. Mar." xxiv. 3 and 6.

[54] Layard, p. 472; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 5; Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 26.

[55] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423; "Nin. and Bab." pp. 123, 132.

[56] Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 76. Wormwood abounds also near Jumeila, in the Kerkuk district (Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 41).

[57] Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 216 and 366.

[58] Chesney, l. s. c.

[59] Layard, p. 315.

[60] Chesney, l. s. c.

[61] See for most of these the account of Colonel Chesney (l. s. c.). Lentils are mentioned by Niebuhr ("Voyage en Arabie," p. 295); cucumbers by Mr. Layard ("Nin. and Bab." p. 224).

[62] Chesney, l. s. c.

[63] Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 143. Compare Chesney, "Euphrates Exp." vol. i. p. 123.

[64] Chesney, l. s. c. Compare Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 128.

[65] Chesney, p. 124.

[66] Niebuhr, p. 129.

[67] Layard, "Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 316.

[68] Ibid. pp. 313, 314. This is the material universally employed for the bas-reliefs.

[69] Ibid. vol. i. p. 223; vol. ii. p. 415.

[70] Chesney, vol. i. p. 108.

[71] Layard, "Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 417–419.

[72] Mr. Rich observed traces of iron in more places than one. ("Kurdistan," vol. i. pp. 176 and 222.)

[73] See Niebuhr's "Voyage en Arabie," p. 275; Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii. pp. 440-442; Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 31; "First Memoir on Babylon," p. 63.

[74] Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 202; Jones, "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 371. The position of the chief springs is marked in the plan, Pl. XXIV., Fig. 1. There are other naphtha springs near Kifri. (Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 29.)

[75] In his first work Mr. Layard doubted the use of bitumen as a cement in Assyria ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 278, 279); but subsequently he found some traces of its employment ("Nin. and Bab." p. 203, etc.). M. Botta represents the use of it as common both at Khorsabad and Koyunjik ("Letters from Nineveh," p. 43).

[76] See text, p. 25.

[77] Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii. p. 441.

[78] Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 27.

[79] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 256.

[80] Rich, p. 29.

[81] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 48.

[82] Ibid. l. s. c., note. For its frequency in old times, see "Amm. Marc." xviii. 7.

[83] Layard, pp. 428, 429.

[84] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," p. 431. Compare "Nin. and Bab." pp. 256 and 312.

[85] Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 271.

[86] Ibid. pp. 296, 297. Beavers are also found in the Zohab river, a tributary of the Diyaleh.

[87] Heeren's "Asiatic Nations," vol. i. p. 132. E. T.

[88] "Anab." i. 5, § 2. Xenophon speaks of them as numerous in his day. He calls them "the most common animal" for some distance below the Khabour.

[89] Layard, "Nin. and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 323, 324; "Nin. and Bab." p. 270; Ainsworth, "Travels," p. 77.

[90] See Pl. XXVI., Fig. 1.

[91] The deer which the army of Julian found in such numbers on the left bank of the Euphrates, a little above Anah, were probably of this species. ("Amm. Marc." xxiv. 1.)

[92] See Pl. VI., Fig. 1. Both this and the representation on Pl. XXVII. of a fallow-deer belong to the decorations of Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik. They are given by Mr. Layard in his "Second Series" of the "Monuments of Nineveh," Pl. 12.

[93] The representation Pl. XXVIII. is on one of the beautiful bronze plates or dishes which were brought by Mr. Layard from Nimrud, and are now in the British Museum. The dish is represented in the "Monuments of Nineveh," second series, Pl. 62.

[94] See the "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 54, 55, where both Sir. H. Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks understand the wild bull to be intended. Dr. Hincks reads the word used as *Rim*, which would clearly be identical with the Hebrew ראם, or רים, translated in our version "unicorn," and sometimes thought to be an antelope, but understood by Gesenius to designate "the wild buffalo." (See his "Lexicon" in voc.)

[95] Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," first series, Pls. 46 and 48.

[96] Deut. xiv. 5.

[97] Diodorus speaks of "Babylonian tigers" as among the animals indigenous in Arabia (ii. 50, § 2).

[98] This animal is now called the *nimr*. The smaller or hunting-leopard (now called *fahad*) is the *nimr* of the Assyrians, an animal of which the inscriptions make frequent mention.

[99] Sir H. Rawlinson brought a specimen of the larger leopard, which he had tamed, from Baghdad to England, and presented it to the Clifton Zoölogical Gardens. Many visitors will remember *Fahad*, who died in the Gardens in 1858 or 1859.

[100] The authorities for this list are Mr. Berrington, Mr. Layard, and Colonel Chesney. (See the "Euph. Expedition," vol. i. pp. 107, 108; and "Nineveh and Babylon," passim.)

[101] See especially the "Monuments of Nineveh," second series, Pl. 46.

[102] "Anab," l. s. c.

[103] Ταῖς πτέρυξιν, ἄρασα, ὥσπερ ἱστίῳ, χρωμένη. "Anab." i. 5, § 3.

104 "Monuments of Nineveh," second series, Pl. 32.

105 Botta, "Monumens de Ninive," vol. ii. Pl. 111.

106 Ibid. Pl. 109 to 112.

107 Ibid. Pl. 110

108 "Anab." l. s. c.

109 See text, p. 27.

110 Chesney, "Euphrates Exp." vol. i. p. 108; Layard, "Nin. and Babylon," p. 325.

111 Rich, "Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 143.

112 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 265.

113 The Bactrian camel is, I believe, only represented on the famous Black Obelisk, where it appears among the presents sent to the king from foreign countries.

114 The young colts fetch prices varying from £30 to £150. A thousand pounds is no uncommon price for a well-known mare. Mr. Layard mentions a case where a Sheikh refused for a favorite mare no less a sum than £1200. ("Nin. and Bab." p. 327.)

115 Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition." vol. i. p. 108.

116 Ibid. l. s. c.

117 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 246.

118 The horse draws chariots. and not carts. He is never used as a beast of burden.

119 Dogs are constantly represented as engaged in the chase upon the sculptures of Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus). A number of his hounds were found modelled in clay at Koyunjik. They have each their name inscribed on them, which is always a term indicative of their hunting prowess.

120 Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 600, 601.

121 See text. p. 150.

CHAPTER III.

1 See Prichard's "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv. pp. 563, 564. where some of the supposed derivations are given.

2 Gen. x. 21-31; 1 Chr. 17-23.

3 See this argument urged by Dr. Prichard, "Physical Hist. of Mankind," vol. iv. pp. 567, 568.

4 The elder Niebuhr was the first to report this fact. (See his "Voyage en Arabie," p. 285.) It was commonly disbelieved till Mr. Ainsworth confirmed the statement.

5 See B. G. Niebuhr's "Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. p. 12, E. T.; Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. iii. p. 403; Bunsen, "Essay on Ethnology" (1847), p. 29.

6 Niebuhr went so far as to identify the Assyrians with the Syrians; but here he fell into a mistake. The Aramæans were probably as distinct from the Assyrians as any other Semitic race. Niebuhr was misled by the Greek fancy that the *names* "Assyrian" and "Syrian," were really identical. (See Herod. vii. 63.) But these names had, in truth, an entirely distinct origin. Syria (more properly *Tsyria*) was the name given by the Greeks to the country about *Tsur*, or Tyre, צור. Assyria was the correspondent term to Asshur, אשור, the native, as well as the Hebrew, name of the tract upon the middle Tigris.

7 See Bunsen's "Philosophy of History," vol. iii. pp. 193–216; Max Müller, "Languages of the Seat of War," p. 25, 2d ed.; Oppert, "Elémens de la Grammaire Assyrienne;" etc.

8 "Itinéraire," vol. i. p. 421.

9 Lepsius, "Denkmäler," Abtheil, iii. Bl. 88.

10 Rich, "Residence in Kurdistan," vol. i. p. 278.

11 See especially the Tiglath-Pileser cylinder, where such expressions as these occur:—"Under the auspices of Ninip, my guardian deity, I killed four wild bulls, strong and fierce." "Under the auspices of Ninip, 120 lions fell before me" (pp. 54–57).

12 "As he (Sennacherib) was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god" (2 Kings xix. 37).

13 Tiglath-Pileser I. speaks of sacrificing as a part of the kingly office ("Inscription," etc., p. 70).

14 See text, pp. 86 and 87. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the later inhabitants of the country were far less religious, and confined their pictured and sculptured representations to battles and hunting-pieces. ("Nec enim apud eos pingitur vel fingitur aliud præter varias [bestiarum] cædes et bella," xxiv. 6.)

15 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 421; "Nin. and Bab." pp. 603-605.

16 See text, ch. viii.

17 Isaiah xxxiii. 19.

18 "Inter arundineta Mesopotamiæ fluminum et fruteta leones vagantur *innumeri*." "Amm. Marc." xviii. 7. Tiglath-Pileser I. claims to have slain in all 800 lions. ("Inscriptions," etc., p. 56.)

19 Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 261, 262.

20 Isaiah xxviii. 2.

21 Nahum iii. 1: "Woe to the bloody city,"—or, as the margin gives it. "Woe to the city of bloods!" (המים חוי עיר).

22 Probably a reward was given for heads, as has often been the fashion with Orientals. Sometimes scribes are represented as taking account of them. (See Layard, "Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 184.

23 Mr. Layard has, I think, expressed himself too strongly when he says that on the capture of a town "an indiscriminate slaughter appears to have succeeded; and that the prisoners were either empaled or carried away as slaves." ("Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 374.) It appears, by the inscriptions, that towns were frequently spared, and that the bulk of the inhabitants were generally left in the place.

[24] Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Pls. 83 and 118.

[25] Ibid. vol. ii. Pl. 120; Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," Second Series, Pl. 47. Is it quite certain that these unfortunates are alive? The Persians and Scythians sometimes flayed men after death, in order to make use of their skins ("Herod." iv. 64; v. 25).

[26] Captives are occasionally represented as urged onwards by blows, like tired cattle; and they are sometimes heavily fettered. But in each case the usage is exceptional.

[27] See illustration.

[28] Isaiah xxxiii. 1.

[29] Nahum iii. 1.

[30] Mr. Vance Smith renders, "full of *treachery* and violence;" which is probably the real *meaning*. But the word used is כחש, "mendacium," not בגד, "perfidia."

[31] See Thucyd. ii. 83.

[32] Isaiah xxxiii. 8: "He hath broken the covenant, he hath despised the cities, he regardeth no man."

[33] Ezek. xxxi. 10, 11: "*Because* thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have *therefore* delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen; he shall surely deal with him: I have driven him out for his wickedness."

[34] Isaiah x. 7-14, xxxvii. 24-28; Ezek. xxxi. 10; Zeph. ii. 15.

[35] Some idea of notable luxuriousness attaching to the Assyrians is, perhaps, earlier than Ctesias. (See Aristoph. "Aves," 958, ed. Bothe.) Did it come from the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι of Herodotus?

[36] See Diod. Sic. ii. 21, § 2.

[37] Nahum iii. 4: "Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the well-favored harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts, Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord." Idolatry is probably the "whoredom" here intended.

[38] Jonah iii. 8.

[39] Nahum iii. 1.

[40] Ibid. ii. 11-13.

[41] The frequent occurrence of the lion on the monuments, either in the natural form or with a human head, seems to justify these expressions. It must be admitted, however, that the standards bear a different emblem. See text, ch. vii.

[42] See Bunsen's "Philosophy of History," vol. iii. p. 192; "Egypt," vol. iv. pp. 144, 638, etc.

[43] Denon says of Thebes, with equal force and truth:—On est fatigué d'écrire, on est fatigué de lire, on est epouvanté de la pensée d'une telle conception; on ne peut croire, même après l'avoir vu, à la réalité de l'existence de tant de constructions réunies sur un même point, à leurs dimensions, à la constance obstinée qu'a exigée leur fabrication, aux dépenses incalculables de tant de sumptuosite." ("Egypte," vol. ii. p. 226.)

[44] Ezek. xxxi. 3-9.

CHAPTER IV.

[1] The local tradition is strikingly marked by the Mahometan belief that on the smaller of the two mounds opposite Mosul is "the tomb of Jonah;" whence the name *Nebbi-Yunus*. The most important of the ancient authorities is Xenophon ("Anab," iii. 4, §§ 10-12).

[2] See Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 242. Neither passage is correctly represented by Mr. Layard. Ptolemy distinctly places Nineveh—not on the Lycus, as Mr. Layard says—but on the Tigris ("Geograph." vi. 1); and Strabo, though he does not actually do the same, certainly does not anywhere say that it was "near the junction of the two rivers." "He says that the Lycus divided Aturia from Arbelitis, and that Nineveh was situated in the middle of the former district (xvi. 1, § 3).

[3] Herod. i. 193; Nic. Dam. Fr. 9; Arrian, "Hist. Ind." 42; Plin. "H. N." vi. 13; Eustath. and Dionys. Perieg. 988; etc. It is perhaps by a slip of the pen that Diodorus places Nineveh on the Euphrates (ii. 3).

[4] See Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 247.

[5] Diodorus (l. s. c.) made Nineveh an oblong square 140 stades (18¼ miles) long, and 90 stades (11¼ miles) broad. Nimrud is eighteen miles from Koyunjik, and about twelve from Keremles. (Layard, l. s. c.)

[6] Ch. iii. ver. 3, and ch. iv. ver. 11.

[7] Book i. ch. 178.

[8] Gen. x. 11, 12. We must understand the expression "a great city" as qualified by the circumstances under which it is used—a great city according to the size of cities in the primeval times. The city in question may probably have occupied the site of the ruins at Selamiyeh

[9] Strab. xvi. 1, § 1; Arrian, "Exp. Alex." iii. 7; Plin. "H. N." v. 12.

[10] See text, p. 129.

[11] See the careful surveys of Capt. Jones, published by the Royal Asiatic Society. ("Journal," vol. xv.)

[12] See the plans of the ruins at Nimrud and Koyunjik (Pl. XXIV., Fig. 1, and Pl. XXXVI., Fig. 2). Koyunjik, according to the hypothesis, would occupy the northwest angle of the town, and its southern and eastern sides would thus be within the town; but the *chief* defences are those on the east.

[13] Diod. Sic. ii. 3.

[14] It has been remarked that "the writer of the book of Jonah nowhere identifies himself with the prophet." (Vance Smith, "Prophecies on Nineveh," p. 252.) "On the contrary, he rather carefully keeps himself distinct, speaking of Jonah always in the third person, and *not suggesting, by a single word or implication*, that he ever thought of being re-

garded as, at the same time, both writer and subject of the narrative." All this is undoubtedly true, but it does not establish the negative.

[15] The position of the book in the Hebrew Canon, between Amos and Micah, shows that its date was regarded as falling between Uzziah (B.C. 808) and Hezekiah (B.C. 697). Nineveh was not destroyed till, at any rate, B.C. 625.

[16] Jonah iii. 3.

[17] Ibid. iv 11.

[18] See the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 326, note [2].

[19] Capt. Jones notes that from the N. W. angle of the city to the *centre* of the Koyunjik mound, from that to the *centre* of the Nebbi-Yunus mound, and from the centre of the Nebbi-Yunus mound to the S. W. angle of the city, are exactly equal distances. ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 325.)

[20] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 322.

[21] Ibid. p. 323.

[22] Ibid p. 324.

[23] Diod. Sic. ii. 3, § 2.

[24] "Anab." iii. 4, § 10. I assume that the Mespila of Xenophon is identical with the ruins opposite Mosul. There does not seem to be any reasonable doubt of this. (See Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 140; "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol xv. p. 332.)

[25] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 322.

[26] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 660. "The remains still existing of these fortifications almost confirm the statement of Diodorus Siculus, that the walls were a hundred feet high," etc.

[27] "Anab." iii. 4, § 10. The excavations have not yet tested this statement of Xenophon's; but as his estimate of twenty feet is *exactly* correct for the stone basement of the walls of Nimrud (Larissa), we may fairly assume that he probably did not much miscalculate here. (Cf. "Anab." iii. 4, § 7, with Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 123, 125.)

[28] *Λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου.* "Anab." iii. 4, § 10. Mr. Ainsworth remarks that this fossiliferous stone is the common building material at Mosul, but "does not occur far to the north or to the south, being succeeded by wastes of gypsum." ("Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand." p. 140.)

[29] Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 658.

[30] Ibid. note.

[31] Herod. i. 179.

[32] Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 120-123.

[33] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 322.

[34] Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 660, note.

[35] See the plan Pl. XXXVI., Fig. 2; and comp. the "Journ. of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 323.

CHAPTER V.

[1] Gen. x. 21-25.

[2] See Herod. vii. 63, and 140; Æsch. "Pers," 86; Xen. "Cyrop." v 4, § 51, etc.; Scylax, "Peripl." p. 80; Dionys. Perieg. 772; Strab. xvi. 1, § 2, Arrian, Fr 48; Plin. "H. N." v. 12; Mela, i. 11, for the confusion of Assyrians with the Syrians. For the close connection and almost identification of the Babylonians with the Assyrians, see Herod. i. 106. 178; iii. 92; Strab. l. s. c.; etc.

[3] Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv. p. 568.

[4] Occasionally the slabs have been purposely defaced and rendered illegible, probably by kings of another dynasty.

[5] Birch, "Ancient Pottery," p. 144.

[6] See "First Monarchy," ch. iv. pp. 46, 47, and ch. v. pp. 61, 62.

[7] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 604, note.

[8] Ibid. p. 345.

[9] See the translation by Dr Hincks in the *Dublin University Magazine* for October, 1853.

[10] "Journ. of Asiatic Soc." vol xii. p. 441.

[11] Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 2.

[12] Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 320, § 33.

[13] Diod. Sic. ii. 32. As Diodorus' sole authority here is the untrustworthy Ctesias, no great dependence can be placed on his statement.

[14] This is not a *mere* negative argument, since statements of the nature of the material used do occur, and accord with the monumental facts. Epigenes, for instance, spoke of the Babylonians recording their astronomical observations upon baked tiles ("coctilibus laterculis," Plin. "H. N." vii. 56), and the historians of Alexander mentioned a stone inscription of Sardanapalus (Arr. "Exp. Al." ii. 5; Strab. xiv. 5, § 9). The eastern tradition that Seth wrote the history and wisdom of antediluvian times on burnt and unburnt brick (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 347, note) has a similar bearing.

[15] Layard, p. 154; Botta, "Letters from Nineveh," p. 27.

[16] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xiv.

[17] "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," tom. ii. livre i. Appendice; Catalogue des signes *les plus usités*., pp. 107-120.

[18] The vowels must be sounded as in Italian, A as *a* in "vast"—E as *a* in "face"—I as *e* in "me"—O as *o* in "host"—U as *u* in "rude."

[19] The Assyrians confounded the sounds of *m* and *v*, as the Greeks did those of *μ* and *β*. (See Buttmann's "Lexilogus," p. 84, and p. 189, E. T.)

[20] There is a character representing the soft breathing ': but none, apparently for the rough breathing '.

[21] The nearest approach to an analogy is to be found in those Hebrew nouns which adopt the feminine termination for their plurals, as אב "a father," אבות "fathers." But in Assyrian, the mascu-

line plural termination *-ut* is not identical with the feminine, which is *-et* or *at*.

[22] "Élémens, etc." par M. Jules Oppert. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1860.

CHAPTER VI.

[1] Gen. x. 12.

[2] Mos. Choren. i. 15.

[3] Diod. Sic. ii. 3 and 5.

[4] The plan is borrowed, by permission, from Mr. Fergusson's excellent work, "The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored." Mr. Fergusson remarks that this feature of alternate projection and indentation is found also in the Persepolitan platform (see p. 239).

[5] See the plan, Pl. XXIV.

[6] See Pl. XXXVI.

[7] Mr. Layard calls this court a "hall" ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 654); but no one can compare his plan of Esar-haddon's Nimrud palace (No. 3, opp. p. 655) with Mr. Botta's plans of Khorsabad, and his own plans of Koyunjik, without seeing at once that the great space is really an inner court.

[8] See the woodcut on Pl. XLI.

[9] As much as four feet of the wall has sometimes been found standing (Fergusson's "Palaces," p. 267).

[10] See the specimens of enamelled bricks in Mr. Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st series, Plates 84 to 86.

[11] "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 176.

[12] See the plan of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, Pl. XLII., Fig. 2.

[13] See the plan of the Nimrud platform in Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," opp. p. 655. According to it, *all* the palaces on the platform would have their walls parallel to one another and to the sides of the platform; but Captain Jones's survey shows that the platform itself is irregular, so that Mr. Layard's representation appears to be inexact.

[14] The walls of the palace excavated by Mr. Loftus are not parallel with those of the edifice exhumed by Mr. Layard.

[15] Compare the observations of M. Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 64.

[16] See Fergusson's "Palaces," pp. 234, 235.

[17] See text, p. 134.

[18] The Khosr-Su, which runs on this side of the Khorsabad ruins, often overflows its banks, and pours its waters against the palace mound. The gaps north and south of the mound may have been caused by its violence.

[19] See Pl. XLI.

[20] These portals were discovered by M. Place, M. Botta's successor at Mosul. I cannot find that any representations of them have been published.

[21] The widest Assyrian arch actually discovered is carried across a space of about 15 feet (see text, p. 193).

[22] Mr. Fergusson argues for the existence of a chamber and a second gateway, from the analogy of the Persepolitan ruins ("Palaces of Nineveh," p. 246); but this analogy cannot be depended on.

[23] Fergusson's "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 172.

[24] See Pl. X.

[25] Fergusson, "Handbook," l. s. c.

[26] Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 48.

[27] Ibid. p. 69.

[28] "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 259.

[29] Ibid. p. 261.

[30] In one case the monarch is in the act of driving a spear or javelin into the head of a captive with one hand, while with the other he holds him by a thong attached to a ring passed through his under lip. In another case an executioner flays a captive (or criminal) who is fastened to a wall.

[31] This hall opened on the north-western terrace, and stood so near its edge that two of its sides have fallen. Internally it was adorned with a single row of sculptures, representing the king receiving prisoners.

[32] The sculptures here were all peaceable. The king occurred three times, with the sacred flower in his left hand, receiving presents or tributes.

[33] Fergusson's "Palaces," p. 263.

[34] Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 53; Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 292; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 130.

[35] Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 254; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 646.

[36] "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 42; and compare the plan, vol. i. Pl. 6.

[37] "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 650.

[38] The inclined passage of Asshur-banipal's palace at Koyunjik was not *in* the palace, but led from the level of the city up to it.

[39] "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 62.

[40] "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 275.

[41] Ibid.

[42] That this was one of the objects held in view by the Babylonians when they erected their Temple platforms, is conjectured by M. Fresnel. ("Journal Asiatique," Juin 1853, pp. 528–531.)

[43] The parapet wall was observed at most in two places. (See the shaded parts, marked *a a* on the plan, Pl. XLII., Fig. 2.)

[44] "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. pp. 65–67.

[45] Ibid. p. 68.

[46] See text, pp. 204–206.

[47] "Journal Asiatique," Rapport de M. Mohl pour Août 1853, p. 150; Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," p. 173.

[48] "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. pp. 71, 72.

[49] Ibid. p. 72.

[50] Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 276.

[51] "Monument," etc., vol. v. p. 69.

[52] "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 262; "Handbook of Architecture," p. 171.

[53] "Monument de Ninive," p. 70. Com-

pare Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp 649, 650. It must further be noted, as throwing considerable doubt on the whole spirit of Mr. Fergusson's Assyrian restorations, that their essence consists in giving a thoroughly columnar character, both internally and externally, to Assyrian buildings, whereas one of the most remarkable features in the remains is the almost entire absence of the column. A glance at the restoration already given from Mr. Fergusson, or at that, by the same ingenious gentleman, which forms the frontispiece to Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," will show the striking difference, and (as it seems to me) the want of harmony in his restorations between the basement story of a palace, which is all that we can reconstruct with any certainty, and the entire remainder of the edifice. Mr. Fergusson supports his view that the column was really thus prominent in Assyrian buildings by the analogy of Susa and Persepolis; but the columnar edifices at those places are on an entirely different plan from that of an Assyrian palace. Those buildings had no solid walls at all (Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 374, 375), but lay entirely open to the air; they were mere groves of pillars supporting a flat roof—convenient summer residences. The evidence of the remains seems to be that there was a strong contrast between Assyrian and Persian architecture, the latter depending almost wholly on the column, and elaborating it as much as possible; the former scarcely allowing the column at all, and leaving it almost in its primitive condition of a mere post. (See Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4.)

[54] Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 269.

[55] Mr. Fergusson disallows the hypæthral system even here ("True Principles of Beauty," p. 381); but later writers do not seem converted by his arguments. (See the article on TEMPLUM and Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 1105, 2d edition; and compare Mr. Falkener's "Dædalus," Introduction, pp. 18–20.)

[56] "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 259. Compare "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 647; and see also the restoration of an Assyrian interior in his "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st series, Pl. 2, from which the illustration Pl. XLVIII. is taken.

[57] Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p. 270.

[58] "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 259, 260.

[59] Such as that represented on Pl. XLVII., Fig. 1.

[60] Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," p. 179.

[61] See the representation in Mr. Fergusson's "Palaces of Nineveh Restored," p. 298. This black stone is of the time of Esar-haddon.

[62] On this point, see Pl. LXI.

[63] See Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d series, Pl. 51; and compare "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 208. A similar treatment of divine figures is common upon the Cylinders. (See Cullimore's "Cylinders," Nos. 19, 20, 30, 55, 96, etc.) It is found likewise in Cappadocia. (See Van Lennep's "Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor," vol. ii. p. 118.)

[64] "Journal Asiatique," Août 1853, p. 150; Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 173.

[65] Herod. i. 181.

[66] See the illustration Pl. LIII.

[67] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xvii. p. 13.

[68] Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," p. 172. I have been unable to obtain any detailed account of this building.

[69] See text, p. 133.

[70] "Nineveh and Babylon," plan opp. p. 123; "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d series, frontispiece. (See Pl. LII., Fig. 2.)

[71] See Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4.

[72] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 129; comp. Diod. Sic. ii. 7.

[73] Xenophon and Ctesias both noticed this remarkable edifice. ("Anab." iii. 4, § 9.) Xenophon calls it a "pyramid," but shows that it more resembled a tower by saying that its height (200 ft.) was double its width at the base, which he estimates at 100 ft. He gives no account of the purpose for which it was intended. Ctesias, who enormously exaggerates its size, making it 10 stadia wide and 9 stadia (more than a mile!) high, was the first to give it a sepulchral character. He said that it was built by Semiramis over the body of her husband, Ninus. He placed it, however, if we may believe Diodorus (ii. 7), at Nineveh, and upon the Euphrates! Next to these writers, Amyntas, one of the historians of Alexander, noticed the edifice. He called it the tomb of Sardanapalus; and, like Ctesias, placed it at Nineveh (ap. Athen. "Deipn." xii. 4, § 11). Ovid no doubt intended the same building by his "busta Nini," which however, according to him, lay in the vicinity of Babylon ("Metamorph." iv. 88).

[74] "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 128.

[75] It may perhaps have had a religious bearing; and similar galleries may perhaps exist under all temple-towers.

[76] The single slab which filled the recess (*f* in ground-plan No. I., Pl. LIV., Fig. 1) in the greater of the two Nimrud temples, was 21 ft. long, 16 ft. 7 in. broad, and 1 ft. 1 in. thick. It contained thus 375 cubic feet of stone, and must have weighed nearly, if not quite, 30 tons. (See Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 352.)

[77] Ibid. p. 357.

[78] Note the position of the doorways, *b* and *d* in ground-plan No. I.

[79] See ground-plan No. II. (Pl. LIV., Fig. 1) entrance *b*.

[80] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 359.

[81] The chamber marked *e* in ground

plan No. I. (Pl. LIV.) was 47 ft. long by 31 ft. wide. (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 352.)

[82] Ibid. p. 357.

[83] Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," Pl. 17. A portion of this village is represented in Pl. LVI., Fig. 1.

[84] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 112. The representation is of a village in the neighborhood of Aleppo. [Pl. LVI., Fig. 2.]

[85] See text, pp. 165, 166.

[86] Supra, ch. iv. note [27].

[87] M. Botta says: "Cette muraille était construite en blocs de pierre calcaire très-dure, venant des montagnes voisines: ces blocs ont la forme de parallélopipèdes rectangles d'une coupe régulière, et sont disposés par assises, de maniére à présenter alternativement au dehors leur face la plus large et une de leurs extrémités; c'est-à-dire que tous etant posés de champ, l'un tapisse le massif, puis un et quelquefois deux autres continuent l'assise par leurs extrémités, la même alternative se répétant dans toute la longueur de celle ci. Il en résulte qu' étant tous de méme longueur, ceux qui présentent une extrémité au dehors dépassent à l'intérieur la ligne des autres, et s'encastrent dans le massif de briques. Cette disposition avait pour but de lier solidement l'amas terreux intérieur au revêtement extérieur." ("Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 31.)

[88] M. Botta makes this comparison. ("Monument de Ninive," l. s. c.) His representation, however, differs in two main points from the ordinary Cyclopian style: 1, the horizontal course seems to be maintained throughout; and 2, the stones do not fit into each other at all closely or with any exactness.

[89] Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 31.

[90] See text, pp. 193, 197, 198, etc.

[91] The earliest arches seem to be those of Egypt, which mount at least to the 15th century before our era. (Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st series, iii. p. 317; Falkener, "Dædalus," App. p. 288.) The Babylonian arches mentioned above (p. 56) cannot be much later than B.C. 1300. The earliest known Assyrian arches would belong to about the 9th century B.C.

[92] Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 173.

[93] Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 163.

[94] See Pl. XLIX.

[95] See Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 125, 2d edition; and Mr. Falkener's "Dædalus," App. p. 288. Compare the representation Pl. LIX., Fig. 2.

[96] See Pl. LXII., Fig. 1.

[97] Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," p. 252.

[98] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 162 and 165.

[99] See text, p. 200.

[100] Fergusson, "Palaces of Nineveh," p 265.

[101] See Botta's "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Plates 155 and 156; Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st series, Plates 84, 86, and 87; 2d series, Plates 53, 54, and 55.

[102] Supra, note [53]. Mr. Fox Talbot supposes that he has found a mention of *columns* in a description given of one of his palaces by Sennacherib. ("Assyrian Texts Translated," p. 8.) But the technical terms in the Assyrian architectural descriptions are of such doubtful meaning that no theory can at present be rested upon them.

[103] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 103; "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. Plan II. opp. p. 34, and p. 376. Columns may also have been used to support a covered passage across a court. (See text, p. 198.)

[104] See No. V., Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4.

[105] No. IV., Pl. XLIX., Fig. 3.

[106] Ibid.

[107] See text, p. 180, and Pl. XLI., Fig. 2.

[108] "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 64: "La manière de bâtir les édifices est d'autant plus singulière, qu'à Ninive (Khorsabad) au moins la pierre était très-abondante et de bonne qualitè, et que rien ne forçait les habitans à se servir de briques." And again, p 65: "L'abondance des roches, soit calcaires, soit gypseuses, pouvait leur fournir d'excellents, matériaux aussi solides que faciles à travailler."

[109] "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xv. p. 317.

[110] Ibid. p. 311. (See text, p. 166.)

[111] Ibid pp. 317 and 323.

[112] Ibid. p. 347.

[113] Ibid. p. 346. It is very remarkable that Mr. Layard should so entirely have ignored these features of the geology of Assyria in his account of the Assyrian architecture. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. ch. ii. pp. 250-275.) It would be concluded from his account, by a reader not otherwise informed on the subject, that no stone but the delicate alabaster used for the bas-reliefs was accessible to the Assyrian architects.

[114] At Nimrud the western cliff is "artificially scarped" to make it a secure defence. ("Journal of As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 346.) At Negoub the rock is tunnelled for some distance, and for a longer space "chiselled through a hard sandstone and surface-conglomerate to a depth perhaps of forty feet." (Ibid. p. 311.) At Nineveh the moat is carried "for upwards of two miles, with a breadth of 200 feet, through a peculiarly hard and compact silicious conglomerate." (Ibid. p. 320.) A very hard basalt was used in the palace temple at Khorsabad. (See text, p. 189.)

[115] M. Botta winds up his remarks on the strangeness of the Assyrian architecture occurring where it does, by suggesting "que les monumens de Ninive sont postérieurs à ceux de Babylone, et que c'est dans ce dernier pays qu'il faut chercher l'origine de l'art Assyrien" (p. 65).

[116] Mr. Fergusson, who has treated of the architecture of the Assyrians with so much knowledge and ingenuity, says but little on the subject of their sculpture. Mr. Layard's review of the subject in his first work (Book II. ch. ii.) is the best which at present exists; but it is of necessity incomplete, owing to the early period in the history of Assyrian discovery at which it was composed. Its views are also occasionally open to dispute.

[117] See Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 51, 52.

[118] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 361. The statue is also in the British Museum.

[119] One of these is figured above, Pl. XXI. The actual statues are both in the British Museum.

[120] This statue is in the Berlin Museum.

[121] See text, p. 91.

[122] Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 124.

[123] "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Plates 152 to 155.

[124] Supra, Pls. XXXII. and XXXIII.

[125] According to Mr. Birch, the colors used were "blue, red, and black," and they were "laid on in a paste" ("Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 125). At present the traces of color on the dogs are very faint.

[126] The only exceptions are believed to be a few instances of lions' heads, and one human head on the ornamentation of dresses at Nimrud. (See Layard's "Monuments," 1st series, Plates 9 and 50, fig. 7.)

[127] Pl. XXXV. is also a good specimen of the defective perspective of the Assyrian artists.

[128] "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st series, Pl. 10.

[129] Ibid. p. 3.

[130] See ibid. Plates 12, 23, 24, etc.

[131] See particularly, in the same work, Plates 13, 14, 19, 28, and 29.

[132] The hunt of the wild bull (Plate 11), a *pendant* to the hunt of the lion above described, resembles it in many respects, but on the whole is decidedly inferior. Several hunting scenes, possessing considerable merit, are represented on the embroidery of dresses. (See Pl. 44, fig. 6; Pl. 48, figs. 4 and 6; Pl. 49, figs. 3 and 4; and Pl. 50, fig. 1.)

[133] "Monument de Ninive," Paris, 1849. The descriptive letterpress is by M. Botta. The drawings were executed by M. Flandin, and engraved by MM. Sellier, Péronard, Oury, and others.

[134] These drawings have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Vaux, of the Antiquities Department.

[135] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates 15, 16, 33, and 39 B.

[136] Ibid. Plates 13, 14, and 33.

[137] This is particularly the case in the sculptures of Sennacherib. In those of Sargon, backgrounds are still rather the exception than the rule.

[138] Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Plates 32 to 34; Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 71.

[139] See the representations on Pls. VI. and XXVIII.

[140] "Mon. of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 40.

[141] Supra, Pls. XXX., XXXI., XXXII.

[142] Pages 213, 214.

[143] No lion-hunt nor bull-hunt has been found in the sculptures of this time. The chase seems confined to hares, gazelles, and birds.

[144] See chapter ix. There is reason to believe that the Eusebian date for Gyges (B.C. 698 to B.C. 662) is more correct than the Herodotean—B.C. 724 to B.C. 686.

[145] These drawings, which are in the British Museum, having been taken when the slabs were freshly exhumed, often preserve features which have disappeared during the transport of the originals and their preparation for exhibition. By the kindness of M. Vaux, the free use of the drawings has been allowed to the author of the present work.

[146] See the illustration (No. V.) Pl. XLIX., which belongs to this time; and compare the trees with those represented supra, Pl. LXVI.

[147] See Pl. LXXI. A representation of the whole scene would have been given, had this work been on a larger scale; but it is impossible to do justice to the highly finished sculptures of this time within the limits of an ordinary octavo. The scene itself may be studied in the British Museum. It occupies a portion of the eastern wall in the *underground* Assyrian apartment.

[148] See Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 300.

[149] Ibid. p. 299. Wornum, in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities" (ad voc. PICTURA), goes somewhat further than Wilkinson; but still maintains that the Greeks did not color the flesh of statues.

[150] "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 306.

[151] See M. Botta's "Monument de Ninive," Plates 12, 14, 43, 53, 61, 62, 63, etc. Compare the general statement, vol. v. p. 178.

[152] See his "Voyage archéologique à Ninive" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July, 1845, p. 106.

[153] "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Description of the Plates, p. 1.

[154] The opinion of M. Flandin, that an ochre tint covered the flesh and the backgrounds at Khorsabad, seems to have been derived from a particular instance, where, according to M. Botta, the coloring was accidental, and dated from a time subsequent to the ruin of the palace ("Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 179).

[155] "On the sculptures I have only found black, white, red, and blue," says Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 310); "and these colors alone were used in the painted ornaments of the upper chambers at Nimrud. At Khorsabad, *green and yellow continually occurred* on the bas-reliefs; at Koyunjik, there were no traces whatever of color."

But, in opposition to the statement in italics, M. Botta, the explorer of Khorsabad, observes, "Nous n'avons trouvé à Khorsabad sur les sculptures d'autres couleurs que le rouge, le bleu, et le noir." ("Monument," vol. v. p. 178.) The green and yellow were confined to the enamelled bricks.

156 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 311.

157 Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Plates 12, 63, and 113.

158 Ibid. Plate 61.

159 Ibid. Plates 53, 62, 63, etc.

160 Ibid. Plates 43 and 113.

161 Ibib. Plate 14.

162 Ibid. Plate 43.

163 Ibid. Plates 110, 113, and 114.

164 Ibid. Plates 110 and 114.

165 Ibid. Plates 61 and 65.

166 Ibid. Plates 61 and 62.

167 Ibid. Plates 62, 65, and 114.

168 Ibid. Plates 12, 14, 62 and 65.

169 Ibid. Plate 63.

170 Ibid. Plate 114.

171 Ibid. Plate 53.

172 Ibid. Plate 81.

173 Ibid. Plates 74 and 75.

174 Ibid. Plate 63.

175 See Dr. Percy's note in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 672.

176 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 310; Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 127.

177 Ibid. p. 149.

178 Botta, "Monument," Plates 110, 113, and 114.

179 Ibid. Plates 110 and 114.

180 Ibid. Plate 61.

181 Ibid. Plate 62.

182 Ibid. Plate 14.

183 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol ii. p. 312, note.

184 Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 127.

185 Mr. Layard conjectures that it was obtained, as it is in the country to this day, by burning the alabaster or gypsum. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 311.)

186 Ibid. p. 312. For instances, see Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 92; Botta, "Monument," Plates 12 and 43.

187 "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 313.

188 "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Plate 92.

189 Botta, "Monument," Plate 43.

190 "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 312, note.

191 Birch, l. s. c.

192 "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 311.

193 Mr. Layard discovered sixteen of these lions in one place. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 128.) They had all rings affixed to their backs, which seemed to show the purpose for which they were intended. The largest of these lions was about a foot in length.

194 See text, p. 210.

195 See Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 301; Botta, "Monument," Plate 19.

196 Botta, Plate 17. It is uncertain whether the ornaments in this case, and in those referred to in the last note, were cast or embossed, since we have only the representations, not the originals themselves. The throne ornaments, however, were actually found (Layard "Nin. and Bab." pp. 198–200). They were castings in bronze.

197 Here again we cannot be certain whether the sculptures represent embossed work or castings. In delicate fabrics, like sword-sheaths, the former seems more probable.

198 Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 196.

199 Supra, Pls. XXVI. and XXVII.

200 Plates 57 to 67. The drawings by Mr. Prentice, now in the British Museum, are still more beautiful than these plates, since they show the wonderful coloring of the bronzes at the time of their arrival.

201 Pages 185–190.

202 Mr. Layard calls No. I. a head of Athor ("Nin. and Bab." p. 187); but there are no sufficient grounds for the identification. The head resembles the ordinary mummy type. The head-dress No. II. is the well-known double crown, worn by both kings and gods, representing the sovereignty over both the Upper and the Lower country. (Wilkinson, "Ancient Egpytians," vol. iii. p. 354.)

203 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 61, B; "Nin. and Bab." p. 187. On the *ank* or *onk*, see Wilkinson, vol. v. p. 283.

204 Isaiah xx. 4.

205 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 192.

206 It is urged that Phœnician characters appear on one of the plates (ibid. p. 188), that the scarab which occurs on so many of them (supra, Pl. LXXVI., Fig. 1) is "more of a Phœnician than an Egyptian form" (ib. p. 186), and that some silver bowls of the same character, found in Cyprus, are almost certainly Phœnician (ib. p. 192, note). But these last may well be Assyrian, since some Assyrian remains have certainly been brought from the island; and the other points are too doubtful and too minute to set against the strong Assyrian character of the great bulk of the ornaments and figures.

207 "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 192.

208 Ibid. p. 191.

209 Ibid. p. 178.

210 Ibid. p. 191, note.

211 Mr. Layard found a gold earring adorned with pearls, together with a number of purely Assyrian relics, at Koyunjik ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 595). He has figured it. p. 597.

212 Ibid. pp. 595, 596.

213 Ibid. p. 196.

214 "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 8–10 and p. 205. For other discoveries of ivory objects, see "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 179, 195, and 362.

215 "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 89, fig. 8.
216 Ibid. Plate 90, figs. 17 and 22.
217 "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 10.
218 See above, Pl. LXXVI. The symbol occurs at the foot of the chairs.
219 See Mr. Birch's description in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 11, note.
220 See text, p. 221.
221 Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Plate 62. The hanging sleeve is, however, worn only on one arm.
222 See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates 84, 86, and 87.
223 Ibid. Plate 84, figs. 9 and 12.
224 "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 166.
225 There is a curious contrast between the bricks and the sculptures in this respect. In the sculptures there is no yellow, but abundance of red. It is a reasonable conjecture of Mr. Layard's, that in these "some of the red tints which remain were originally laid on to receive gilding." ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 313, note.)
226 "Monument de Ninive," Plate 155, figs. 3, 5, and 9. Mr. Layard says he found purple and violet on some of the Nimrud bricks ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 310); but he does not represent these colors.
227 Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 84, fig. 2.
228 Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Plate 155, fig. 3,
229 Ibid. fig. 2.
230 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 55, fig. 6.
231 Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Plate 155, figs. 5 and 9.
232 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 53, fig. 6.
233 Ibid. Plate 53, figs. 3 and 4; Plate 54, figs. 12, 13, and 14.
234 Ibid. Plate 53, figs. 2 and 5; and Plate 54, fig. 9.
235 Ibid. Plate 53, fig. 1.
236 Ibid. Plate 54, fig. 7.
237 Ibid. Plate 54, fig. 8.
238 Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 84, figs. 9 and 12.
239 Fig. 9.
240 "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Plate 155, fig. 2.
241 Ibid. figs. 5 and 9.
242 Ibid. fig. 3.
243 Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 127. The fragment is figured in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 84, fig. 2.
244 Birch, p. 129.
245 Buildings are white, but the battlements and some courses in the stone are touched with yellow. A door in one is colored blue. (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 53, fig. 5.)
246 The authorities for these statements are Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates 84 and 87; 2d Series, Plates 53, 54, and 55; and Botta's "Monument de Ninive," Plate 155.
247 See the two fore legs of a horse in a fragment figured by Mr. Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Plate 54, fig. 14.
248 Ibid. fig. 7.
249 Ibid. fig. 12.
250 Ibid. fig. 14.
251 Yellow, white, and a pale blue or green, are the only colors on the dress of the king figured opposite.
252 M. Botta's fragment (figured Plate 155, fig. 2) is a unique specimen. Had it contained the robes of the king as well as his head-dress, we should probably have learnt the real hues of the royal garments.
253 Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 128; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 166. note.
254 Birch, l. s. c.; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 672.
255 This is evidenced by the bricks themselves, where we can often see that the melted enamel has run over and trickled down the sides. (See Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 128.)
256 King's "Ancient Gems," pp. 127–129; Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 602–604.
257 See Mr. Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Plate 69, Nos. 1 to 32.
258 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 160; King, "Ancient Gems," p. 129.
259 King, Introduction, p. xxxvi.
260 "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p 105.
261 Ibid. p. 108.
262 Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 215; Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. pp. 12, 13. Hence the complaints of the Israelites when they received "no straw for their bricks" (Ex. v. 7–18).
263 Birch, p. 132.
264 Ibid. p. 13, and p. 109.
265 Twenty-two inches, according to Mr. Birch (p. 109).
266 The longest are 14¼ inches. (See "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 108.)
267 Ibid. p. 107.
268 See text, p. 49.
269 Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. pp. 15–18; Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 97.
270 Birch, p. 134; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 187.
271 Birch, p. 109.
272 Layard, l. s. c.
273 See text, 167–170.
274 Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 113.
275 Ibid. p. 115.
276 Ibid. p. 120.
277 Supra, Pl. XIII.
278 Birch, p. 121.
279 "Nin. and Bab." p. 574.
280 See Botta's "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Plates 141 and 162.
281 Ibid. vol. ii. Plate 76; and see vol. v. p. 130.
282 See Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 85.
283 Birch, "Ancient Pottery," vol. i. p. 130.

284 "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 173.

285 An elaborate account of the process whereby the Assyrian glass has become partially decomposed, and of the effects produced by the decomposition, will be found in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," Appendix, pp. 674–676, contributed to that work by Sir David Brewster.

286 Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. pp. 88, 89.

287 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 197.

288 Ibid.

289 See the description furnished to Mr. Layard by Sir David Brewster. ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 197, note.)

290 See text, p. 168.

291 This is evident from Aristophanes ("Nub." 746–749), where Strepsiades proposes to obliterate his debts from the waxen tablets on which they are inscribed by means of "that transparent stone wherewith fires are lighted." (*τὴν λίθον τὴν διαφανῆ, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ πῦρ ἅπτουσι.*) Compare also Theophrast. "De Igne," 73.

292 Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Plate 17.

293 Ibid. Plate 18.

294 In the series from which this representation is taken the figures appear seated in such a way as would imply that the actual seat was level with the dotted line *a b*.

295 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 199.

296 Ibid. p. 198.

297 Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 201.

298 See Pl. LXXXIV., Fig. 3.

299 The Greek and Roman ideas on the subject of the Assyrian dress were probably derived from Ctesias, at least mainly. He seems to have ascribed to Sardanapalus, and even to Semiramis, garments of great magnificence and of delicate fabric. (See Diod. Sic. ii. 6, § 6, 23, § 1, and 27, § 3.) But he did not, so far as we know, distinctly speak of these garments as embroidered. It remained for the latter Roman poets to determine that the color of the robes was purple, and that their ornamentation was the work of the needle.

> "Perfusam *murice* vestem
> Assyriâ signatur *acu*."
> Claudian, xliv. 86, 87.

These rare Assyrian garments were said to have been adopted by the Medes, and afterwards by the Persians. (Diod. Sic. ii. 6. § 6.) They were probably of silk, which was produced largely in Assyria (Plin. "H. N." xi. 22), whence it was carried to Rome and worn both by men and women (ib. xi. 23).

300 Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24: "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, *Asshur*, and Chilmad, were thy merchants. These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes, and broidered work (רקמה), and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and made of cedar, among thy merchandise."

301 As in Pls. XLIII., XLV., LXXXIV., etc., of this volume.

302 See Pl. LXIV., Fig. 3.

303 See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Plate 77; 2d Series, Plate 42. The omission *may* be from mere carelessness in the artist.

304 The mythological tablets are always in the Akkad or old Chaldæan language, and in very few instances are furnished even with a gloss or explanation in Assyrian. (See Sir H. Rawlinson's Essay "On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians," in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 585, note 2.)

305 This series is excellently represented in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Plates 10 to 17.

306 Mr. Layard first imagined that the contrary was the case ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 318); but his Koyunjik discoveries convinced him of his error ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 105, 106).

307 The nineteenth century could make no improvement upon this. Mr. Layard tells us that "*precisely the same* framework was used for moving the great sculptures now in the British Museum." ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 112, note.)

308 The "banks" of Scripture (2 Kings xix. 32; Is. xxvii. 33).

309 See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Plates 18 and 21.

310 The great stones of which the pyramids were built were certainly raised from the alluvial plain to the rocky platform on which they stand in this way. (Herod. ii. 124: compare Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 200, note 6.) Diodorus declares that the pyramids themselves were built by the help of mounds (i. 62, § 6). This, however, is improbable.

311 It is the most reasonable supposition that the cross-stones at Stonehenge, and the *cromlech* stones so common in Ireland, were placed in the positions where we now find them by means of inclined planes afterwards cleared away.

312 See the representation, Pl. XXV.

313 It must be remembered that the Assyrians cut not merely the softer materials, as serpentine and alabaster, but the gems known technically as "hard stones"—agate, jasper, quartz, sienite, amazon stone, and the like. (See King's "Ancient Gems," p. 127.)

314 See the summary on this subject in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i.; Essay vii. § 42.

CHAPTER VII.

1 Gen. xli. 43; Ex. xiv. 7–28; 2 K. xviii. 24; Jer. xlvi. 9; etc. Compare Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 335 et seq.

2 Hom. "Il." iii. 29; iv. 366, etc. Hes. "Scut. Herc." 306–309; Æsch. "Sept. c. Th." 138, 191, etc.

[3] Josh. xvii. 18; Judg. i. 19 and iv. 3.
[4] 2 Sam. x. 18; 2 K. vi. 14, 15.
[5] 1 Sam. viii. 11, 12; 1 K. iv. 26; x. 26; xvi. 9; xxii. 34, etc.
[6] Herod. vii. 40; Æsch. "Pers." 86; Xen. "Anab." i. 8, § 10; Arr. "Exp. Alex." ii. 11; iii. 11.
[7] Cæs. "De Bell. Gall." iv. 33.
[8] Tacit. "Agric." § 12, and § 35.
[9] As the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 5), the Hittites (1 K. x. 29; 2 K. vii. 6), the Susianians or Elamites (Is. xxii. 6) the Lydians (Æsch. "Pers." 45–48), the wild African tribes near Cyrene (Herod. iv. 189; vii. 86), and the Indians of the Punjab region (ibid.; and Arrian, "Exp. Alex." v. 15).
[10] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 349.
[11] Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 343. In the Greek and Roman chariots, on the contrary, the axletree was placed about midway in the body.
[12] See the representations of entire chariots given in Pl. XCII.
[13] This was the case also with the Greek chariots. The chariots of the Lydians according to Æschylus ("Pers." 45–47), had two and even three poles (*δίῤῥυμά τε καὶ τρίῤῥυμα τέλμ*). In the Assyrian sculptures there is one representation of what seems to be a chariot with two poles (Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 24): but perhaps the intention was to represent *two* chariots, one partially concealing the other.
[14] Σειραῖοι, or σειραφόροι, "ropebearers," from σειρά, "a cord or rope." (See Soph. "Electr." 722; Eurip. "Iph. A." 223; "Herc. F." 446; Schol. ad Aristoph. "Nub." 1302; Isid. "Orig." xviii. 35, etc; and compare the article on CURRUS, in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 379, 2d edition.)
[15] Layard. "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 350.
[16] Generally the yoke is exhibited with great clearness, being drawn in full, at right angles to the pole, or nearly so, despite the laws of perspective. Sometimes, however, as in Sennacherib's chariot (see Pl. XCII., Fig. 2), we find in the place where we should expect the yoke a mere circle marked out upon the pole, which represents probably one end of the yoke, or possibly the hole through which it passed.
[17] See the pole ending in a horse's head Pl. XC., and compare that to which reference is made in last note.
[18] Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 90.
[19] Compare the representation of Sargon's Chariot, Pl. XLV.
[20] Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Pl. 92.
[21] "Dictionary of Antiquities," vol. i. pp. 101, 379, etc.
[22] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 22.
[23] The earlier belong to the time of Asshur-izir-pal, ab. B.C. 900; the later to the times of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Asshur-bani-pal (Esarhaddon's son), about B.C. 720–660. Sometimes, but very rarely, a chariot of the old type is met with in the second period. (See Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 24.)
[24] Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 345.
[25] Smith's "Dictionary of Antiquities," pp. 378, 379, 2d ed.
[26] See No. I. (Pl. XCII., Fig. 1), and compare Pl. LXIV. Each quiver held also a small axe or hatchet. The arrangement of the quivers resembles that usual in Egypt (Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 346).
[27] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 350. Another conjecture is that the ornament in question is really a flap of leather, which extended *horizontally* from the horses' shoulders to the chariot-rim, and served the purpose of the modern splash-board. The artists, unskilled in perspective, would be obliged to substitute the perpendicular for the horizontal position.
[28] See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 14, 22, and 27.
[29] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 352. The feathers of the arrows are sometimes distinctly visible. (See Pl. XCII.)
[30] If the white obelisk from Koyunjik now in the British Museum is rightly ascribed to Asshur-izir-pal, the father of the Black-Obelisk king, it would appear that the change from the older to the later chariot began in his time. The vehicles on that monument are of a *transition* character. They have the thin bar with the loop, and have in most instances wheels with eight spokes; but their proportions are like those of the early chariots, and they have the two transverse quivers. [Pl. XCII., Fig. 3.]
[31] See Pls. XC. and XCIII.
[32] Rosettes in ivory, mother of pearl, and bronze, which may have belonged to the harness of horses, were found in great abundance by Mr. Layard at Nimrud ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 177).
[33] See the representation which forms the ornamental head of a chariot-pole on Pl. XC.
[34] This is especially the case in the sculptures of the early period.
[35] See Pl. XLV. In one case the rows of tassels amount to *seven* (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 42.)
[36] See text, p. 221.
[37] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 28; or his "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. opp. p. 350.
[38] Mr. Layard speaks of three straps, one of which "passed round the breast" ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 355): but the breast-strap to which he alludes has no connection with the clothes, and occurs equally on unclothed horses

of the early period. (See the representation on Pl. XCIII., Fig. 1.)

[39] The third strap here is on the back, just above the quarters. It is difficult to see how it could have been of any service.

[40] See Pl. XCIII. For representations of the ornament in question, see Pls. XLV. and XCV.

[41] Yet sometimes, where there are three horses, we find eight reins (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 13 and 14); and often, where there are but two horses, we see six reins. (See Pl. XLV., Fig. 2, and compare Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates 72 and 80; 2d Series, Plates 23, 24, 29, 42, etc.) I have sometimes doubted whether the Assyrians of the later period did not really drive three horses, while the artists economized their labor by only representing two. It is to be noticed that over the *two* heads there are very often represented *three* plumes (Botta, "Monument," Pls. 53, 58, 65, etc.; Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 72), and that the practice of economy by the artists is indubitable. For instance, they often show but one, and rarely more than two, of the six reins between the necks and mouths of the chariot-horses, where all six would have been visible; and they sometimes even suppress the *second* horse in a chariot (supra, Pl. XCIII., Fig. 3; Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 29, 42, and 47). It is, however, on the whole, perhaps most probable that the *three* plumes and the *six* reins are traditional, and held their place in drawings when they had gone out of use in reality. Otherwise we should probably have had some distinct evidence of the continued use of the third horse.

Note that when Sennacherib's horses are being taken from his chariot to cross a river ("Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 41), they are clearly but two in number, and employ but two grooms.

[42] See Pl. XC.

[43] As in figs. 2, 3, and 5, Pl. XCIV.

[44] As in figs. 1 and 4, Pl. XCIV.

[45] Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 351.

[46] See Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 14, 23, etc.

[47] Layard, Pl. 72.

[48] See Pls. XCI. and XCIII.

[49] On the subject of Egyptian scale-armor, see Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 79; and compare the same writer's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 332.

[50] See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 18, 20, and 28.

[51] Layard, "Monuments," Pls. 11, 27, etc. The attendants who accompany the monarch have their heads uncovered as a general rule.

[52] Ibid. Pls. 18 and 28. See Pl. C., Fig. 3.

[53] Is. v. 28.

[54] Ibid. xxxvii. 24. Compare 2 K. xix. 23.

[55] Nahum ii. 13. The mention of chariots in verse 4 *may* bear on this point. More probably, however, the chariots intended both in that verse and in iii. 2, are those of Assyria's enemies.

[56] Diod. Sic. ii. 5, § 4.

[57] Ibid. ii. 17, § 1. Compare Suidas ad voc. Σεμίραμις.

[58] "De Inst. Cyr." vi. 1, § 30.

[59] Teutamus was said to have sent 200 chariots with Memnon to Troy (Diod. Sic. ii. 22, § 2). The same number is assigned by Xenophon to the Assyrian adversary of Cyrus ("De Inst. Cyr." ii. 1, § 5).

[60] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 5, § 4, and 17, § 1.

[61] Judith, ii. 15.

[62] Ezek. xxiii. 6 and 23.

[63] See Pls. LXXXIX., XCI., XCII., etc. Compare Pl. XXX.

[64] See Pl. XXX.

[65] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 32.

[66] For a representation see "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 357. Saddles are not absolutely unknown, for on the horse which a mounted attendant leads for the king behind his chariot, we see in every instance a square-cut cloth, fringed and patterned. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 11, 21, 32, and 49, 1.) But no other horse besides the king's is thus caparisoned.

[67] The square shape (see Pl. XXXI.) is, apparently, reserved for the monarch and his immediate attendants. Ordinary soldiers have the cloth which runs out to a point (see Pl. XCV.) Sometimes, even during this period, there is no saddle. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 64; Botta, "Monument," vol. ii. Pls. 87, 88, 94, 99, etc.)

[68] See the "Head of an Assyrian Horse," Pl. XXX., and the "Groom and Horses," Pl. LXVII.

[69] A few instances occur where the legs are still naked, more especially in Sargon's sculptures (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 64; Botta, "Monument," vol. ii. Pls. 87, 142). But the *rule* is as stated in the text.

[70] Sometimes this belt passes over the right shoulder; sometimes it is omitted altogether, and the spearman or archer has no sword.

[71] See Pl. XCV.

[72] See Pl. XCIII.

[73] In settled empires the cavalry rarely amounts to one-fifth of the infantry force. In early Rome the proportion seems to have been one-tenth (Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 97, E. T.); in the imperial legion it was a little more than a twentieth. Among the Persians it was even less than this, being only one-twenty-fifth at Arbela (Arr. "Exp. Al." iii. 8). Alexander the Great, who laid great stress on the cavalry service, made the proportion in his armies one-sixth, or a little more (ibid. i. 11; iii. 12, etc.). It is only when races are in the nomadic condition that the relation of the two arms is inverted. The hordes of Genghis consisted almost entirely of cavalry, and the Scythians attacked by Darius had not a footman among them. (Herod. iv. 46.)

[74] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 5, § 4.
[75] "De Inst. Cyr." ii. 1, § 5.
[76] Herod. vii. 84–87.
[77] Judith ii. 5.
[78] The prophet Isaiah, while seizing such salient points as the "horses' hoofs that are counted like flint," and the chariot "wheels, that are like a whirlwind," to give force to his description, assigns its due place to the Assyrian infantry, of which he says: "They shall come with speed, swiftly; none shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep: neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken; whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent." (Is. v. 27, 28.)
[79] Round shields or targes are also sometimes worn by swordsmen at this time (Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 29); but they are comparatively uncommon.
[80] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 26.
[81] Swordsmen scarcely appear as a class. They occur only in twos and threes at the sieges, where they exactly resemble the swordsmen of the first period.
[82] See Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Pl. 61.
[83] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 336.
[84] Botta, Pls. 95 and 98.
[85] One instance only of such protection is to be found in M. Botta's work. (See vol. i. Pl. 62.)
[86] See Pl. CII.
[87] See Pl. XCVII., Fig. 2.
[88] Botta, "Mon. de Ninive," vol. i. Pl. 60.
[89] Ibid. vol. i. Pl. 77.
[90] Ibid. vol. i. Pl. 62; vol. ii. Pl. 99.
[91] Two attendants are comparatively uncommon, but they will be seen in M. Botta's work, Pls. 55, 60, and 95; possibly also in Pl. 99.
[92] Herod. ix. 62; Xen. "Anab." i. 8, § 9. Sometimes the *γέρρον* is straight, sometimes it curves backwards towards the top. (See Pl. CI., Fig. 5.)
[93] On the variety in the crests of the Assyrian helmets, see Pl. C., Fig. 5.
[94] Botta, "Monument," vol. ii. Pls. 90 and 93.
[95] See Pl. XCVI., Fig. 1.
[96] See Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 316. A slinger is represented among the enemies of the Assyrians in one of the earliest sculptures. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 29.)
[97] Sometimes the twist of the string is very clearly discernible, as represented in the illustration.
[98] For the Roman usage see the well-known lines of Virgil,—

"Stridentem fundam, positis Mezentius hastis,
Ipse *ter* adducta *circum caput egit* habena."
"Æn." ix. 586, 587.

For the Egyptian, consult Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 316.
[99] "And David took his staff in his hand, and chose him five smooth stones out of the brook, and put them in a shepherd's *bag* which he had, even in a scrip, and his sling was in his hand," etc. (1 Sam. xvii. 40.)
[100] See a representation in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," s. v. FUNDA.
[101] See Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 20.
[102] See Pl. XCVI., Fig. 3.
[103] Sometimes the feet also are bare. (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 20.)
[104] This tunic is very incorrectly represented by Mr. Layard's artist in Pl. 20 of the 2d Series of "Monuments." He has omitted almost all the stripes, and has only in one instance sufficiently marked the fall of the tunic behind.
[105] The spear in the accompanying representation is somewhat longer, and the shield somewhat shorter, than usual.
[106] See the representation in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 345.
[107] See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 72 and 80; 2d Series, Pls. 29, 42, and 43.
[108] See Pl. XCVII., Fig. 3.
[109] See Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 76.
[110] See Pl. XCVIII., Fig. 3.
[111] See Pl. XCVIII., Fig. 5.
[112] A representation of this shield is given on Pl. XCIX., Fig. 4.
[113] See Pl. XCVIII.
[114] According to Herodotus, the Assyrians in the army of Xerxes "carried lances, daggers, and *wooden clubs knotted with iron*" (*ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ*. Herod. vii. 63). It is possible that this may be a sort of periphrasis for maces, which were not in use among the Greeks of his day.
[115] "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 341.
[116] For foreign representations, see the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. p. 65; and for a native one, see the same work, vol. iii. p. 69.
[117] "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 339. In later times, if we may believe Herodotus, the material of the Assyrian helmets was bronze. (Herod. vii. 63.)
[118] The statement of Herodotus (i. 171) that crests were invented by the Carians is not worth very much; but it at least indicates his belief that the crest was adopted by the Greeks from the Asiatics. The first distinct evidence we have of them is in the Egyptian representations of the *Shairetana*, about B.C. 1200. Homer ascribes them to the Greeks in the time of the Trojan War, which was perhaps earlier than this; and they must at any rate have been common in Greece in his own age, which was probably the 9th century B.C. We cannot prove that they

were known to the Assyrians much before B.C. 700.

[119] See Pl. CI., Fig. 5, which is taken from the Khorsabad sculptures.

[120] See "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 336.

[121] See Pl. XCVII., Fig. 1.

[122] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 336, and note.

[123] Ibid. vol. i. p. 340; and vol. ii. p. 325.

[124] Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. p. 331. In the Egyptian corselet the plates of the sleeves were not set at right angles to those of the body.

[125] As in the representation given in Pl. XCVII.

[126] Herod. vii. 61; ix. 61 and 99. Compare Xen. "Inst. Cyr." i. 2, § 9, etc.

[127] See illustration, Pl. CI., Fig. 5. The Egyptians supported their large shields with a crutch sometimes. (Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. pp. 80, 81.) We have no evidence that the Assyrians did the same.

[128] See Pls. XCVI. and XCVII.

[129] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 17, 19, 20.

[130] The bronze shields found by Mr. Layard at Nimrud, one of which is represented in his "Nineveh and Babylon" (p. 193), had a diameter of 2½ feet. If we may trust the sculptures, a smaller size was more common.

[131] See Pl. XCIX., Fig. 4. The Greeks passed their arm through the bar at the centre of the shield, and grasped a leathern thong near the rim with their hand. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 306.)

[132] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 194.

[133] Shields of gold were taken from the servants of Hadadezer, king of Zobah (2 Sam. viii. 7), by David. Solomon made 800 such shields (1 Kings x. 17). Crœsus dedicated a golden shield at the temple of Amphiaraüs (Herod. i. 52).

[134] See Pl. XCI.

[135] For representations of round wicker bucklers, see Pls. XCVII. and XCIX.

[136] A representation of this shield in its simplest form is given in Pl. XCVI., Fig. 4.

[137] See Pls. XCIX. and C.

[138] For a representation of the Greek shield, see Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," ad voc. CLIPEUS.

[139] See Pl. XCIX.

[140] Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 41. Compare Pl. CVIII., Fig. 3.

[141] The Roman *pilum*, which is commonly called a javelin, exceeded six feet. The Greek γρόσφος, or dart, was nearly four feet.

[142] See Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 304, 305.

[143] Mr. Layard says that the warrior carried the bow upon his shoulders, "having first passed his head through it." ("Nin. and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 342.) This may have been the case sometimes, but generally both ends of the bow are seen on the same side of the head.

[144] See "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 126, 2d edition.

[145] See Pl. XCIX.

[146] See Pl. XCII.

[147] See Pls. XCII. and XCIII.

[148] In the Khorsabad sculptures the quivers not unfrequently showed traces of paint. The color was sometimes red, sometimes blue. (See text, p. 221.)

[149] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 177.

[150] The lid was probably attached to the back of the quiver by a hinge, and was made so that it could stand open. The Assyrian artists generally represent it in this position. The quiver, of which it was the top, must also have been round.

[151] Possibly this bag may be the upper part of a bow-case attached to the quiver, which, being made of a flexible material, fell back when the bow was removed. Such a construction was common in Egypt, (Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 345–347.)

[152] Mr. Layard's conjecture that the numerous iron rods which he discovered at Nimrud were "shafts of arrows" ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 194) does not seem to me very happy. The burnishing of arrows mentioned in Scripture almost certainly alludes to the points. There is no evidence that such clumsy and inconvenient things as metal shafts were ever used by any nation.

[153] A few stone arrow-heads have been found in the Assyrian ruins. [Pl. CV., Fig. 3.] They are pear-shaped and of fine flint, chipped into form. The metal arrow-heads are in a few instances barbed.

[154] Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 309.

[155] See Pl. XCVI.

[156] See Pls. XCV. and XCVI.

[157] Both bronze and iron spear-heads were found at Nimrud. (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 194.

[158] See the illustration, Pl. XCVIII.

[159] Representations of the Persian *acinaces* will be given in a future volume. The reader may likewise consult the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. pp. 52, 53.

[160] Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Pl. 99.

[161] Mr. Layard says ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 298) that the swords had often a cross-bar made of two lions' heads, with part of the neck and shoulders. But a careful examination of the monuments, or even of Mr. Layard's own drawings, will, I think, convince any one that the ornament in question is part of the sheath. It is never seen on a drawn sword.

[162] See Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 46.

[163] See Fellows' "Lycia," p. 75, and Pl. 35, Figs. 4 and 5. A two-headed axe is likewise represented in some very early sculptures, supposed to be Scythic, found by M. Texier in Cappadocia.

[164] I distinguish between the dagger and the short sword. The place of the former is on the right side; and it is worn invariably in the girdle. The place of the latter is by the left hip, and it hangs almost always from a cross-belt. When Mr. Layard says that "the dagger appears to have been *carried by all*, both in time of peace and war" ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 342), he must be understood as not making this distinction.

The only place, so far as I know, where a subject carries a dagger, is on the slab represented by Mr. Layard in his 1st Series of "Monuments," Pl. 23, where it is borne by one of the royal attendants. In Pl. 31, the hunter who bears two daggers in his girdle is undoubtedly the monarch himself.

[165] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 14. Compare "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 347.

[166] "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 14 and 27.

[167] Herod. i. 103: Πρῶτος ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τους ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἑκάστους εἶναι, τούς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ τοὺς, τοξοφόρους· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμὶξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα.

[168] Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pls. 80 and 81.

[169] Ibid. 2d Series, Pls. 37 and 38.

[170] Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 69

[171] Ibid. 2d Series, Pl. 20.

[172] Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 76.

[173] Ibid. 2d Series, Pls. 20 and 21.

[174] The Assyrians in their battle-scenes never represent a long row of men in perspective. Their powers in this respect are limited to two men, or at the utmost three. Where a longer row is attempted, each is nearly on the head of the other, and all are represented as of the same size.

[175] *E.g.* the Assyrian representation of a siege is a sort of history of the siege. The various parts of the attack and defence, together with the surrender and the carrying away of the captives, are all represented in one scene. It is not improbable that each of the different corps who took part in the various attacks is represented by a few men. Hence an apparent confusion.

[176] Compare the Persian practice (Herod. vii. 40; Q. Curt. iii. 3).

[177] It is very seldom that we find a swimmer represented as bold enough to dispense with the support of a skin. Instances, however, do occur. (See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 16 and 33.)

[178] See the representation, Pl. LXII.

[179] Judith ii. 17: "And he took *camels* and *asses* for their carriages, a very great number, and sheep, and oxen, and goats, without number, for their provision.

I have given elsewhere my reasons ("Herodotus," vol. i. p. 245, note [8], 1st edition) for regarding the book of Judith as a post-Alexandrine work, and therefore as no real *authority* on Assyrian history or customs. But the writer had a good acquaintance with Oriental manners in general, which are and always have been remarkably widespread and permanent. He may, therefore, fairly be used to fill out the sketch of Assyria.

[180] See Pl. XXXII., and Pl. XXXVI., Fig. 1.

[181] Mr. Layard was at first inclined to regard these enclosures as "castles," or "walled cities" ("Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 63 and 77; 2d Series, Pls. 24, 36, and 50). But in his latest work ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 230), he takes the view adopted in the text, that they are really "fortified camps, and not cities." No one will hesitate to admit this conclusion who compares with the enclosures the actual plan of a walled city (Badaca) in Pl. 49 of Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series.

[182] Felt was used by the Scythians for their tent-coverings (Herod. iv. 73, 75); as it is by the Calmucks at the present day. It is one of the simplest of manufactures, and would readily take the rounding form which is so remarkable in the roofs of the Assyrian tents.

[183] These are often represented in the bas-reliefs. (See Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 36. Compare the passage from Judith above quoted, in note [179].)

[184] A road seems to be intended in the bas-relief of which Mr. Layard has given a representation in his "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 81. According to the rendering of Sir H. Rawlinson, Tiglath-Pileser I. calls himself "the opener of the roads of the countries." ("Inscription," p. 30, § ix.)

[185] The probabilities of the case alone would justify these conclusions, which are further supported by the Inscriptions ("Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 30, § viii.; "Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 139, 140, etc.), and by at least one bas-relief (see Pl. CIX., Fig. 2).

[186] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 65. Mr. Fox Talbot supposes palanquins to be mentioned more than once in an inscription of Sennacherib ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 152, 153, 173, etc.); but Sir H. Rawlinson does not allow this translation.

[187] See text, p. 153.

[188] Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 46.

[189] See particularly Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 70.

[190] Sometimes a tent was set apart for the purpose, and the heads were piled in one corner of it. (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 45.)

[191] Mr. Layard regards this ornamentation as produced by a suspension from the battlements of the shields of the garrison, and suggests that it illustrates the passage in Ezekiel with respect to Tyre: "The men of Arvad with thine army were

upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers; they *hanged their shields upon thy walls round about.*" ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 388.)

[192] Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 21.

[193] Ibid.

[194] As Nos. I., II., and III., Pl. CX., Fig. 3.

[195] As No. IV., Pl. CX., Fig. 3.

[196] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 19.

[197] Ibid. Pl. 17.

[198] Ibid. Pl. 19.

[199] In the bas-reliefs represented by Mr. Layard in his 2d Series of "Monuments," Pl. 21, where an enormous number of torches are seen in the air, every battering-ram is thus protected. A man, sheltered under the framework of the ram, holds the pole which supports the curtain. (See the ram, No. II., Pl. CX., Fig. 3. May not the προκαλύμματα of the Platæans have been curtains of this description? They were made of "skins and rawhides" (Thucyd. ii. 75).

[200] Instead of chains, the Greeks used nooses (βρόχοι) made of rope probably, for this purpose. (See Thucyd. ii. 76, where ἀνὲκλων seems to mean "drew upwards," and compare Livy xxxvi. 23, and Dio Cassius, 1080, 11.)

[201] Jer. vi. 6, xxxii. 24, xxxiii. 4, etc.

[202] Ezek. xvii. 17.

[203] 2 Kings xix. 32; Is. xxxvii. 33. The Jews themselves were acquainted with this mode of siege as early as the time of David. (2 Sam. xx. 15.)

[204] Thucyd. ii. 76.

[205] See Pl. CXI., Fig. 1, and compare Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 18. So Thucydides speaks of the Peloponnesian mound as composed of earth, stones, and wood. (Ἐφόρουν δὲ ὕλμν ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ λίθους καὶ γήν. Thucyd. ii. 75.)

[206] The term "catapult" was properly applied to the engine which threw darts; that which threw stones was called *balista.*

[207] According to Diodorus, *balistæ* were chiefly used to break down the battlements which crowned the walls and the towers. (Diod. Sic. xvii. 42, 45; xx. 48, 88.)

[208] Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 66.

[209] See Pl. CI.

[210] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 19.

[211] Herod. i. 179: Diod. Sic. ii. 8, § 7.

[212] Plutarch, "Vit. Camill." 12.

[213] In the Affghan war one of the gates of the city of Candahar was ignited from the outside by the Affghanees, and was entirely consumed in less than an hour.

[214] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 40.

[215] Fox Talbot, "Assyrian Texts," pp. 8, 17, etc.

[216] So at least Sir Henry Rawlinson understands a passage in the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription, col. vii. ll. 17-27, pp. 58-60.

[217] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 28.

[218] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series. Pl. 65; 2d Series, Pl. 30, etc.

[219] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 40; "Assyrian Texts," p. 17.

[220] 2 Kings xviii. 34.

[221] See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 377, and compare a representation on the broken black obelisk of Asshur-izir-pal, now in the British Museum.

[222] See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 376.

[223] See Pl. XXXV., where a representation of captives thus treated is given.

[224] For a representation of this practice see Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 82. The Persian monarchs treated captives in the same way, as we see by the rock sculpture at Behistun. The practice has always prevailed in the East. See Josh. x. 24; Ps. viii. 6; cx. 1; Lament. iii. 34, etc.

[225] For a representation, see Pl. XXXV.

[226] One king, the great Asshur-izir-pal, seems to have employed empalement on a large scale. (See his long Inscription, "British Museum Series," Pls. 17 to 26.)

[227] "Assyrian Texts," p. 28.

[228] Another mode of executing with the mace is represented in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 458.

[229] See the "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." pp. 24 and 50; "Assyrian Texts," pp. 11, 30, etc.

[230] See text, pp. 272, 273.

[231] "Assyrian Texts," l. s. c.

[232] See particularly the slab in the British Museum, entitled "Execution of the King of Susiana."

[233] For a representation see Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 457.

[234] Herod. v. 25: Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης, σφάξας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπηίην. And again, a little further on: τὸν ἀποκτεῖνας ἀπέδειρε, "flayed after he had slain."

[235] Herod. iv. 64: Πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξίας χέρας νεκρῶν ἐόντων ἀποδείραντες, αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῦνται.

[236] The Scythians used the skins of their enemies as trophies. When Cambyses had Sisamnes flayed, it was to cover with his skin the seat of justice, on which his son had succeeded him, and so to deter the son from imitating the corruption of his father.

[237] See Herod. iii. 69, 154; vii. 18; Xen. "Anab." i. 9, § 13; Amm. Marc. xxvii. 12; Procop. "De Bell. Pers." i. 11; Jerem. xxxix. 7, etc.; and compare Brisson, "De Regn. Pers." ii. pp. 334, 335.

[238] The whole slab is engraved by Mr. Layard in his "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 47. A portion of it is also given in his "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 458.

[239] See "Tiglath-Pileser Inscription,"

col. vi. l. 85; "Assyrian Texts," pp. 2, 7, etc.

240 Ibid. p. 4.

241 Ezra iv. 2 and 9.

242 2 Kings xviii. 11.

243 See Pl. XXXII.

244 See Pl. XXXII., and Pl. XXXVI., Fig. 1.

245 "Assyrian Texts," p. 19 and note.

246 See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 493, note [1].

247 "Assyrian Texts," p. 11; "Tiglath-Pileser Inscription," p. 44, etc.

248 Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 61, 74, 75; 2d Series, Pls. 33, 34, etc.

249 For representations of such groups, see Pls. LXVII. and LXVIII.

250 "Inscription," p. 58.

251 "Assyrian Texts," p. 25.

252 For a description of these *terradas*, see Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 552, and compare Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 92. The larger *terradas* are of teak, but the smaller "consist of a very narrow framework of rushes covered with bitumen." These last seem to be the exact counterpart of the boats represented in the sculptures. (See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 25, 27, and 28.)

253 Layard, ibid. l. s. c.

254 Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Pls. 31 to 35.

255 Herod. viii. p. 97; Ctes. "Exc. Pers." § 26; Strab. ix. 1, § 13.

256 Arrian, "Exp. Alex." ii. 1.

257 Unless they had been successful, they would not, we may be sure, have made the construction of the mole the subject of a set of bas-reliefs.

258 Isaiah xliii. 14.

259 See the description in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, p. 16, and compare "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 334.

260 "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. p. 154.

261 Menander ap. Joseph. "Ant. Jud." ix. 14, § 2. It has been thought that Sargon attacked Cyprus. (Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 19.) But his monument found at Idalium does not prove that he carried his arms there. By the inscription it appears that the tablet was carved *at Babylon*, and conveyed thence to Cyprus by Cyprian envoys.

262 To this class belong the rock sculptures, five or six in number, at the Nahr-el-Kelb. There is another of the same character at Bavian, a third at Egil, on the main Tigris stream above Diarbekr, and there are two others at the sources of the eastern Tigris, or river of Supnat. Two block memorials have been found at Kurkh, 20 miles below Diarbekr, recording the exploits of Asshur-izir-pal, and his son, Shalmaneser II. They were discovered by Mr. John Taylor in 1862, and are now in the British Museum. The Egil and Supnat tablets were also discovered by Mr. Taylor.

263 Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 34. The squared flap is always that which is worn behind.

264 The account and the representation of this complicated garment are taken mainly from the work of M. Botta ("Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 84). But the author has slightly modified both M. Botta's theory and his illustration.

265 See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. opp. p. 7.

266 See Botta's "Monument," vol. i. Pl. 12, and vol. ii. Pl. 155.

267 See Pl. CXIX.

268 Shoes were not absolutely unknown to the Assyrians, even in the earliest period, since they are represented on the feet of foreign tribute-bearers as early as the Black-Obelisk king. Boots are also represented in this monarch's sculptures. But *Assyrians* wear neither till the reign of Sennacherib.

269 At Khorsabad these strips were sometimes colored alternately red and blue. More often the entire sandal had a reddish tint. M. Botta observes that a sandal shaped exactly like this is worn to the present day in the Mount Sinjar, and in other parts of Mesopotamia. ("Monument," vol. v. p. 85.)

270 This loop has been regarded as a mere twist of the strap round the great-toe; but I find it sometimes clearly represented as springing from the sole. Thus only would it add much to the hold of the foot on the sandal.

271 See Pl. CXV.

272 See text, p. 283.

273 See Mr. Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 82.

274 Roman bracelets were sometimes fastened with catches. (See "Dictionary of Antiquities," p. 136, 2d ed.) But more often they were left open, like the Assyrian armlets, and merely clung to the arm.

275 See Pl. LXXVI., Fig. 3.

276 Ibid.

277 See text, p. 283. This change of dress is almost universal in the earliest and in the latest sculptures. In the intermediate period, however, the time of Sargon and Sennacherib, the monarch goes out to war in his chasuble.

278 See Pl. LXIII., Fig. 2.

279 Particularly the slab engraved by Mr. Layard in his "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 25, with which compare the figure in an arched frame represented in the same author's "Nineveh and Babylon," opp. p. 351.

280 For a representation of the sacred collar, see Pl. CXIII., Fig. 8.

281 See text, p. 190.

282 Mention of an Assyrian woman has been found as yet in only two inscriptions, one being that on the duplicate statues of Nebo now in the British Museum, and the other being a tablet-inscription belonging to the reign of the last known king.

283 The scene is from the palace of Esar-haddon's son (Asshur-bani-pal) at

Koyunjik. It is now in the National Collection.

[284] Horat. Od. I. xxviii. 8: "Et *cubito* remanete *presso*." See also Sat. I. iv. 39. The Roman fashion has been thus described (and the description would evidently suit the Assyrians just as well): "They lay with the upper part of the body resting on the left arm, the head a little raised, the back supported by cushions, and the limbs stretched out at full length, or a little bent." (Lipsius, "Antiq. Lect." iii.)

[285] See Pls. XLII. and XLIII. M. Botta supposes that *both* fringes were attached to the cross-belt ("Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 86); but in that case the lower of the two would scarcely have terminated, as it does, horizontally.

[286] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 5.

[287] Compare Pls. CXVI.–CXIX.

[288] This point will be considered in the chapter on the Religion of the Assyrians.

[289] See Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 590.

[290] This is Mr. Layard's view. ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 325.)

[291] See especially the slabs of Asshur-bani-pal (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 47 to 49), where less than half the royal attendants are eunuchs.

[292] From the time of Sennacherib downwards the king's quiver-bearer and mace-bearer, two attendants very close to his person, cease to be eunuchs. The last chief eunuch recorded as holding the office of eponym belongs to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II.

[293] See Pl. CXVII.

[294] Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 327. M. Botta suggests that this prominent officer is "un Mage" ("Monument," vol. v. p. 86); but he appears in scenes which have no religious character.

[295] Sometimes, where the king and the vizier appear together, the robe of the vizier is even richer in its ornamentation than that of the monarch. (See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 23.)

[296] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 12 and 23. There is one bas-relief where the tasselled apron is worn, not only by the Vizier, but also by the Chief Eunuch and other principal attendants. See Pl. CXVII., Fig. 2.

[297] See Pl. CXIV., and compare the illustration Pl. CXVI., Fig. 2.

[298] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 12.

[299] See Pl. CXVI.

[300] Ibid.

[301] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 63 and 77; 2d Series, Pl. 23.

[302] "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 12.

[303] See Pl. CXVI.

[304] See the Black Obelisk, First Side ("Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 53), where the king is faced by the vizier in the topmost compartment, and immediately below by this official represented as in Pl. CXVII.

[305] The long brush-fan belongs to the earlier, the long feather fan to the later period. (See Pls. CXV. and CXX.)

[306] "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pls. 47 to 49.

[307] Still they do not seem to be soldiers. They carry neither spears, shields, nor bows, and they stand with the hands joined—an attitude peculiar to the royal attendants.

[308] Herodotus ascribed the invention of this practice to Deïoces, his first Median king (i. 99). Diodorus believed that it had prevailed in Assyria at a much earlier date (ii. 21). But in this he was certainly mistaken. On its general prevalence in the East, see Brisson "De. Reg. Pers. Princ." i. p. 23; and compare Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," ch. xiii. (vol. ii. p. 95, Smith's edition).

[309] Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pls. 12 and 15.

[310] For representations of these thrones see Pls. LXXIV., LXXXV. Sargon's throne is represented as carried by two attendants on his triumphant return from an expedition. (Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Pl. 18.) Sennacherib sits on his throne to receive captives outside the walls of a town supposed to be Lachish. (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 150–152.) Instances of kings sitting on their thrones inside their fortified camps will be found in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 63 and 77.

[311] Diod. Sic. ii. 21, 23.

[312] See text, pp. 269–282.

[313] See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 382, note [2], 2d ed.

[314] See Pl. CXV. M. Lenormant appears to have mistaken the eunuchs who are in attendance, playing on instruments or fanning the king, for the other members of his hareem ("Manuel," vol. ii. p. 122).

[315] Diod. Sic. ii. 4, § 1; 7, § 1.

[316] Ibid. ii. 26, § 8.

[317] See Pl. LXIV., Fig. 3.

[318] See Pl. LXV.

[319] See the illustration, Pl. LXXII.

[320] In an inscription appended to one of his sculptures, Asshur-bani-pal says, "I, Asshur-bani-pal, king of the nations, king of Assyria, in my great courage fighting on foot with a lion, terrible for his size, seized him by the ear, and in the name of Asshur and Ishtar, Goddess of War, with the spear that was in my hand I terminated his life." (Fox Talbot in "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. p. 272.)

[321] See Pl. LXXIII.

[322] See the illustration, Pl. LXXI.

[323] Such attempts are common both in the earlier and the later sculptures. (See Pls. LXIV. and LXVI.)

[324] As in the slab of Asshur-bani-pal, from which the representation is taken, Pl. LXXII.

[325] No instance, however, is found of a hound engaged with a lion.

[326] See the Great Lion Hunt of Asshur-

bani-pal in the basement room, British Museum.

[327] Tiglath-Pileser I. relates that in his various journeys he killed 800 lions. ("Inscription," p. 56.)

[328] See text, p. 26; compare Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 243, 244, etc.

[329] Loftus, p. 261. Mr. Layard, however, relates that the Maidan Arabs have a plan on the strength of which they venture to attack lions, even singly. "A man, having bound his right arm with strips of tamarisk, and holding in his hand a strong piece of the same wood, about a foot or more in length, hardened in the fire and sharpened at both ends, will advance boldly into the animal's lair. When the lion springs upon him, he forces the wood into the animal's extended jaws, which will then be held open whilst he can despatch the astonished beast at his leisure with the pistol which he holds in his left hand." ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 567.)

[330] Loftus, pp. 259–262.

[331] The Aurochs is still found in the Caucasus. Its four parts are covered by a sort of frizzled wool or hair, which "forms a beard or small mane upon the throat." ("Encycl. Brit." ad voc. Mammalia, vol. xiv. p. 215). Such a mane is often represented upon the sculptures. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 32, 46, etc.) Its horns are placed low, and are very thick. Its shoulders are heavy and of great depth. In height it measures six feet at the shoulder, and is between ten and eleven feet in length from the nose to the insertion of the tail. All these characteristics seem to me to agree well with the sculptured bulls of the Assyrians, which are far less like the wild buffalo (*Bos bubalus*).

[332] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 48, fig. 6.

[333] Ibid. Pl. 11.

[334] The pursuit of the wild bull is represented with more frequency and in greater detail upon the early sculptures than even that of the lion. In the Nimrud series we see the bull pursued by chariots, horsemen, and footmen, both separately and together. We observe him prancing among reeds, reposing, fighting with the lion, charging the king's chariot, wounded and falling, fallen, and lastly laid out in state for the final religious ceremony. No such elaborate series illustrates the chase of the rival animal. (See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 11, 12, 32, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, and 49.)

[335] There are two animals mentioned in the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription which have been thought to represent wild cattle. These are hunted respectively in the Hittite country, *i.e.* Northern Syria, and in the neighborhood of Harran. ("Inscription," pp. 54 and 56, 1st column.) Sir H. Rawlinson translates, in the two places, "wild bulls" and "wild buffaloes." Dr. Hincks agrees in the former rendering, while in the latter passage he suggests "elephants." But elephants seem not to be able to exist in the wild state more than a very few degrees outside the tropics.

The Assyrian word in the first of the two passages is read as "Rim," and the animal should therefore be identical with the ראם or רים of Holy Scripture. Although the Arabs give the name of *Raim* to a large antelope, and a similar use of that term seems to have been known in Egypt (Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 429), yet the Hebrew term "Rim" appears, from a comparison of the passages in which it occurs, almost certainly to mean an aminal of the ox kind. (See especially Is. xxxiv. 17, where it is joined with the domestic bull, and Job xxxix. 9–12, where the questions derive their force from an implied comparison with that animal.)

[336] Four "Rims" only are mentioned as slain. Of the other animal ten were slain and four taken. Of lions on the same expedition Tiglath-Pileser slew a hundred and twenty.

[337] This appears from the sculpture represented by Mr. Layard in his "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 12, where the ceremony is performed over a bull.

[338] See text, pp. 86 and 89.

[339] See text, pp. 296 and 297.

[340] The ear is commonly represented as drooping, but some specimens indicate that it could be erected at pleasure. (See Pl. XXXII., No. I.)

[341] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 270, note.

[342] Yet it must be confessed that in the representations no trace of a wound is to be seen.

[343] See Herod. vii. 85, and the author's note, ad loc. vol. iv. p. 75. Compare Pausan. i. 21, § 8; Suidas ad voc. *σειρά*, and Sir G. Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 15.

[344] See Pl. XXVII.; and compare Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 431.

[345] See Pls. CXIX. and CXXI.

[346] For representations of the *δίκτυον* see Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," p. 989, 2d ed.; and for descriptions of its use cf. Virg. "Æn." iv. 121; Eurip. "Bacch." 821, 832, Ælian. "Hist. An." xii. 46; Oppian. "Cyneget." iv. 120, etc. Nets of a similar construction were used for the same purpose by the Egyptians. (Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. pp. 4–7.)

[347] On the slab from which the ibexes represented in the illustration are taken, the king and an attendant are seen crouching as the herd approaches, in such a way as to make it evident that the intention was to represent them as lying in ambush.

[348] See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 481–483.

[349] Ibid. p. 482, note.

[350] "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series,

Pl. 32. The slab itself is in the British Museum.

351 "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 130, 268, etc.

352 See Pl. CXXIII.

353 Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Pls. 108, 110, and 111; Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 32. The hare is always carried by the hind legs, exactly as we carry it. See the representation, Pl. XXVIII., Figs. 1, 2.

354 Botta, Pl. 111. This bird has been already figured. (See Pl. XXIX.)

355 The dish is in the British Museum. A representation of it is given by Mr. Layard in his "Monuments," 2d Series. Pl. 64.

356 See Pls. CXIX., CXXI., CXXII.

357 Botta, Pls. 108 to 114. These sculptures were all in one room, and form a series from which two slabs only are missing.

358 Hares and partridges were among the delicacies with which Sennacherib's servants were in the habit of furnishing his table, as we may gather from the procession of attendants represented at Koyunjik in the inclined passage. (See Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 9, and compare "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 338.)

359 Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 53, Pl. 342.

360 Ibid. pp. 52–54.

361 Ibid. p. 54.

362 See text, p. 64.

363 See the woodcut in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 231.

364 Wilkinson, p. 52, Pl. 341. Compare his remarks, pp. 53 and 54.

365 The use of nets for fishing seems to have been a very early invention. Sophocles joins it with ship-building, ploughing, trap-making, and horse-breaking ("Antiq." 347). Solomon certainly knew of the practice (Eccl. ix. 12), as did Homer ("Odyss." xxii. 384–386). It was of great antiquity in Egypt.

366 Xen. "Anab." i. 5, § 2.

367 See Pl. XXIX.

368 The chase of the ostrich seems to be mentioned in the inscriptions of Asshur-izir-pal. See text, ch. ix.

369 Verses 5, 7, 10, and 15.

370 See especially Psalm cl., where the trumpet, psaltery, harp, timbrel, pipe (?), organ (?), and cymbal are all mentioned together. Compare Ps. xxxiii. 2; xcii. 3; xcviii. 5, 6, etc.

371 Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. pp. 253–327. The instruments enumerated are the *darabooka* drum, cymbals, cylindrical maces, the trumpet, the long drum, the harp, the lyre, the guitar, the flute, the single and double pipe, the tambourine, and the sistrum.

372 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 412. The conjecture is probable, though no means of suspension are seen on the sculptures.

373 The Egyptians had a triangular harp (Wilkinson, p. 280), which is not unlike the Assyrian. And St. Jerome says that the Hebrew harp (כִּנּוֹר) resembled the Greek *delta*, which is an argument that it also was of this shape.

374 The board is commonly pierced with two or more holes, like the sounding-board of a guitar.

375 The above representation is from a slab discovered by Mr. Loftus in the palace of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon. It is the only instance of a triangular lyre in the sculptures, unless the lyres of the so-called *Jewish* captives in the British Museum are intended to be triangular, which is uncertain. See Pl. CXXI.

376 Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 291. Woodcut No. 217.

377 In some of the classical lyres the two arms were joined at the base, and there was no tortoise or other sounding-board below them. (Bianchini, "De trib-gen. instrument." Tab. iv.)

378 Such a strap is occasionally seen in the Egyptian representations. (Wilkinson, p. 302, Woodcut No. 223.)

379 Wilkinson, pp. 307–312; and compare pp. 232–237.

380 Athen. "Deipnosoph." iv. 25.

381 Plutarch. "De Musicâ," p. 1135, F.

382 The Egyptian pipes seem to have varied from seven to fifteen or eighteen inches. (Wilkinson, p. 308.) The classical were probably even longer. In Phœnicia a very short pipe was used, which was called *gingrus*. (Athen. "Deipn." iv. p. 174, F.)

383 See Pliny, "H. N." xvi. 36.

384 Wilkinson, pp. 235, 240, and 329.

385 They are probably identical with the "high-sounding cymbals" (תרוּעַת צלצלי) of Scripture. The "loud cymbals" (שמע צלצלי) were merely castanets.

386 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 554.

387 For representations of these drums, see Pl. CXXX., Fig. 2.

388 Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 238, 322–327, etc.

389 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 454.

390 See "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 15. The original slab is in the British Museum, but in so bad a condition that the trumpet is now scarcely visible.

391 The trumpet was employed by the Greeks and Romans, and also by the Jews, chiefly for signals. (See "Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq." ad voc. TUBA; and "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc. CORNET.)

392 See Rollin, "Ancient History," vol. ii. p. 254.

393 See "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 455. It may perhaps be thought that the scene where the king is represented as pouring a libation over four dead lions (see Pl. CXX., Fig. 4) furnishes a second instance of the combination of vocal with instrumental music. But a comparison of that scene with parallel representations on a

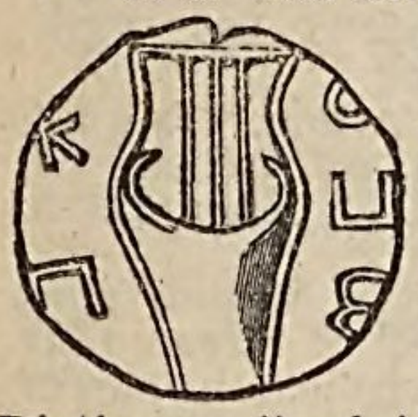
larger scale in the Nimrud series convinces me that it is merely by a neglect of the artist that the two musicians are given only one harp.

394 Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pl. 73.

395 The authorities at our National Collection at one time entitled the bas-relief in question "*Jewish* captives playing on lyres."

396 Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2.

397 It is well known that the Jews regard the second commandment as forbidding all artistic representation of natural objects.



398 The authorities vary between ten strings and forty-seven. (Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 758.) Hebrew coins, however, represent lyres with as few strings as *three*.

399 Ps. cxxxvii. 3, 4.

400 I am acquainted with this sculpture only through one of Mr. Boutcher's admirable drawings in the British Museum Collection.

401 This is also the case in a sculpture where two musicians play the lyre, and a third had probably the same instrument. (See Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. i. Pl. 67.)

402 Both this and the obelisk sculpture are now in the British Museum.

403 See Pl. CXXIX., Fig. 1.

404 This sculpture is also known to us only through Mr. Boutcher's representation of it.

405 A portion of this bas-relief, containing two musicians only, is exhibited in the Museum, and has been represented on Pl. CXV., Fig. 1. Mr. Boutcher's drawing, made on the spot, shows that there were actually on the relief as discovered at least five other musicians.

406 Ps. xlvii. 1; Herod. ii. 60; Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 326.

407 See the representations, Pls. CXXVII. and CXXX.

408 See "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pls. 12 and 17, and compare Pl. CXX., Fig. 4.

409 The fragmentary character of the sculptures renders it often doubtful whether the actual number of the performers may not have considerably exceeded the number at present visible.

410 Wilkinson, vol. ii. pp. 260, 261; Liv. i. 43; Sueton. "Vit. Jul." § 32; Amm. Marc. xxiv. 4; etc.

411 Supra, Pl. CXXVI.

412 The evidence is not merely negative. It is positively stated by Herodotus that in the time of the Assyrian ascendancy the carrying trade of the eastern Mediterranean was in the hands of the Phœnicians (Herod. i. 1); and Isaiah (xliii. 14) implies that the Chaldæans of his time retained the trade of the Persian Gulf.

413 Herod. v. 52; and see text, pp. 123, 126.

414 If even the Araxes (*Aras*) might be truly said in Virgil's time to "abhor a bridge" ("pontem indignatus Araxes," Virg. "Æn," viii. 728), much more would these two mightiest streams of Western Asia have in the early ages defied the art of bridge-building.

415 The lowest bridge over the Tigris is that of Diarbekr, a stone structure of ten arches; the lowest on the Euphrates, is, I believe, that at *Eghin*. Mr. Berrington, a recent traveller in the East, informs me that there is a ruined bridge, which once crossed the Tigris, a little below Jezireh.

416 See Pl. LXII.

417 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 96–98; "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 465; Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 4.

418 "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." pp. 46, 47. Sir H. Rawlinson translates the passage, "The men of their armies, who had fled before the face of the valiant servants of my lord Asshur, crossed over the Euphrates; in *boats covered with bitumen skins* I crossed the Euphrates after them." Mr. Fox Talbot renders the last clause, "I crossed the river after them in my boats formed of skins."

419 Herod. i. 194.

420 "Monuments of Nineveh," 2d Series, Pl. 12.

421 Herod. l. s. c.: Ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἕλκει τὸ πλῆκτρον, ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει.

422 "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 15 and 16. See also Pl. CXXXIII., Fig. 1.

423 Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. ii. p. 640; Ker Porter "Travels," vol. ii. p. 260; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 381.

424 Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 15. Only three of the rowers are visible; but it is, I think, certain that there must have been three others corresponding to them on the other side of the vessel. For a representation of this kind of boat, see Pl. CXXXIII.

425 Ibid. Pl. 16.

426 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 382.

427 "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 10, 12, and 13.

428 For the transport of horses in boats, see a woodcut in Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 232, and compare supra, Pl. XXIX.

429 "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 10.

430 For other examples of the boats of this time, see Pls. XXIX and XLIX.

431 See Pl. LXXIII. for a representation of such a bireme.

432 Masts and sails will be found in representations of Phœnician vessels (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 71), which belong to the time of Sennacherib. Masts without sails appear in the sculptures of Sargon. (Botta, "Monument," vol. i. Pls. 31 to 35.)

433 See the representation, Pl. LXXIII.

[434] Supra, Pl. CXXXIII.

[435] Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 12, 13. The entire bas-relief, of which Mr. Layard has represented parts, may be seen in the British Museum.

[436] Nahum iii. 16.

[437] Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24: "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, *Asshur*, and Chilmad, were thy merchants. These were thy merchants in all sorts of things [or, excellent things], in blue clothes [or, foldings], and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise." In Ezek. xxvii. 6, the Asshurites (בת־אשׁרים) are said to have made the Tyrians "benches of ivory;" but it is doubtful if the Assyrians are intended. (Compare Gen. xxv. 3).

[438] Herod. i. 1.

[439] Ibid. i. 194. (Compare 185.)

[440] Diod. Sic. ii. 11.

[441] Strab. xvi. 3, § 4, and 1, § 9.

[442] Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. pp. 194–198, E. T.; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 414; Vance Smith, "Prophecies relating to Nineveh," pp. 62, 63.

[443] The distance from the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb to the western mouth of the Indus is more than double that from the Ras Musendom to the same point. The one is 800, the other 1800 miles.

[444] See the "Journal of the Geographical Society," vol. x. p. 21.

[445] Ibid. p. 22.

[446] About B.C. 700. The inscriptions are in the early Scythic Armenian, and belong to a king called *Minua*, who reigned at Van towards the end of the eighth century B.C.

[447] This pass is the lowest and easiest in the whole chain, and would therefore almost certainly have come into use at a very early date.

[448] This statement is made on the authority of Sir H. Rawlinson.

[449] See the article on DAMASCUS in Dr. Smith's "Bib. Dict.," vol. i. p. 383.

[450] Layard, "Nin. and Bab.," pp. 280–282.

[451] Tiphsach is formed from בסה, "to pass over" (whence our word "Paschal"), by the addition of the prosthetic ת.

[452] That Solomon built Tadmor for commercial purposes has been generally seen and allowed. (cf. Ewald, "Geschichted; Volkes Israel," vol. iii. p. 344, 2d ed.. Kitto, "Biblical Cyclopædia," vol. ii. p. 816; Milman, "History of the Jews," vol. i. p. 266.)

[453] Ezek. xxvii. 23.

[454] See text, p. 131.

[455] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 49, and Map; Ainsworth's "Travels in the Track," etc., pp. 141–171. Mr. Ainsworth, however, takes the Ten Thousand along the route from Sert to Mush, leaving the Van Lake considerably to the east.

[456] Chiefly by Mr. Consul Taylor, whose discoveries in this region will be again noticed in the Historical chapter.

[457] There were perhaps two other northern routes intermediate between these: one leading up the *Supnat* or river of Sophene—the eastern branch of the true Tigris, and crossing the Euphrates at *Palou*, where there is an inscription in the Scythic Armenian; and the other, described by Procopius ("De Ædific." ii. 4), which crossed the mountains between *Redwan* and *Mush*.

[458] Strab. xvi. 1, § 9, and 3, § 3.

[459] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 30, 134; vol. ii. pp. 263, 264; "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 652.

[460] Diod. Sic. ii. 27, 28; Athen. "Deipn." xii. 37; Phœnix Coloph. ap. Athen. xii. 40; Plin. "H. N." xxxiii. 15; Nahum ii. 9, etc.

[461] The whole passage in Nahum runs thus: "Take ye the spoil of *silver*, take the spoil of *gold:* for there is *none end* of the store, the abundance of every precious thing."

[462] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 416.

[463] 1 Kings ix. 28, x. 11: Job xxii. 24.

[464] Ezek. xxvii. 22.

[465] The "merchants of Sheba" who "occupied" in the fairs of Tyre with "chief of all spices, and with all precious stones and gold" (Ezek. *l.c.*), were undoubtedly Arabians—*i.e.*, Sabæans of Yemen. (Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 98, E. T.; Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 94, ad voc. ARABIA.)

[466] Through the Carthaginians, their colonists, who were the actual traders in this quarter. (See Herod. iv. 196.)

[467] See text, p. 65.

[468] See the results of Dr. Percy's analysis of Assyrian bronzes in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," Appendix, pp. 670–672.

[469] Compare Herod. iii. 115; Posidon. Fr. 48; Polyb. iii. 57, § 3; Diod. Sic. v. 22 and 38; Strab. iii. p. 197; Plin. "H. N." iv. 22; Timæus ap. Plin. iv. 16; Pomp. Mel. iii. 6; Solin. 26. According to Diodorus and Strabo, the Phœnicians likewise obtained tin from Spain.

[470] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 191.

[471] See text, pp. 225–226. The classical writers were acquainted with this fact. Dionysius Periegetes says that Semiramis built a temple to Belus,

> Χρυσῷ, ἠδ' ἐλέφαντι, καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἀσκήσασα.—(l. 1008.)

And Festus Avienus declares of the same building,

> "Domus Indo dente nitescit."—(l. 931.)

[472] See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria," p. 48.

[473] On this subject see Mr. Birch's "Memoir" in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," New Series, vol. iii. p. 174.

[474] See Heeren, "Asiatic Nations," vol.

ii. p. 245, E. T.; Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc. DEDAN.

475 Isaiah xxi. 13. Comp. Ezek. xxvii. 15.

476 See the illustration, supra, Pl. XXX.

477 Darius Codomannus had but fifteen elephants at Arbela. (Arrian, "Exp. Alex." iii. 8.)

478 The best mines are those near Fyzabad, east of Balkh, on the upper Jihun River (Fraser's "Khorasan," pp. 105, 106). The other localities where the stone is found are the region about Lake Baikal, and some parts of Thibet and China. (See Encycl. Britann. ad voc. MINERALOGY.)

479 Plin. "H. N." xxxvii. 7.

480 According to Ctesias, the onyxes used for seals by the Babylonians and Assyrians were chiefly derived from India. (Ctes. "Ind." § 5.) Dionysius Periegetes speaks of agates as abundant in the bed of the Choaspes ("Perieg." ll. 1075–1077).

481 See Theophrast. "De Lapid." p. 397; Plin. "H. N." xxxvi. 7 and 22. That the Naxian stone of the Greeks and Romans was emery is proved by Mr. King ("Ancient Gems," p. 473), who believes it to have been first used by, and to have derived its name of "emery," from the Assyrians. The Semitic *shamir* or *sh'mir* (שמיר) became the Greek σμύρις, Latin *smyris* or *smiris*, Italian *smeriglio*, French *esmeril*, or *émeril*, and our "emery." It seems to be certain that the Assyrian gems could not have been engraved without emery.

482 See text, p. 196. Compare Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 357.

483 See text, p. 276.

484 Layard, "Nin. and Bab.," p. 595.

485 Arrian, "Indica," p. 174.

486 "No mention shall be made of coral or of pearls: for the price of wisdom is above rubies" (Job, xxviii. 18).

487 Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 281, 282.

488 Ibid. p. 280.

489 Herod. i. 183.

490 Herod. iii. 107: Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ [τῇ Ἀραβίῃ] λιβαωτός ἐστι μούνη Χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος. Virg. "Georg." ii. 117:

"Solis est thurea virga Sabæis."

491 Ex. xxx. 23.

492 Herod. iii. 111.

493 Ibid.

494 Herodotus thought that cinnamon was a product of Arabia (iii. 107). But in this he was probably mistaken. (See Pliny, "H. N." xii. 19.) No true cinnamon seems to grow nearer Europe than Ceylon and Malabar.

495 Ezek. xxvii. 24. The conjecture is made by Vincent ("Periplus," vol. i. p. 62).

496 See Heeren ("Asiatic Nations," vol. ii. p. 208, E. T.)

497 Ezekiel tells us that Armenia (Togarmah) traded with Phœnicia in "horses, horsemen, and mules"—or, more correctly, in "carriage-horses, riding-horses, and mules" (Hitzig, "Comment." ad voc.). In such articles Assyria would be likely to be at least as good a customer as Phœnicia.

498 Tubal and Meshech (the Tibareni and Moschi) "traded the persons of men" in the market of Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 13). Their position in Assyrian times was between Armenia and the Halys.

499 Herod. i. 1: Φορτία, Ἀσσύρια.

500 Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24.

501 See above, note 437.

502 Neither the "clothes" of the Authorized Version, which is the rendering in the text, nor the "foldings" of the margin, seems to give the true meaning. *Gálom* (גלום) is from גלם, "to wrap together," and means "that in which a man wraps himself," "a cloak." Buxtorf translates by "pallium." ("Lex." ad voc.)

503 *Rikmah* (רקמה) is the word used, from רקם, "to embroider."

504 The rare word ברומים is explained by R. Salomon as "a general name for beautiful garments in Arabic." So Kimchi. (See Buxtorf ad voc.)

505 See text, pp. 237, 238.

506 Pliny, "H. N." xi. 22 and 23.

507 The silver bowls found in Cyprus are no exception, for Cyprus must be regarded as within the dominions of Assyria. (See note 206 of ch. vi.)

508 Hor. "Od." ii. 11, 16: "Assyriâque nardo."

509 Virg. "Ecl." iv. 25:

"Assyrium vulgò nascetur amomum."

510 Tibull. "Eleg." i. 3, 7:

"Non soror, Assyrios cineri quæ dedat odores."

511 Æschyl. "Agam." l. 1285:

Οὐ Σύριον ἀγλάϊσμα δώμασιν λέγεις.

512 Eurip. "Bacch." l. 144:

Συρίας λιβάνου καπνός.

513 Theocr. "Idyll." xv. 114:

Συρίῳ δὲ μύρῳ χρύσει' ἀλάβαστρα.

514 On the different use of the terms "Syrian" and "Assyrian" by the Greeks, see the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. p. 51, 2d edition.

515 There are many spicy shrubs and plants in Assyria, such as those noticed by Xenophon ("Anab." i. 5, § 1); but, I believe, none of the plants which produce the spices of commerce. (See Mr. Ainsworth's "Researches in Assyria," etc., p. 34.) Strabo, however, it must be admitted, distinctly asserts that *amomum* was produced in Mesopotamia Proper (xvi. p. 1000).

516 See text, pp. 141, 142.

517 Herodotus indicates some knowledge of the system when he relates that

Cambyses' army, in its passage across the desert between Syria and Egypt, was in part supplied with water by means of pipes derived from a distant river which conducted the fluid into cisterns (iii. 9). Polybius says that the plan was widely adopted by the Persians in the time of their empire (x. 28, § 3). Strabo says that the pipes and reservoirs (*σίφιγγες* and *ὑδρεῖα*) of Western Asia were popularly ascribed to Semiramis (xiv. 1, § 2).

[518] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 314; "Nin. and Bab." pp. 241–246.

[519] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 8. In his "Nineveh and Babylon," Mr. Layard throws some doubt upon the real purpose of this work, which he inclines to regard as the wall of a town, rather than a dam for purposes of irrigation (p. 466). But Captain Jones thinks the work was certainly a "great dam" ("Journal of the As. Soc." vol. xv. p. 343.)

[520] Strab. xvi. 1, § 9. This seems to have been the conjecture of the Greeks who accompanied Alexander. They found the dams impede their own ships, and could not see that they served any other purpose, since the irrigation system had gone to ruin as the Persian empire declined. (See Arrian, "Exp. Alex." vii. 7.)

[521] The Assyrian inscription found by Mr. Layard in the tunnel at Negoub, of which he copied a portion imperfectly before its destruction ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 80), sufficiently proves this.

[522] See the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xv. pp. 310, 311.

[523] Captain Jones regards this as its sole object ("Asiatic Society's Journal," l. s. c.); but Mr. Layard is probably right in his view that irrigation was at least one purpose which the canal was intended to subserve ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 81). Several canals for irrigation seem to have been made by Sennacherib ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 212).

[524] These are "ingeniously formed from the original rock left standing in the centre." (Jones, ut supra.)

[525] Irrigation of this simple kind is applicable to parts of Eastern Assyria, between the Tigris and the mountains. (See Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 224.)

[526] For the ancient practice see Polyb. l. s. c.; for the modern compare Malcolm, "History of Persia," vol. i. p. 14; Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. ii. p. 657.

[527] See the representation on Pl. LXXXIX.

[528] See Layard's "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 15; and compare text, p. 142.

[529] An instance of this mode of irrigation appears on a slab of the Lower Empire, part of which is represented on Pl. XLIX.

[530] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 353, 354.

[531] Stanley, "Sinai and Palestine," p. 409. Abulfeda says that the Orontes acquired its name of *El Asi*, "the rebel," from its refusal to water the lands unless compelled by water-wheels ("Tabl. Syr." pp. 149. 150, ed Köhler). The wheels upon the Rhone below Geneva will be familiar to most readers.

[532] Herod. i. 193.

[533] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423.

[534] Mr. Layard calls this plough Babylonian rather than Assyrian (ib. p. 422). But the black stone on which it is engraved is a monument of Esarhaddon.

[535] See Fellows's "Asia Minor," p. 71; and compare his "Lycia," p. 174. See also C. Niebuhr's "Description de l'Arabie," opp. p. 137. The chief point in which the Assyrian plough, as above represented, differs from the ordinary models, is in the existence of an apparatus (*a b*) for *drilling* the seed. It is evident that the bowl *a* was filled with grain, which ran down the pipe *b*, and entered the ground immediately after the ploughshare, at the point *c*.

[536] See note [52] of ch. ii. To the places there mentioned, I may add the vicinity of Bavian on the authority of the MS. notes communicated to me by Mr. Berrington.

[537] Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 14, 15, and 17.

[538] See Pl. LXVIII., Fig. 2.

[539] See the representation given on Pl. CXV.

[540] See, for instance, the fishermen, Pls. CXXV. and CXXVI.

[541] Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 17; "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 108 and 134.

[542] For specimens of earrings, see Pl. LXXVI.

[543] This robe closely resembled the under garment of the monarch. See text, p. 287.

[544] Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vol. ii. Pls. 111 to 114; Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 32.

[545] Botta, Pls. 12 and 14.

[546] Ibid. Pls. 60 to 66, 110.

[547] Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 32; Botta, Pls. 108, 109, and 111.

[548] See Pl. CXXXV. Two instances of this remarkable cap occur in the British Museum sculptures. Both are from Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik.

[549] See the illustration, Pl. CXXVIII.

[550] Botta, vol. i. Pl. 67. See Pl. CXXVII., Fig. 2.

[551] Layard, 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 50.

[552] Ibid. 1st Series, Pl. 30.

[553] This curious head-dress occurs on a slab from the palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik, which is now in the British Museum.

[554] Mr. Layard has a representation of this figure: "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 6.

[555] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 65.

[556] See the illustration, Pl. CXII.

[557] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 595.

558 See Pl. CXXXVI.

559 See Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. iii. pp. 585, 586; and Smith's "Dictionary of Antiquities," ad voc. SPECULUM, p. 1053, 2d col.

560 A handle of a mirror found by Mr. Layard at Nimrud was slightly ornamented ("Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 96, fig. 11).

561 Wilkinson, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 380.

562 See text, p. 45.

563 See text, p. 234.

564 As the Persians (Plin. "H. N." xiii. 1), the Egyptians (Juv. xv. 50), the Parthians (Plin. "H. N." xiii. 2), the Syrians (Athen. "Deipn." xii. 35; Hor. ii. 7, l. 8), and the Jews (Eccl. ix. 8; Luke vii. 46, etc.)

565 Diod. Sic. ii. 23, § 1. In some of the bas-reliefs both the upper and the under eyelids are painted black. See text, p. 222; and compare Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 92.

566 Isaiah iii. 18–24. It is not to be supposed that the words of the original in the passage are throughout correctly translated. Indeed the margin shows how doubtful many of them are. But there is no reason to question that they all represent different articles of the dress or toilet of women.

567 See text, p. 288.

568 See note 33 of ch. ii., and text, p. 327.

569 Niebuhr, "Voyage en Arabie," p. 295; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 423. For the ancient practice, compare Herod. i. 193, and Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

570 "Come down, sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground. . . . Take the millstones, and grind meal." (Is. xlvii. 1, 2.)

571 Layard, "Nin. and Bab." pp. 285–287; Niebuhr, "Description de l'Arabie," p. 45, etc.

572 I doubt whether there is any representation of bread in the sculptures. The circular object on the table in the banquet-scene (Pl. CXXXVIII.) might represent a loaf, but it is more probably a sacred emblem. The Arab practice, which probably corresponds with the most ancient mode of preparing bread, is as given in the text. See Layard, l. s. c., and compare the article on BREAD, in Dr. Smith's "Biblical Dictionary."

573 Layard, p. 289.

574 Niebuhr, "Description, etc.," p. 45; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 360.

575 See text, p. 68.

576 Plin. "H. N." xiii. 4.

577 2 Kings xviii. 32. "A land of oil olive." When Herodotus denies the cultivation of the olive in his day (i. 193), as also that of the fig and the grape, he must refer to the low alluvial country, which is more properly Babylonia than Assyria.

578 2 Kings, l. s. c.

579 "On mange peu de viande dans les pays chauds, où on les croit malsaines." (Niebuhr, p. 46.) "The common Bedouin can rarely get meat." (Layard, "Nin. and Bab." p. 289.)

580 Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 75 and 76; 2d Series, Pl. 36.

581 Ibid. 2d Series, Pls. 35 and 36.

582 Ibid. Pl. 36.

583 See Pls. CXXV. and CXXVI.

584 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 8 and 9; "Nin. and Bab." p. 388. Mr. Layard notes that "the locust has ever been an article of food in the East, and is still sold in the markets of many towns in Arabia." He quotes Burckhardt ("Notes on the Bedouins," p. 269) with respect to the way they are prepared. A recent traveller, who tasted them fried, observes that they are "like what one would suppose fried shrimps," and "by no means bad." (See Yule's "Mission to the Court of Ava," p. 114.)

585 Plin. "H. N." xii. 3.

586 The representation is so exact that I can scarcely doubt the pineapple being intended. Mr. Layard expresses himself on the point with some hesitation. ("Nin. and Bab." p. 338.)

587 See text, p. 327.

588 2 Kings xviii. 32.

589 Diod. Sic. ii. 20; Botta, "Monument," Pls. 51 to 67, and 107 to 114.

590 Dan. v. 1; Esther i. 3; Herod. ix. 110.

591 Nahum i. 10. "While they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured, as stubble fully dry."

592 This vase is represented Pl. LXXXI., Fig. 4.

593 Forty guests were still to be traced at the time of M. Botta's discoveries, while many slabs were even then so injured that their subject could not be made out. Along the line of wall occupied by the banqueting scene, there was ample room for twenty more guests.

594 In M. Flandin's drawings this does not appear; but M. Botta is confident that it was so in the sculptures themselves ("Monument," vol. v. p. 131).

595 See the representation, Pl. CXV.

596 See text, p. 289.

597 M. Botta speaks as if the objects had been different on the different tables ("Monument," vol. v. p. 131); but M. Flandin's drawings show scarcely any variety. The condition of the slabs was very bad, and the objects on the tables could scarcely ever be distinctly made out.

598 See text, p. 81, and Pl. CXLII., Fig. 3.

599 For the Egyptian practice, see Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," 1st Series, vol. ii. p. 222; for that of the Greeks, compare Hom. "Od." i. 150–155; Athen. "Deipn." xiv. 6, etc.

600 One of these has been already represented, see Pl. CXXVII. The figure of the third musician was so much injured that his instrument could not be made out. There was room for two or three more performers. (Botta, Pl. 67.)

601 Athen. "Deipn." xv. 10; Hor. "Od."

iii. 19, l. 22, i. 37, l. 15, Ov. "Fast." v. 337, etc.

602 See Pls. LXXXII. and XCV.

603 See Pl. LVI., where this village is represented.

604 See Botta, "Monument de Ninive," vols. i. and ii. passim.

605 "Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities," ad voc. CARDO.

606 Botta, vol. v. p. 45.

607 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 163.

608 Botta, "Monument," vol. ii. Pl. 136; and vol. v. p. 48.

609 Ibid. vol. ii. Pl. 123.

610 See Pl. CIX. Further examples will be found in Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 77; 2d Series, Pls. 24, 36, and 50; and in M. Botta's "Monument," Pl. 146.

611 See Pl. LXXXV.

612 See the footstool, Pl. LXXXV.

613 See text, p. 289.

614 Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 77; 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 36.

615 Compare the Egyptian boards, as represented in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 276, 277, 2d ed.

616 See Pl. LXXVI.

617 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 177–180.

618 Ibid. p. 181.

619 Ibid. p. 177. Compare also pp. 191 and 671.

620 See Pl. XCIII.

621 See the representation of a garden, Pl. XXIX.

622 Compare Pl. LI., Fig. 1.

623 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 232, 233.

624 See Pl. LI., Fig. 1.

625 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 15.

626 A representation of a laborer thus employed, taken from the slab in question, has been already given, Pl. XXV.

627 See Pl. LXII.

628 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 12.

629 "Nin. and Bab." p. 232.

630 Ibid. p. 231.

631 "Monuments," 2d Series. Pl. 27.

632 Ibid. Pls. 10 to 17.

633 "Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor," p. 72.

634 See Pls. XXXII. and XXXVI.

635 See note [118], ch. ii.

636 See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 63; 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 36.

637 No currycomb has been found; but an iron comb, brought from Koyunjik, is now in the British Museum. (See Pl. CXXXVII.)

638 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 7 and 47.

639 Ibid. Pls 19, 24, 29, etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 See ch. vii. pp. 70–97.

2 Though *Il* or *Ra* in Chaldæa, and Asshur in Assyria, were respectively *chief* gods, they were in no sense *sole* gods. Not only are the other deities viewed as really distinct beings, but they are in many cases self-originated, and always supreme in their several spheres.

3 See text, p. 72.

4 See Sir H. Rawlinson's Essay in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 482, 2d edition.

5 Ibid. pp. 491, 492.

6 The god, the country, the town Asshur, and "an Assyrian," are all represented by the same term, which is written both *A-shur* and *As-shur*. The "determinative" prefixed to the term (see text, p. 173) tells us which meaning is intended.

7 See text, p. 133.

8 Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus" (vol. i. p. 483), inclines to allow that the great fane at Kileh-Sherghat was a temple of Asshur; but the deity whose name appears upon the bricks is entitled *Ashit*.

9 Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.

10 Gen. x. 22.

11 In the worship of Egypt we may trace such a gradual descent and deterioration, from Amun, the *hidden* god, to Phtha, the demiurgus, thence to Ra, the Sun-God, from him to Isis and Osiris, deities of the third order, and finally to Apis and Serapis, mere dæmons.

12 M. Lajard is of opinion that the foundation of the winged circle is a bird, which he pronounces to be a dove, and to typify the Assyrian Venus. To this he supposes were afterwards added the circle as an emblem of eternity, and the human figure, which he regards as an image of Baal or Bel.

13 See Pl. CXLI. This emblem is taken from a mutilated obelisk found at Koyunjik.

14 See Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," 1st Series, Pls. 6, 39, and 53; 2d Series, Pls. 4 and 69; and compare above, Pl. LXXXVII.

15 See the cylinder of Sennacherib (supra, Pl. LXXXI.); and compare a cylinder engraved in M. Lajard's "Culte de Mithra," Pl. xxxii. No. 3.

16 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 160; Lajard, "Culte de Mithra," Explication des planches, p. 2.

17 So Cudworth ("Intellectual System of the Universe," ch. iv. § 16, et seq.) and others. Mosheim, in his Latin translation of Cudworth's great work, ably combats his views on this subject.

18 Layard, "Monuments," Pls. 6, 25, 39, etc.

19 The occurrence of the emblem of Asshur without the king in the ivory representing women gathering grapes is remarkable. Probably the ivory formed part of the ornamentation of a *royal* throne or cabinet. There are cylinders, however, apparently not royal, on which the emblem occurs. (Cullimore, Nos. 145, 154, 155, 158, 160, 162; Lajard, Pls. xiii. 2; xvi. 2; xvii, 5, 8, etc.)

20 Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 6.

[21] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 160; supra, Pl. LXXXI., Fig. 1.

[22] As at the Nahr-el-Kelb (Lajard, "Culte de Mithra," Pl. i. No. 39); at Bavian (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 211), etc.

[23] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 6, 25, and 39.

[24] Ibid. Pl. 13.

[25] Ibid. Pl. 21.

[26] Ibid. Pl. 53. Compare the representation (see Pl. CXLI.) which heads another royal obelisk.

[27] This resemblance, which Mr. Layard notes ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 294) is certainly very curious; but it does not tell us anything of the origin or meaning of the symbol. The Greeks probably adopted the ornament as elegant, without caring to understand it. I suspect that the so-called "flower" was in reality a representation of the head of a palm-tree, with the form of which, as portrayed on the earliest sculptures (Layard, "Monuments," Pl. 53), it nearly agrees.

[28] Judges vi. 26. "Take the second bullock, and offer a burnt sacrifice with the *wood* of the grove (*Ashêrah*) which thou shalt cut down."

[29] According to the account in the Second Book of Kings, Josiah "burnt the grove at the brook Kidron, *and stamped it small to powder*, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people" (xxiii. 6). Unless the *Ashêrah* had been of metal there would have been no need of stamping it to powder after burning it.

[30] 2 Kings xxi. 7.

[31] Ibid. xxiii. 6.

[32] Ibid. verse 7.

[33] Judges vi. 25, 28; 2 Kings xviii. 4; xxiii. 14; 2 Chron. xiv. 3; xxxi. 1, etc.

[34] *Ashêrah* (אשרת) is from אשר, the true root of which is ישר, "to be straight" or "upright."

[35] So Dr. Gotch in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 120.

[36] Ibid. loc. cit.

[37] "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 447. "The sacred tree is before him, but only, it may be presumed, as a type.

[38] It is found with objects which are all certainly material, as on Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone, where a real sacrificial scene appears to be represented.

[39] The groves in Scripture are closely connected with the worship of Baal, supreme God of the Phœnicians. (See Judges iii. 7; 1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings xvii. 16, etc.)

[40] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 472.

[41] Merodach and Nebo are not absolutely unknown to the earlier kings, since they are invoked upon the Black Obelisk as the eighth and the eleventh gods. But it is only with Vul-lush III. (ab. B.C. 800) that they become prominent. This king takes special credit to himself for having first prominently placed Merodach in the Pantheon of Assyria. (See Sir H. Rawlinson's Essay in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 516, 2d edition.)

[42] Ch. vii. pp. 70–97.

[43] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," § 5, p. 62.

[44] Ibid. pp. 64–66.

[45] Steph. byz. ad voc. Τελάνη. Vide supra, First Monarchy, ch. vii. note [16].

[46] As from that of Tiglath-Pileser I. at the commencement of his great Inscription (see text, p. 352).

[47] Esarhaddon omits him from the list of gods whose emblems he places over his image ("Assyrian Texts," p. 12). If the horned cap is rightly ascribed to Bel (see text, p. 348), there will be no emblem for Anu, since the others may be assigned with certainty to Asshur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, and Gula.

[48] As in the Black Obelisk Inscription, where he precedes Bel. Compare "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 40, 68, etc.

[49] See Sir H. Rawlinson's Essay in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 487, 2d edition.

[50] See the *Dublin University Magazine* for October, 1853, p. 420.

[51] Sir H. Rawlinson reads the name of one of Anu's sons as Sargana. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 488.)

[52] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," p. 40.

[53] Herodotus seems to regard Belus as an exclusively Babylonian god (i. 181). So Diodorus (ii. 8), Berosus (Frs. 1 and 2), Abydenus (Frs. 8 and 9), Dionysius Periegetes (l. 1007), Claudian ("De laude Stilich." i. 62), and others. According to many he was the founder and first king of Babylon (Q. Curt. v. 1, § 24; Eustath. ad. Dion. Per. l. s. c., etc.), which some regarded as built by his son (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Βοβυλών). Some considered that the great temple of Belus at Babylon was his tomb (Strab. xvi. p. 1049; compare Ælian. "Hist. Var." xiii. 3). His worship by the Assyrians is, however, admitted by Pliny ("H. N." xxxvii. 53 and 58), Nonnus ("Dionys." xviii. 14), and a few others. The ground of the difference thus made by the classical writers is probably the confusion between the first Bel and the second Bel—Bel-Merodach—the great seat of whose worship was Babylon.

[54] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." pp. 20 and 62.

[55] See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 491. "Sargon speaks of the 350 kings who from remote antiquity ruled over Assyria and pursued after" (*i.e.*, governed) "the people of Bilu-Nipru (Bel)."

[56] Fox Talbot, "Assyrian Texts," p. 6, note [5].

[57] See text, p. 372.

[58] In the list of *Eponyms* contained in the famous Assyrian Canon I find, during 250 years, twenty-six in whose names Bel

is an element, to thirty-two who have names conpounded with Asshur.

[59] As in the invocation of Tiglath-Pileser I. ("Inscription," etc. p. 18).

[60] As by Sennacherib ("Journal of Asiatic Society," vol. xix. p. 163) and Esarhaddon ("Assyrian Texts," p. 16).

[61] See text, p. 372.

[62] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 56–58.

[63] See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 492.

[64] Oppert, "Expédition scientifique en Mesopotamie," vol. ii. p. 337.

[65] Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.

[66] "Assyrian Texts," p. 16.

[67] It is possible that the horned cap symbolized Anu, Bel, and Hoa equally; and the *three* caps at Bavian (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 211) may represent the entire Triad.

[68] Oppert, "Expédition scientifique," vol. ii. pp. 88, 263, 264, etc.

[69] Sir H. Rawlinson, "Essay," p. 487.

[70] Ibid. pp. 494, 495. Compare, First Monarchy, ch. vii. note [45].

[71] See text, p. 86.

[72] See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 496.

[73] Ibid. p. 497. A vast number of inscribed slabs have been brought from this edifice. It was originally erected by Asshur-izir-pal.

[74] It is doubtful whether the Calah temple was dedicated to Beltis or to Ishtar, as the epithets used would apply to either goddess.

[75] Herodotus, in two places (i. 131 and 199), gives Mylitta as the *Assyrian* name of the goddess, while Hesychius calls Belthes (Βήλθης) the *Babylonian* Juno or Venus, and Abydenus makes Nebuchadnezzar speak of "Queen Beltis" (ἡ Βασίλεια Βῆλτις, Fr. 9). Nicolas of Damascus, however, gives Molis as the *Babylonian* term ("Fr. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 361, note 16). The fact seems to be that Mulita was Hamitic-Chaldæan, Bilta Semitic Assyrian. Mulita was, however, known to the Assyrians, who derived their religion from the southern country, and Bilta was adopted by the (later) Babylonians, who were Semitized from Assyria.

[76] "Inscription," etc., p. 18.

[77] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 25.

[78] The form is always a crescent, with the varieties represented on p. 81: sometimes, however, the god himself is represented as issuing from the crescent.

[79] Oppert, "Expédition Scientifique," vol. ii. p. 330.

[80] Ibid. p. 343.

[81] Sargon speaks of the Cyprians as "a nation of whom from the remotest times, *from the origin of the God Sin*, the kings my fathers, who ruled over Assyria and Babylonia, had never heard mention." (See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 507.)

[82] See text, pp. 81, 82.

[83] "As. Soc. Journal," vol. xix. p. 163; "Assyrian Texts," p. 16.

[84] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 82; 2d Series, Pl. 4.

[85] See Pl. LXXXVII., and compare Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 6, where the representation is more accurately given.

[86] "Inscription," etc., p. 20.

[87] See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 501.

[88] *Dublin Univ. Mag.* for Oct. 1853, p. 420.

[89] Oppert, "Expédition," etc., pp. 330, 344.

[90] See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 802.

[91] See First Monarchy, ch. vii. note [5].

[92] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," p. 66.

[93] See text, p. 346.

[94] See "Inscription," etc., p. 30, where Vul is called "my guardian God." Ninip, however, occurs more frequently in that character. (See text, p. 354.)

[95] *Dublin Univ. Magazine* for Oct. 1853, p. 426. Vul is often joined with Asshur in invocations, more especially where a curse is invoked on those who injure the royal inscriptions. (See the "Tiglath-Pileser Inscription," p. 72, and compare the still earlier inscription on Tiglathi-Nin's signet-seal, Second Monarchy, ch. ix.)

[96] Oppert, "Expédition Scientifique," vol. ii. p. 344.

[97] Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 499.

[98] "Journal of As. Society," vol. xix. p. 163.

[99] They "rush on the enemy like the whirlwind of Vul," or "sweep a country as with the whirlwind of Vul." Vul is "he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands," in the Tiglath-Pileser inscription.

[100] As in Vul-lush, Shamas-Vul, etc. In the Assyrian Canon ten of the Eponyms have names in which Vul is an element.

[101] See Pl. XIX.

[102] See Pl. CXIII.

[103] As at Bavian (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 211).

[104] Sir H. Rawlinson, "Essay," p. 500.

[105] Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 5.

[106] Layard, Pl. xxvii. No. 5; Cullimore, Pl. 21, No. 107.

[107] Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 82; 2d Series, Pl. 4.

[108] *Dublin Univ. Mag.* p. 420.

[109] Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 504, note [6].

[110] Ibid. l. s. c.

[111] Ibid. p. 494; and on the presumed identification of Gula with *Bilat-Ili* see pp. 503, 504.

[112] The Ninus of the Greeks can be no other than the Nin or Ninip of the Inscriptions. Herodotus probably (i. 7), Ctesias certainly (Diod. Sic. ii. 1–21), de-

rived the kings of the Upper Dynasty from Ninus.

113 See text, p. 378.

114 "Inscription," p. 60.

115 Ibid. pp. 54–56.

116 Ibid. l. s. c.

117 This is the edifice described by Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 123–129 and 348–357).

118 Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 512, 513, 2d edition.

119 Oppert, "Expédition Scientifique," vol. ii. p. 344.

120 Ibid. pp. 333, 334.

121 See Pl. XIX.

122 See Pl. XLIII. For representations of the many modifications which this figure underwent, see Mons. F. Lajard's work, "Culte de Mithra," Pls. lxxiv. to cii.; and on the general subject of the Assyrian Hercules, see M. Raoul Rochette's memoir in the "Mémoires de l'Institut," vol. xvii.

123 Botta, "Monument," Pls. 33 to 34. The emblems given are, 1, the winged bull (Pl. 33); 2, the winged bull with a human head (Pl. 33); and 3, the human-headed fish (Pls. 33 and 34).

124 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 137.

125 "Assyrian Texts," p. 16.

126 Nin-pala-zira and the two Tiglathi-Nins. (Second Monarchy, ch. ix.)

127 Nin was called "Pal-kura" and "Pal-zira," "the son of Kura," and "the son of Zira." The latter title is that which the Jews have represented by the second element in Tiglath-*Pileser*.

128 Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 512, 513, 2d ed.

129 Supra, note 127.

130 The Black-Obelisk king says in one place that "the fear of Asshur and Merodach" fell upon his enemies. (*Dublin Univ. Mag.* for Oct. 1853, p. 426.)

131 See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 516, note 6.

132 Oppert, "Expédition Scientifique," vol. ii. p. 337.

133 "Assyrian Texts," p. 13.

134 Merodach, though an element in so many names of Babylonian kings, is no part of the name of any Assyrain monarch. In M. Oppert's list of Eponyms, however, out of about 240 names, twelve are compounded with Merodach.

135 See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay" in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 519, 2d edition.

136 See text, pp. 89–90.

137 The natural lion is more extensively used as an architectural form by the Assyrians than the winged lion. It occurs not only in central Assyria, as at Nimrud (Layard's "Nin. and Bab." p. 359), but also in the remoter provinces, as at Arban (Layard, p. 278) and Seruj (Chesney, "Euphrates Expedition," vol. i. p. 114; see text, p. 197).

138 See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 520.

139 Ibid. p. 519, note 5. Is not the smaller temple, with the Lion entrance, at the north-western corner of the Nimrud mound, a temple of Nergal, as the larger one is of Ninip?

140 Nergal was not, however, often chosen to furnish an element of a name. By no Assyrian sovereign was he thus honored. In the case of the Eponyms, only about one out of thirty has a name compounded with Nergal.

141 See the Inscription of Sennacherib in the "Asiatic Society's Journal," vol. xix. p. 170.

142 "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 40, 41.

143 Sir H. Rawlinson, "Essay," p. 522.

144 Ibid. l. s. c.

145 Sennacherib speaks of Asshur and Ishtar as about to "call the kings his sons to their sovereignty over Assyria," and begs Asshur and Ishtar to "hear their prayers." ("Journal of Asiatic Society," l. s. c.)

146 As in that of Esarhaddon ("Assyrian Texts," p. 10) and in that of Sennacherib ("As. Soc. Journal," vol. xix. p. 163). Compare the inscription on the slab brought from the Negub tunnel.

147 As in the names Astartus, Abdastartus, Delæastartus, and Gerastartus. (Menand. Ephes. Frs. 1 and 2.) In M. Oppert's list of Eponyms only five out of more than 240 have names in which Ishtar is an element.

148 See text, p. 381.

149 The two are, as nearly as possible, fac similes, and are now in the British Museum.

150 Nebo was called *Pal-Bit-Saggil*, as Ninip was called *Pal Zira* (see text, p. 355; compare Sir H. Rawlinson "Essay," p. 524).

151 "Assyrian Texts," p. 10.

152 Sir H. Rawlinson, "Essay," l. s. c.

153 See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay" in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 484, note 2. While Beltis, the wife of Bel, and Gula, the wife of Shamas, are deities of high rank and importance, Sheruha, the wife of Asshur, and Anuta, the wife of Anu, occupy a very insignificant position.

154 See text, pp. 350, 353, and 356.

155 Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," pp. 506 and 513.

156 See text, p. 357.

157 See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," § 9, note 6, p. 514.

158 It is only in Babylonia, and even there during but one reign (that of Nebuchadnezzar), that Ishtar appears as the wife of Nebo. (See text, p. 91.) Elsewhere she is separate and independent, attached as wife to no male deity, though not unfrequently conjoined with Asshur.

159 Telita is, apparently, the goddess mentioned by Berosus as the original of the Greek *θάλασσα*. (Fr. 1.) The inscriptions of Sargon mention a city named after her, which was situated on the lower Tigris. This is probably the

Θαλάθα of Ptolemy ("Geograph." v. 20), which he places near the mouth of the river.

160 Martu, however, has a wife, who is called "the lady of Tigganna" (Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," § 3, ii., note 9), and Idak, the god of the Tigris, has a wife, Belat Muk (Ibid. § 4, p. 526).

161 See text, p. 74.

162 See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 448.

163 Ibid. p. 526.

164 Tiglath-Pileser I. repairs a temple of Il or Ra at Asshur about B.C. 1150. ("Inscription," pp. 56–58.) Otherwise we scarcely hear of the worship of Ra out of Babylonia.

165 See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 527.

166 Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 6, 25, 36; Botta, "Monument," Pls. 27 and 28.

167 See text, p. 345.

168 The basket is often ornamented with winged figures in adoration before the sacred tree, and themselves holding baskets. (See Layard, "Monuments," First Series, Pls. 34 and 36.)

169 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 459.

170 M. Oppert, it is true, reads a certain monogram as "Nisruk," and recognizes in the god whom it designates—Hea or Hoa—the Nisroch of Holy Scripture. But sounder scholars regard his reading as a very wild and rash conjecture.

171 In Is. xxxvii. 38, the MSS. give either Ἀσαράχ or Νασαράχ. In 2 Kings xix. 37, the greater part of the MSS. have Μεσοράχ.

172 The deities proper are not represented as in *attendance* on the monarch. This is an office too low for them. Occasionally, as in the case of Asshur, they *from heaven* guard and assist the king. But even this is exceptional. Ordinarily they stand, or sit, in solemn state to receive offerings and worship.

173 A representation on a large scale is given by Mr. Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 5.

174 See text, p. 352.

175 See Pl. LXIV.

176 See Pl. CXLIII. This scene was represented in the great palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Koyunjik. The sculpture is in the British Museum.

177 This tendency is well illustrated by Plato in the first Book of his Republic, § 23.

178 Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 45, 1; 48, 3; 49, 4; compare above, Pl. LXV., Fig. 2.

179 "Assyrian Texts," p. 10; "Journal of As. Society," vol. xix. p. 163.

180 "Inscription," pp. 66 and 70.

181 "Inscription," pp. 28, 30, 40, 50, etc.

182 2 Kings xviii. 34. Sennacherib means to say—"Where are their gods now? [*i.e.*, their idols.] Are they not captive in Assyria?" See text, p. 277.

183 Ibid. verse 4.

184 Ibid. ver. 22.

185 See the various representations of the removal of gods in Mr. Layard's works. ("Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 65 and 67 A; 2d Series, Pl. 50; "Nineveh and its Remains, vol. ii. opposite p. 451.)

186 "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 30 and 40.

187 See the representation, Pl. XXI.

188 See Pls. XXI., LXIII. and LXIV.

189 Clay idols were also deposited in holes below the pavement of palaces, which (it may be supposed) were thus placed under their protection. (See M. Botta's "Monument de Ninive," vol. v. p. 41.)

190 Nahum i. 14: "And the Lord hath given a commandment concerning thee (Nineveh), that no more of thy name be sown: out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the *molten* image."

191 Dan. iii. 1; Herod. i. 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 9, etc. Compare Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay" in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 517, note 8.

192 "Inscription," pp. 68–70.

193 "Assyrian Texts," p. 28.

194 Sir H. Rawlinson's "Essay," p. 516.

195 Ibid. p. 495.

196 "Assyrian Texts," p. 18.

197 That sheep and goats were also used for sacrifice we learn from the inscriptions. ("Assyrian Texts," pp. 3, 4.) There is one representation of a ram, or wild-goat, being led to the altar (Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 469).

198 This is on Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone, a monument of the reign of Esarhaddon. A representation of it will be found in Mr. Fergusson's "Palaces of Nineveh Restored," p. 298.

199 This scene is represented on a mutilated obelisk belonging to the time of Asshur-izir-pal, which is now in the British Museum. The sculptures on this curious monument are still unpublished.

200 Altars of the shape here represented are always crowned with flames, which generally take a conical shape, but are here made to spread into a number of tongues. At Khorsabad the flames on such altars were painted red. (Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Pl. 146.)

201 See Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," sub. voc. SACRIFICIUM.

202 See Pls. XLVII. and XLIX.

203 An altar of this shape was found by M. Botta at Khorsabad. ("Monument," Pl. 157.) Another nearly similar was discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud ("Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 4), and is now in the British Museum.

204 Botta, Pl. 146; Layard, 2d Series, Pl. 24.

205 "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," pp. 30, 38, 66, etc.

206 "Assyrian Texts," p. 16.

207 The kings often *say* that they sacri

ficed. ("Tiglath-Pileser Inscription," pp. 66 and 68; "Assyrian Texts," p. 18, etc.) But we cannot conclude from this with any certainty that it was with their own hand they slew the victims. (Compare 1 K. viii. 63.) Still they may have done so.

[208] Lajard, "Culte de Mithra," Pls. xxxvii. No. 7; xxxviii. Nos. 2, 3, 6; xxxix. No. 7, etc.

[209] See Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 24 and 50; Botta, "Monument," Pl. 146. If the figure carrying an antelope, and having on the head a highly ornamented fillet (Botta, Pl. 43.) is a priest, and if that character belongs to the attendants in the sacrificial scene represented on Pl. CXLIV., we must consider that the beard was worn at least by some grades of the priesthood.

[210] Herod. iii. 37.

[211] Observe that in the sacrificial scene (Pl. CXLIV.) the priest who approaches close to the god is beardless; and that in the camp scene (Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 50) the priest in a tall cap is shaven, while the other, who has no such dignified head-dress, wears a beard.

[212] "Assyrian Texts," pp. 11 and 18. Compare the Black-Obelisk Inscription, p. 426.

[213] See the account given by Esarhaddon of his great festival ("Assyrian Texts," p. 18).

[214] Jonah iii. 5-9.

[215] There is a remarkable parallel to this in a Persian practice mentioned by Herodotus (ix. 24). In the mourning for Masistius, a little before the battle of Platæa, the Persian troops not only shaved off their own hair, but similarly disfigured their horses and their beasts of burden.

[216] Jonah iii. 10.

[217] See Pl. XLI.

[218] The winged bulls and lions, which respectively symbolize Nin and Nergal.

[219] See text, p. 238.

[220] See Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 5, 6, 8, 9, etc.

[221] Botta, "Monument," Pl. 43.

[222] See Pl. CXXXV.

[223] Herod. i. 199. *Αἴσχιστος τῶν τόρων.*

[224] Baruch vi. 43. "The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproaches her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken."

[225] Nahum iii. 4. It is, however, more likely that the allusion is to the idolatrous practices of the Ninevites. (See Second Monarchy, ch. iii. note [37].)

CHAPTER IX.

[1] See particularly the long Essays of the Abbé Sevin and of Freret in the "Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions," vols. iv. and vii. (12th edition). Compare Volney, "Recherches sur l'Histoire ancienne," vol. i. pp. 381-511, and Clinton, "Fasti Hellenici," vol. i. Ap. ch. iv.

[2] The latter is the number in the present text of Diodorus (ii. 21). But Agathias and Syncellus seem to have had 1306 in their copies. (See Agath. ii. 25, p. 120; Syncell. p. 359, C. Compare Augustin. "Civ. D." xviii. 21.)

[3] See Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," ch. xxv. (vol. iv. pp. 251, 252, Smith's edition.)

[4] See text, p. 113.

[5] From B.C. 256 to A.D. 226. (See Heeren's "Manual of Ancient History," pp. 299-304, E. T.)

[6] From B.C. 559 to B.C. 331, the date of the battle of Arbela.

[7] Herod. i. 130.

[8] From B.C. 625 to B.C. 538. (See the Historical Chapter of the "Fourth Monarchy.")

[9] Moderate Egyptologers refer the commencement of a settled monarchy in Egypt to about B.C. 2600 or 2500 (Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 288-290; Stuart Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary" ad voc. CHRONOLOGY). Mr. Palmer ("Egyptian Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 896) brings the date down to B.C. 2224, and Mr. Nash ("Pharaoh of the Exodus," p. 305) to B.C. 1785. The lowest of these dates would make the whole duration, from Menes to Nectanebus, fourteen and a half centuries.

[10] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 21, § 8.

[11] The Assyrian rule terminated B.C. 625 (or, according to some, B.C. 606). Herodotus seems to have died about B.C. 425. (See the author's "Herodotus," Introduction, ch. i. p. 27, 2d edition.)

[12] Ctesias returned from Persia to Greece in the year B.C. 398. (See Mure's "Literature of Greece," vol. v. p. 483.) He may have published his "Persica" about B.C. 395. Xenophon quotes it about B.C. 380.

[13] See the author's "Herodotus," Introduction, ch. iii. (vol. pp. 61-64, 2d ed.) Compare Mure's "Literature of Greece," vol. iv. p. 351.

[14] Herod. i. 183.

[15] Ibid. i. 106 and 184. Whether this intention was ever executed or no, is still a moot point among scholars. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 198, 199, note [7], 2d edit.)

[16] Diod. Sic. ii. 32, § 4.

[17] Xen. "Anab." i. 8. § 26.

[18] Ctesias appears to have stated that he drew his history from documents written upon parchment belonging to the Persian kings (*ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν*, Diod. Sic. l. s. c.).

[19] Phot. "Bibliothec." Cod. LXXII., p. 107.

[20] Compare Ctes. "Pers. Exec." § 32 et seq. with Thucyd i. 104, 109, and 110.

[21] For proofs see the author's "Herodotus," Introduction, ch. iii. (vol. i. p. 63, note [8]).

[22] In the number of years which he assigns to the reigns of Cambyses and Darius Hystaspis.

[23] *E. g.*, he places the destruction of Nineveh about B.C. 875, long before the time of Jonah!

[24] See Arist, "Hist. An." ii. 3, § 10; iii. sub. fin.; viii. 26, § 3; "Gen. An." ii. 2; "Pol." v. 8; Plut. "Vit. Artaxerx." 13; Arrian, "Exp. Alex." v. 4; Scaliger, "De emend. temp." Not. ad Fragm. subj. pp. 39–43.

[25] As Niebuhr ("Lectures on Ancient History," vol. i. pp. 21, 22, 28, 30); Bunsen ("Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iii. p. 432); Mure ("History of Greek Literature," vol. v. pp. 487–497), etc.

[26] The Assyrian "Empire," according to Herodotus (i. 95), lasted 520 years. The Medes then revolted, and remained for some time without a king. After awhile the regal power was conferred on Deïoces, who reigned 53 years. He was succeeded by his son Phraortes, who reigned 22 years. Cyaxares then ascended the Median throne, and after reigning at least 30 years, took Nineveh and and destroyed the Assyrian kingdom. This was (according to Herodotus) about B.C. 603. The commencement of the empire was $(520 + x + 53 + 22 + 30 =)$ $625 + x$ years earlier, or B.C. $1128 + x$.

[27] See "Athenæum," No. 1812. M. Oppert's claim to the first publication of this document ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 15) is simply (and literally) preposterous.

[28] Some writers have endeavored to reconcile Ctesias with Herodotus by supposing the former to speak of the beginning of the *kingdom* of Assyria, the latter of the commencement of the *empire*. (See Clinton, "Fasti Hellenici," vol. i. Appendix, ch. iv.) But this is a mere forced and artificial mode of producing an apparent reconciliation, since it was really the *Empire* which Ctesias made to begin with Ninus and Semiramis (Diod. Sic. ii. 1–19).

[29] See text, pp. 376, 377.

[30] This important statement is contained in a rock-inscription at Bavian. It is evident, from the employment of an exact number (418), that Sennacherib believed himself to be in possession of a perfectly accurate chronology for a period exceeding four centuries from his own time. The discovery of the Assyrian Canon shows us the mode in which such an exact chronology would have been kept.

[31] See text, pp. 383–386, and p. 392.

[32] Two such lines only are obtainable from the Assyrian lists. The first extends from Vul-lush II. to Vul-lush III. inclusive; this contains six kings, whose united reigns amount to 130 years, furnishing thus an average of $21\frac{2}{3}$ years. The other begins with Sargon and terminates with Saül-mugina (Saosduchinus), his great-grandson, containing four reigns, which cover a space of 74 years. The average length of a reign is here $18\frac{1}{2}$ years. The *mean* average is therefore, as nearly as possible, 20 years.

[33] See text, pp. 378, 379.

[34] The Assyrian Canon assigns 17 years to Sargon and 24 to Sennacherib, or 41 to the two together. Sargon's first year, according to an Inscription of his own, synchronized with the first of Merodach-Baladan, in Babylon. Now from this to the first of Esarhaddon, Sennacherib's son and successor, is exactly 41 years in the Canon of Ptolemy. Again, Sargon ascribes to Merodach-Baladan, just as Ptolemy does, a reign of 12 years. Sennacherib assigns 3 years to Belib or Belipni, as Ptolemy does to Belibus, and mentions that he was superseded in his office by Asshur-inadi-su—Ptolemy's Aparanadius or Assaranadius. Add to this that in no case has the date of a king's reign on any tablet been found to exceed the number of years which Ptolemy allows him.

[35] See Appendix A. "On the record of an eclipse in the Assyrian Canon."

[36] Polyhistor gave the succession of the latter *Babylonian* kings as follows: Sennacherib, his son, (*i.e.*, Esarhaddon), Sammughes, (Saül-mugina), Sardanapalus, his brother (Asshur-bani-pal), Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, etc. The reign of Sardanapalus lasted (he said) 21 years. (Ap. Euseb. "Chr. Can." Pars 1ma. v. §§ 2, 3.)

[37] Gen. x. 10 and 11. The true meaning of the Hebrew has been doubted, and our translators have placed in the margin as an alternative version, "He (*i.e.*, Nimrod) went out into Assyria, and builded Nineveh," etc. But the real meaning of אשור מן הארץ ההוא יצא would seem to be almost certainly that given in the text. So the Septuagint renders Ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης ἐξῆλθεν Ασσούρ, and the Syriac and Vulgate versions agree. (Compare Rosenmüller, "Schol. in Genes." p. 215.)

[38] See text, p. 210.

[39] Ibid. p. 171.

[40] Ibid. p. 341.

[41] Tiglath-Pileser calls Shamas-Vul and his father "high-priests of the god Asshur" ("Inscription," p. 62), but says nothing of the name of the city at the time when the temple was erected.

[42] See text, p. 108.

[43] It is important to bear in mind that on the mutilated Synchronistic tablet the names of Asshur-bel-nisi-su, etc., occur *half-way down* the first column; which makes it probable that ten or a dozen names of Assyrian kings preceded them.

[44] On the prevalence of this system in the East, see the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 405; vol. ii. p. 467; and vol. iii. p. 149; 2d edition.

[45] See the account of this emigration in in M. Hommaire de Hell's "Travels in the Steppes of the Caspian Sea," pp. 227–235.

[46] Gen. xi. 31.

[47] On the Phœnician emigration see Kendrick's "Phœnicia," pp. 46–48; and compare the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. pp. 196–202, 2d edition.

[48] See the Essay of Sir H. Rawlinson in

the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 366, note [1].

[49] As the tablet is mutilated at both extremities, its date is uncertain: but it cannot anyhow be earlier than the time of Shalmaneser II., to whose wars it alludes. Most probably it belongs to the time of Esarhaddon or Asshur-bani-pal.

[50] Asshur-bel-nisi-su is said to have made a treaty with a Babylonian king otherwise unknown, whose name is read doubtfully as *Kara-in-das*. Buzur-Asshur, his successor, made a treaty with Purna-puriyas.

[51] See text, p. 111.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Asshur-upallit is also mentioned on a tablet of Tiglath-Pileser I. as having repaired a temple built by Shamas-Vul, which was again repaired at a later date by Shalmaneser I.

[54] The regular succession of these early Assyrian monarchs has been discovered since the first edition of this work was published. A brick of Pudil's, on which he speaks of his father, Bel-lush, *and his grandfather*, *Asshur-upallit*, has enabled us definitely to connect the first group of three Assyrian monarchs with the second group of five.

[55] It may be objected that these cities are mentioned as already built in the time of Moses (Gen. x. 11), who probably lived in the fifteenth century B.C. To this it may be replied, in the first place, that the date of Moses is very uncertain, and, secondly, that the eleventh and twelfth verses of the tenth chapter of Genesis are very possibly an addition made by Ezra on the return from the Captivity.

[56] See Gen. ii. 14, and compare text, p. 5.

[57] Numbers xxiv. 22.

[58] Shalmaneser is also called the founder (or enlarger) of the Temple of Kharrismatira, which was probably at Calah.

[59] See the Chart supra, Pl. CXXXIV.

[60] Strabo xvi. 1, § 1; Arrian, "Exp. Alex." iii. 7.

[61] See text, p. 373.

[62] The full inscription was as follows, according to Sennacherib:—

"Tiglathi-Nin, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and conqueror of *Kar-Dunyas* (or Babylonia). Whoever injures my device (?) or name, may Asshur and Vul destroy his name and country."

[63] Hence, on the genealogical tablet he is called "king of Sumir and Akkad" (*i.e.*, of Babylonia), a title not given to any of the other kings.

[64] See text, pp. 381, 392, 393, etc.

[65] The chief of these are, 1, the Babylonian and Assyrian synchronistic tablet, which gives the names of Bel-kudur-uzur and Nin-pala-zira, and again those of Asshur-ris-ilim, Tiglath-Pileser, and Asshur-bil-kala, in apparent succession; and, 2, an inscription on a mutilated statue of the goddess Ishtar, now in the British Museum, which contains these last three royal names, and determinately proves the direct genealogical succession of the three monarchs.

[66] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I." p. 62.

[67] Ibid. l. c. We may gather, however, indirectly from the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription that at least one considerable calamity took place in his reign. The Muskai (Moschi) are said to have occupied the countries of Alzi and Purukhuz, and stopped their payment of tribute to Assyria *fifty years* before the commencement of Tiglath-Pileser's reign (ibid. p. 22). This event *must certainly* have fallen into the time either of Asshur-dayan or of his son, Mutaggil-Nebo. Most probably it belonged to the reign of the former.

[68] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser," p. 62.

[69] Ibid. p. 60.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the "Athenæum" for Aug. 22, 1863 (No. 1869, p. 244, note [7]).

[72] Judges iv. 4.

[73] This document exists on two duplicate cylinders in the British Museum, which are both nearly complete. The Museum also contains fragments of several other cylinders which bore the same inscription.

The translation from which the following quotations are made was executed in the year 1857, under peculiar circumstances. Four gentlemen, Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert were furnished simultaneously with a lithographed copy of the inscription, which was then unpublished; and these gentlemen, working independently, produced translations, more or less complete, of the document. The translations were published in parallel columns by Mr. Parker, of the Strand, under the title of "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, B.C. 1150. London, J. W. Parker, 1857."

A perusal of this work would probably remove any incredulity which may still exist in any quarter on the subject of Assyrian decipherment.

[74] The British Museum contains another inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., but it is in an exceedingly bad condition, and has not been published. It is written on three sides of the broken top of an obelisk, and seems to have contained an account of the monarch's buildings, his hunting exploits, and some of his campaigns, *month by month*. He mentions as monarchs who have preceded him, and whose buildings he repairs, Irba-Vul, Asshur-iddin-akhi, Vul-lush, Tiglathi-Nin, Asshur-dayan, and Asshur-ris-ilim.

[75] The date of Eratosthenes for the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese was B.C. 1104. Thucydides, apparently, would have placed it seventy or eighty years earlier. (Thuc. v. 112.)

[76] "Inscription," etc., pp. 18–20.

[77] Ibid. pp. 20–21.

[78] Ps. cxx. 5; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2; xxxix, 1, etc. They are con-

stantly coupled in the Inscriptions with the *Tuplai*, just as Meshech is coupled with Tubal in Scripture, and the Moschi with the Tibareni in Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 78).

[79] From the Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser we can only say that these regions formed a portion of the mountain country in the vicinity of the Upper Tigris. In later times the main seat of the Moschian power was the Taurus range immediately to the west of the Euphrates. Here was their great city, Mazaca (Joseph., "Ant. Jud." i. 6; Mos. Chor. "His. Armen." i. 13), the Cæsaræa Mazaca of the Roman Empire. Hence they seem to have been driven northwards by the Cappadocians, and in the time of Herodotus they occupy a small tract upon the Euxine. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. pp. 179–181.)

[80] See Second Monarchy, ch. ix. note [67].

[81] This is one of the very few geographic names in the early Assyrian records which seems to have a classical equivalent. It must not, however, be supposed that the locality of the tribe was the same in Tiglath-Pileser's time as in the days of Strabo and Pliny. Tiglath-Pileser's Qummukh or Commukha appear to occupy the mountain region extending from the Euphrates at Sumeïsat to beyond the Tigris at Diarbekr.

[82] "Inscription," etc., pp. 22–30.

[83] Ibid. p. 24.

[84] Ibid. pp. 30–32.

[85] Ibid. pp. 32–34.

[86] Ibid. pp. 34–36.

[87] These Urumians (*Hurumaya*) were perhaps of the same race with a tribe of the same name who dwelt near and probably gave name to Lake Urumiyeh. The name of the Kaskians recalls that of a primitive Italic people, the Casci. (See Niebuhr, "Roman History," vol. i. p. 78, E. T.)

[88] The chariots of the Hittites are more than once mentioned in Scripture. (See 1 K. x. 29 and 2 K. vii. 6.)

[89] Inscription," p. 38.

[90] The fact that the country occupied by the *Naïri* is, in part, that which the Jews knew as Aram-*Naharaim*, would seem to be a mere accidental coincidence. *Naïri* is a purely ethnic title; *Naharaim* is from נהר, "a river," and Aram-Naharaim is "Syria of the two rivers," *i.e.*, Mesopotamia. (See text, p. 2.) The *Naharayn* of the Egyptian monuments may, however, be the Naïri country."

[91] This is the district which afterwards became Commagêné. It is a labyrinth of mountains, twisted spurs from Amanus.

[92] "Inscription," p. 42.

[93] Ibid. p. 44.

[94] This identification is made partly on etymological and partly on geographical grounds. (See the author's article on SHUHITE in Dr. Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. iii. p. 1298.

[95] Circesium is identified by Mr. Fox Talbot with the Assyrian *Sirki*, which was apparently in this position. ("Assyrian Texts," p. 31.)

[96] See "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 278. In the Syriac version of the Old Testament, Carchemish is translated, or rather replaced, by Mabog.

[97] "Inscription," p. 46.

[98] So Mr. Fox Talbot ("Inscription," p. 48).

[99] "Inscription," etc., pp. 48–52.

[100] See Second Monarchy, ch. vii. note [335].

[101] "Inscription," pp. 52–54.

[102] Ibid. pp. 4–56.

[103] Ibid. pp. 56–60.

[104] The most important points of the statement have been quoted in the earlier portion of this chapter, but as the reader may wish to see the entire passage as it stands in the original document, it is here appended:—

"Tiglath-Pileser, the illustrious prince, whom Asshur and Nin have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart; who has pursued after the enemies of Asshur, and has subjugated all the earth—

"The son of Asshur-ris-ilim, the powerful king, the subduer of rebellious countries, he who has reduced all the accursed (?)—

"The grandson of Mutaggil-Nebo, whom Asshur, the Great Lord, aided according to the wishes of his heart, and established in strength in the government of Assyria—

"The glorious offspring of Asshur-dayan, who held the sceptre of dominion, and ruled over the people of Bel; who in all the works of his hands and the deeds of his life placed his reliance on the great gods, and thus obtained a long and prosperous life—

"The beloved child of Nin-pala-zira, the king who organized the country of Assyria, who purged his territories of the wicked, and established the troops of Assyria in authority." ("Inscription," pp. 60–62.

[105] "Inscription," pp. 64–66.

[106] Ibid. p. 66.

[107] Ibid. pp. 64–72.

[108] Ibid. p. 72.

[109] See text, pp. 153–154.

[110] *E.g.*, even when bent on glorifying himself, the monarch is still "the illustrious chief, who, *under the auspices of the Sun God*, rules over *the people of Bell*" ("Inscription," p. 20), and "whose servants *Asshur has appointed* to the government of the four regions" (ibid.); if his enemies fly, "the *fear of Asshur* has overwhelmed them" (pp. 28, 36, etc.); if they refuse tribute, they "withhold the *offerings due to Asshur*" (p. 24); if the the king himself feels inclined to make an expedition against a country, "his lord, *Asshur invites him*" to proceed thither (pp. 34, 42, 48); if he collects an army, "*Asshur has committed* the troops to his hand" (p. 32). When a country not previously subject to Assyria is attacked, it is because the people "do not *acknowledge Asshur*" (p. 38); when its plunder is

carried off it is to adorn and enrich the temples of Asshur and the other gods (p. 40); when it yields, the first thing is to "*attack it to the worship of Asshur*" (pp 38, 40, etc). The king hunts "under the auspices of Nin and Nergal" (p. 54), or of "Nin and Asshur" (p. 58); he puts his tablets under the protection of Anu and Vul (p. 68); he ascribes the long life of one ancestor to his eminent piety (p. 62); and the prosperity of another to the protection which Asshur vouchsafed him (p. 60). The name of Asshur occurs in the inscription nearly forty times, or almost once in each paragraph. The sun-god, Shamas, the deities Anu, Vul, and Bel, are mentioned repeatedly. Acknowledgment is also made of Sin, the moon-god, of Nin, Nergal, Ishtar, Beltis, Martu, and Il or Ra. And all this is in an inscription which is not dedicatory, but historical!

[111] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 19.

[112] The Moschi, the people of Commagêné, the Naïri, the Aramæans, the people of Muzr, and the Comani.

[113] As the Kaski and Urumi, tribes of the Hittites, the people of Adavas, Tsaravas, Itsua, Daria, Muraddan, Khanni-rabbi, Miltis, or Mélitêné, Dayan, etc.

[114] "Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.," p. 52.

[115] Gen. x. 9.

[116] See text, p. 386.

[117] "Inscription," p. 60.

[118] The existence of "great fortified cities throughout the dominions of the king" is mentioned (p. 58), but none is named except Asshur.

[119] "Inscription," p. 20. And a little further on he is "the exalted sovereign whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of the *country of the four regions*." What the four regions were we can only conjecture. Perhaps they were, 1, the country east of the Tigris; 2, that between the Tigris and the Khabour; 3, that between the Khabour and the Euphrates; and, 4, the mountain region upon the upper Tigris north of the Mesopotamian plain.

[120] See text, p. 128

[121] Ibid. p. 11.

[122] Ibid. p. 131.

[123] *I.e.*, the more westerly ranges. When the monarch crosses the Lower Zab, he is immediately in a hostile country. ("Inscription," p. 38.)

[124] Six thousand are enslaved on one occasion ("Inscription," p. 24;) four thousand on another (p. 32). They are not reserved by the monarch for his own use, but are "given over for a spoil to the people of Assyria."

[125] Only two nations, the Moschi and the Comani, have armies of such strength as this. ("Inscription," pp. 22 and 48.)

[126] Twenty-three are particularized ("Inscription," pp. 42–44). But it is not said that there were no others.

[127] The Comani in later times disappeared from these parts; but there are traces of them both in Pontus and in the Lesser Armenia, which was sometimes reckoned to Cappadocia. Each of these districts had a town called Comana, the inhabitants of which were Comani or Comaneis. (See Strab. xii. pp. 777 and 793; Ptol. v. 6 and 7; Plin. "H. N." vi. 3; Greg. Nyss. "Vit. Thaumat." p. 561.)

[128] See text, p. 379.

[129] Assyria, within the limits above assigned to it (p. 391), must have contained an area of from 50,000 to 60,000 square miles. Babylonia contained about 25,000. The proportion is nearly that between England and Scotland, the actual size not being very different. Babylonia, however, was probably more thickly peopled than Assyria; so that the disproportion of the two populations would not be so great.

[130] See text, p. 381.

[131] It was a feeling of this kind which induced the Israelites to send and fetch the ark of the covenant to their camp when they were contending with the Philistines (1 Sam. iv. 4), and which made the Spartans always take with them to battle one or both of two images (or rather symbols) of the Tyndarids, Castor and Pollux (Herod. v. 75). So when the Bœotians asked aid from the Eginetans, these last sent them certain images of the Æacidæ (Herod. v. 80); and the United Greeks set so high a value on the presence of these same images that they sent expressly to fetch them when they were about to engage the Persian fleet at Salamis (Herod. viii. 64 and 83). Compare Strab. viii. p. 558, and Macrob. "Sat." i. 23.

[132] The chief authority for this war is the "Synchronistic Tablet" already frequently quoted. The capture of the images is not mentioned on that tablet, but is taken from a rock inscription of Sennacherib's at Bavian near Khorsabad. The idols are said to have been captured at the city of *Hekalin*, which is thought to have been near Tekrit.

[133] The illustration is made from a very rough drawing sent to England by the explorer, who is not a skilled draughtsman; and it must therefore be regarded as giving a mere general notion of the bas-relief.

[134] This monument, the earliest Assyrian sculpture which is known to exist, is mentioned by Asshur-izir-pal, the father of the Black-Obelisk king, in his great Inscription; and it was mainly in consequence of this mention that Mr. John Taylor, being requested by Sir H. Rawlinson to explore the sources of the Tigris, discovered, in 1862, the actual tablet, a circumstance which may serve to clear away any lingering doubts that still exist in any quarters as to the actual decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions.

[135] A mutilated female figure, which is thought to be an image of the goddess Ishtar or Astarte, discovered by Mr. Loftus at Koyunjik, and now in the British Museum, bears a dedicatory inscription, almost illegible, from which it appears to

have been set up by Asshur-bil-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser I. and grandson of Asshur-ris-ilim. (See note [178] below.)

[136] According to the ordinary Biblica chronology, Saul's accession fell about the year B.C. 1096. Samuel's judgeship which immediately preceded this, is placed between B.C. 1128 and B.C. 1096. (See Clinton, "F. H." vol. i. p. 320, and compare Palmer, "Egyptian Chronicles," vol. ii. p. 899.) The Assyrian chronology tends to lower these dates by the space of about forty years.

[137] Pethor, where Balaam lived, was on the left bank of the Euphrates, in Aram-Naharaim or Mesopotamia. (Deut. xxiii. 4; compare Num. xxii. 5 and xxiii. 7.)

[138] 1 Sam. xiii. and xiv.

[139] The true character of the Jewish kingdom of David and Solomon as one of the Great Oriental Empires, on a par with Chaldæa and Assyria, and only less celebrated than the others from the accident of its being short-lived, has rarely been seized by historians. Milman indeed parallels the architectural glories of Solomon with those of the "older monarchs of Egypt and Assyria" ("History of the Jews," vol. i. p. 261, 1st edition), and Ewald has one or two similar expressions: but neither writer appears to recognize the real greatness of the Hebrew kingdom. It remained for Dean Stanley, with his greater power of realizing the past, to see that David, upon the completion of his conquests, "became a king *on the scale of the great Oriental Sovereigns* of Egypt and Persia," founding "an imperial dominion," and placing himself "on a level with the great potentates of the world," as, for instance, "Rameses or Cyrus." (Stanley in Smith's "Bibl. Dict." art. DAVID, vol. i. p. 408.)

[140] The single name of Asshur-mazur, which has been assigned to this period (see text, p. 372), is recovered from an inscription of Shalmaneser II., the Black-Obelisk king, who speaks of certain cities on the right bank of the Euphrates as having been taken from Asshur-Mazur by the Aramæans, who had defeated him in battle.

[141] The "Syrians that were beyond the river," who came to the assistance of the Ammonites in their war with David (2 Sam. x. 16), may possibly have been subjects or rather tributaries of Assyria (and in this sense is perhaps to be understood Ps. lxxxiii. 8); but the Assyrian empire itself evidently took no part in the struggle. The Assyrian monarchs at this time seem to have claimed no sovereignty beyond the Euphrates, while David and Solomon were content to push their conquests up to that river.

[142] Perhaps the true cause of Assyria's weakness at this time was that her star now paled before that of Babylon. The story told by Macrobius ("Sat." i. 23) of communications between an Egyptian king, Senemur, or Senepos, and a certain Deleboras, or Deboras, whom he calls an Assyrian monarch, belongs probably to this period. Deboras was most likely a Babylonian, since he was lord of the Mesopotamian Heliopolis, which was Tsipar, or Sippara. It is suspected that he may be the Tsibir who, according to Asshur-izir-pal destroyed a city named Atlil, on the confines of Assyria. At any rate the very existence of communications between Babylon and Egypt would imply that Assyria was not at the time the *great* Mesopotamian power.

[143] This relationship is established by the great inscription of Asshur-izir-pal. ("British Museum Series," Pls. 17 to 26.)

[144] There is some reason to believe that Vul-lush II. was a monarch of energy and character. The fact that several copies of the Canon commence with his reign, shows that it constituted a sort of era. The mention, too, of this Vul-lush by the third king of the name among his picked ancestors is indicative of his reputation as a great monarch.

[145] Asshur-izir-pal, it will be observed, does not call this Tiglathi-Nin his father; and it is therefore possible that the former Tiglathi-Nin may be intended (see text, p. 379). But as Tiglathi-Nin is mentioned after Tiglath-Pileser, it would rather seem that he was a later monarch.

[146] It has been supposed that the Numi of this passage are the same as those of many later inscriptions, and represent the Susianians or Elamites. (See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 353.) But the entire series of geographical names disproves this, and fixes the locality of the campaign to north-western Kurdistan and southern Armenia. The terms Numi and Elami, meaning simply "mountaineers" (compare Heb. עלח, צלח, and the like), would naturally be applied to many quite distinct tribes.

[147] The name of *Kurkh* is given by the natives to some important ruins on the right bank of the Tigris, about twenty miles below Diarbekr. These ruins cover a raised platform, six miles in circumference, crowned towards the south-east corner by a lofty mound, about 180 feet high. Some important Assyrian remains have been found on the site, which are now in the British Museum. Kurkh is probably the Carcathiocerta of the classical writers. (Strab. xi. p. 766; Plin. "H. N." vi. 9.) It is believed to be the same city as *Tuskha* of the Assyrian inscriptions.

[148] See above, note [81].

[149] Circesium, according to Mr. Fox Talbot. ("Assyrian Texts," p. 31.)

[150] See text, p. 136.

[151] The only parallel to this severity which the Inscriptions offer is furnished by Asshur-izir-pal himself in his account of an expedition undertaken in the next year, where, on taking a revolted city (Tela), he tells us, "their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the

noses, ears, and lips: of the young men's ears I made a heap; of the old men's heads I built a minaret. I exposed their heads as a trophy in front of their city The male children and the female children I burnt in the flames. The city I destroyed, and consumed, and burnt with fire." ("Inscription," col. i. ad fin.)

152 The Tsupnat or Tsupna is now called the *Tsebeneh*—a slight corruption of the original appellation. It is probably the native term from which the Greeks and Romans formed the name Sophêné, whereby they designated the entire region between the Mons Masius and the Upper Euphrates. (See Strab. xi. p. 766; Plin. "H. N." vi. 27; D. Cass. xxxvi. 36; Plut. "Vit. Lucull." c. 24; Procop. "De. Æd." iii. 2, etc.) Mr. John Taylor has recently explored this region, and finds that the Tsupnat has an underground course of a considerable length through a cavern, which seems to be the fact exaggerated by Pliny (l. s. c.) into a passage of the Tigris underneath Mount Taurus. The Arab geographer, Yacut, gives an account far nearer the truth, making the Tigris flow from a dark cave near Hilluras ('Ιλλυρις of Procopius). It thus appears that both the Arabians and the Romans regarded the Tsupnat as the true Tigris, which is incorrect, as the stream that flows down from Lake Göljik is decidedly the main river. In the cave above mentioned Mr. Taylor found two of the three memorials mentioned by Asshur-izir-pal. These were his own and Tiglath-Pileser's. The third had probably been destroyed by the falling in of a part of the cave.

153 See text, pp. 393, 396.

154 Ptolemy calls the Diyaleh the Gorgus, Γόργος (vi. i.), which is an Arian equivalent of the Semitic Edisa; for *edus* in Arabic is the same as *gurg* in Persian, meaning "wolf or hyæna." Compare the name Λύκος given to the Zab, which had almost the same meaning. (Heb. זאב.)

155 This river, the Hermas of the Arabians, appears in Asshur-izir-pal's inscriptions under the name of *Kharmesh*.

156 Tsur, Tyre, may perhaps be cognate to the Hebrew צור, the original meaning of which is "a rock." The initial sibilant is however rather ס than צ.

157 The Babylonian monarch of the time was Nebo-bal-adan. He was not directly attacked by Asshur-izir-pal; and hence there is no mention of the war on the synchronistic tablet.

158 The scribe has accidentally written the number as "6000," instead of "10,000 or 20,000." Immediately afterwards he states that 6500 of these 6000 were slain in the battle!

159 Asshur-izir-pal says that he "made a desert" of the banks of the Khabour. Thirty of the chief prisoners were impaled on stakes.

160 It may be conjectured that the people of Beth-Adina are "the children of Eden," of whom we have mention in Kings (2 K. xix. 12) and Isaiah (xxxvii. 12), and who in Sennacherib's time inhabited a city called Tel-Asshur. The indications of locality mentioned in these passages, and also those furnished by Ezek. xxvii. 25, suit well with the vicinity of Balis. Tel-Asshur may possibly be the city built by Asshur-izir-pal, and named after the god Asshur at the close of his seventh campaign.

161 Mr. Fox Talbot compares this name with that of the city of Batnæ visited by Julian. ("Assyrian Texts," p. 32.) Sir H. Rawlinson has suggested a comparison with the Batanæa of the Greeks and Romans. The position of the Patena at this time was, however, much further north than Batanæa, which rather corresponds with Bashan.

162 Amidi continued to be known as Amida through the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods, and is mentioned under that name by Zosimus (iii. 34), Procopius ("Bell Pers." i. 17), Eustathius of Epiphania, and others. The Arabic name of Diarbekr ("the country of Bekr") superseded that of Amida in the seventh century. Diarbekr is, however, still known as *Amid* or *Kara Amid* to the Turks and Armenians.

163 See text, p. 382.

164 See text, pp. 298 *et seq.*

165 See a paper published by Sir H. Rawlinson in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," vol. vii. New Series, p. 9. A few variations from the passage in the "Transactions" will be found in the text. They have the sanction of the writer.

166 This inscription is on the altar found at Nimrud in front of this king's sculptured effigy. (See text, p. 405.)

167 This, at least, is the opinion of Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 654), who has even ventured, with the help of Mr. Fergusson, to reconstruct the river façade. ("Monuments," 2d Series. Pl. 1.)

168 Only two were uncovered by Mr. Layard: but he believes that there was a third between them, as at Koyunjik and Khorsabad. ("Nin. and Bab." l. s. c. Compare text, pp. 187 *et seq.*)

169 This term is intended to express the winged lions which have the form of a man *down to the waist*. (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pl. 42.)

170 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 333; "Monuments," 1st Series, p. 6.

171 This hall was about 100 feet long by 25 broad. All the slabs except one were ornamented with colossal eagle-headed figures in pairs, facing one another, and separated by the sacred tree.

172 From the upper or northern end of this hall was obtained the magnificently dressed group, figured by Mr. Layard in the 1st Series of his "Monuments," Pl. 5, and now in the British Museum. All

the figures in the chamber," says Mr. Layard, "are colossal, and are remarkable for the careful finish of the sculptures and elaborate nature of the ornaments." ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 305.)

[173] See the plan of the Nimrud ruins in Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," opp. p. 655.

[174] See text, p. 195.

[175] Like the rooms in ordinary Assyrian houses.

[176] Their walls had the usual covering of alabaster slabs, but these slabs were inscribed only, and not sculptured.

[177] See text, pp. 212 *et seq.*

[178] A mutilated female statue, brought from Koyunjik, and now in the cellars of the British Museum, is inscribed with the name of Asshur-bil-kala, son of Tiglath-Pileser, and is the earliest *Assyrian* sculpture which has been brought to Europe. The figure wants the head, the two arms from the elbows, and the front part of the feet. It is in a coarse stone, and appears to have been very rudely carved. The size is a little below that of life. The proportions are bad, the length of the body between the arms and the legs being much too short. There are appearances from which it is concluded that the statue had been made to subserve the purposes of a fountain.

[179] The tablet of Tiglath-Pileser I., of which a representation has been already given (see Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 3).

[180] Some signet-cylinders of Assyrian workmanship *may* be earlier. But their date is uncertain.

[181] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 58–60; "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 581. Small bits of basalt, fragments probably of an obelisk, a rude statue and some portions of a winged bull, are all the works of art which Kileh-Sherghat has yielded. The statue is later than the time of Asshur-izir-pal.

[182] See text, pp. 229 *et seq.*

[183] For representations, see Pls. LXXVI. and CV.

[184] See text, p. 237; and compare Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 321 and 412–414.

[185] See text, pp. 199 *et seq.*

[186] This tower, however, was partly the work of Asshur-izir-pal's son and successor, Shalmaneser II.

[187] A stele of the same king, closely resembling this, but of a ruder character, has been recently brought to England, from Kurkh, near Diarbekr, and added to the National Collection.

[188] The custom of placing an altar directly in front of a sculptured representation of the king appears also in one of the bas-reliefs of Asshur-bani-pal, where there is an arched frame very like this of Asshur-izir-pal, apparently set up against a temple, with an altar at a little distance, placed in a pathway leading directly to the royal image. (See Pl. XLIX.)

[189] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 351.

[190] Two feet, that is, on the broader face; on the narrower one the width is less than 14 inches.

[191] See Pl. XL., where this monument is represented.

[192] For its constant use in Assyria see Pls. XXXVI., XLI., XLVII., XLIX., LI., etc.

[193] Amm. Marc. xvii. 4; Plin. "H. N." xxxvi. 14.

[194] See Kenrick's "Phœnicia," p. 56; and compare Eupolemus in Polyhistor's Fragments ("Fr. Hist. Gr." vol. iii. p. 228), Menander (Fr. 1), and Herodotus (ii. 44).

[195] Fragments of two other obelisks, one certainly, the other probably, erected by this monarch, were discovered at Koyunjik by Mr. Loftus, and are also in the British Museum. One was in white stone, and had sculptures on one side only, being chiefly covered with an inscription commemorating in two columns, first, certain hunting exploits in Syria, and secondly, the repairs of the city of Asshur. This had two gradines at the top, and was two feet wide on its broader, and sixteen inches on its narrower face. The other obelisk was in black basalt, and had sculptures on every side, representing the king receiving tribute-bearers. It must have been larger than any other work of this kind which has been found in Assyria; for its width at top was two feet eight inches on the broader, and nearly two feet on the narrower face, which would imply a height of from fifteen to twenty feet. It is uncertain whether this obelisk terminated in gradines.

[196] See text, pp. 326 *et seq.*

[197] Adiabêné is properly the country *between* the Upper and Lower Zab, but it is not unusual to extend the term to the whole Zab region.

[198] See Mr. Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 361.

[199] As his father reigned only six, and his grandfather only twenty years, Asshur-izir-pal is not likely to have been much more than twenty or twenty-five years old when he came to the throne.

[200] No other Assyrian king except Asshur-bani-pal is known to have reigned so long. The nearest approach to a reign of this length among the earlier monarchs is made by Vul-lush III., Shalmaneser's grandson, who reigns 29 years. At Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar reigns 43 years; but no other monarch in Ptolemy's list much exceeds 20 years.

[201] Take, for instance, the following passage from the Annals of Asshur-izir-pal:—

"On the sixth day of the month Su from the city Tabiti I departed. By the side of the river Kharmesh I marched. In the city Magarisi I halted. From the city Magarisi I departed. At the banks of the river Khabour I arrived. In the city Shadikanni I halted. The tribute of the city Shadikanni I received—silver,

gold, iron, bars of copper, sheep, and goats. From the city Shadikanni I departed. In the city Katni I halted," etc., etc.

Or the following from the Annals of Shalmaneser II., which is a very ordinary specimen:—

"In my 25th year I crossed the Euphrates through deep water. I received the tribute of all the kings of the Khatti. I passed over Mount Khamana, and went down to the towns of Kati of Cawin. I attacked and captured Timur, his stronghold. I slew his fighting men and carried away his spoil. I overthrew, beat to pieces, and consumed with fire towns without number. On my return I chose Muru, a stronghold of Arami, the son of Ashaltsi, to be one of my frontier cities."

[202] See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 117. note [4], 2d edition.

[203] See text, pp. 382–388.

[204] In the fifth year of Shalmaneser, Dayan-Asshur was Eponym, as appears both from the Assyrian Canon and the Inscription on the Black Obelisk. The fourth place after the king was at this time ordinarily held by an officer called the Tukul, probably the Vizier, or Prime Minister.

[205] The subjoined passage will show the curious intermixture of persons:—

"In my 30th year, while I was waiting in Calah, I sent out in haste Dayan-Asshur, the general-in-chief of my whole army, at the head of my army. *He* crossed the Zab, and arrived among the towns of Hupuska. *I* received the tribute of Datan, the Hupuskan. *I* departed from the towns of Hupuskans. *He* arrived at the towns of Magdubi, the Madakhirian. *I* received tribute. *He* departed from the towns of the Madakhirians, and arrived among the towns of Udaki the Mannian. Udaki fled to save his life. *I* pursued him," etc.

[206] "Quod facit per alium, facit per se."

[207] Sangara, king of Carchemish, and Lubarna, king of the Patena, had submitted to Asshur-izir-pal. (See text, p. 400.)

[208] This is doubtful. The southern Hittites may have entirely separated the Damascus territory from that now possessed by Assyria.

[209] The allied force is estimated by the Assyrian monarch at 3940 chariots, 1000 camels, and 77,900 men. Of these Benhadad furnished 20,000 men and 1200 chariots, Adoni-baal of Sizana 20,000 men and 30 chariots, Ahab of Jezreel 10,000 men and 2000 chariots, Tsakhulena of Hamath 10,000 men and 700 chariots, and the king of Egypt 1000 men. The camels were furnished by Gindibua (Djendib) the Arabian.

[210] See text, p. 409.

[211] He estimates his troops at 102,000. ("Black-Obelisk Inscription," p. 423.)

[212] The Hittites and the Phœnicians are probably both included in the "twelve kings from the shores of the Upper and Lower Seas," who are said to have joined Ben-hadad on this occasion. ("Inscription," l. s. c.)

[213] See 2 Kings viii. 15. Attempts have been made to clear Hazael of this murder (Calmet, "Commentaire littéral," vol. ii. p. 884; Cotton, in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc. BENHADAD), because it is thought that otherwise Elisha would be involved in his crime. But Elisha no more suggested murder to Hazael by telling him that he would be king than Samuel suggested a similar crime to David by actually anointing him as king (1 Sam. xvi. 1–13). Hazael might have acted as David did.

[214] "Inscription," p. 424. The expression used is, "I went to the towns of Hazael of Damascus, and took part of his provisions." Immediately afterwards we read, "I received the tributes of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus."

[215] Samaria was known to the Assyrian monarchs of this period as Beth-Khumri —"the house or city of Omri"—a form of name with which they were familiar, and one which implied the existence at some previous time of a great king, Omri, the founder. Jehu, in his dealings with the Assyrians, seems to have represented himself to them as this man's "son" or "descendant." It is possible that his representation may have been true, and that he was descended from Omri, at least on the mother's side.

[216] Besides the representation given on Pl. CXLVI., Fig. 1, Pl. CXVII., Fig. 2, belongs to this series. It represents the chief ambassador of the Israelites prostrating himself before the Assyrian king.

[217] This is commonly known as the "Central Palace" of the Nimrud platform. It was discovered by Mr. Layard on his first expedition. (See "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. pp. 344–347.)

[218] It will be hereafter seen that Esarhaddon's palace at Nimrud—called by Mr. Layard the South-West edifice—was almost entirely composed of materials taken from the earlier buildings in its neighborhood.

[219] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 656.

[220] Ibid. l. s. c. and note.

[221] For a representation of this obelisk see Pl. XL. It is on a somewhat smaller scale than that of Asshur-izir-pal, being only about seven feet high, whereas that is more than twelve, and twenty-two inches wide on the broad face, whereas that is two feet. Its proportions make it more solid-looking and less taper than the earlier monument.

[222] See text, p. 411.

[223] Kirzan seems to be the country on the southern slopes of Mount Niphates, between the Bitlis and Myafarekin rivers. It retains its name almost unchanged to the present day. (See Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 37, where it is called "the district of Kherzan.")

[224] To read the sculptures of an Assyrian

obelisk, we must begin at the top with the four topmost compartments, which we must take in the order of their occurrence. We must then descend to the second line of compartments, then to the third, and so on, reading them in the same way. In the Black Obelisk the five lines of compartments correspond exactly to the five nations, except in a single instance. The figures in the bottom compartment of the first side seem not to belong to the fifth nation, nor (apparently) to the fourth, but either to the first or second. The envoys of the fifth nation are introduced by Assyrian officers in the bottom compartment of the *second* side.

[225] Muzr is north-western Kurdistan, especially the district about Rowandiz and Amadiyeh. Bit-Sargina (Khorsabad) is always said to be "at the foot of the mountains of Muzr." The Muzri must have traded with India, probably by the line of the Caspian and the Oxus river.

[226] A stele of this monarch, closely resembling those of his father already mentioned (see text, p. 405), was brought from Kurkh in 1863, and is now in the British Museum. It is not inferior to the similar works of Asshur-izir-pal; but it shows no advance upon them.

[227] This was Tiglath-Pileser II., the monarch of that name mentioned in Scripture. (See text, p. 432.)

[228] Shalmaneser made expeditions for this sole purpose in his first, his seventeenth, and his nineteenth years. (See "Inscription," pp. 422–424.)

[229] See Shalmaneser's account of his proceedings during his fifth and twenty-sixth years. ("Inscription," pp. 422 and 425.)

[230] See Pl. LXIII., Fig. 1.

[231] Representations of these two statues are given on Pl. LXIII.

[232] The main features of this rebellion are given in an inscription on a stele set up by Shamas-Vul II., Shalmaneser's son and successor. This inscription has been translated by Sir H. Rawlinson, and will be found in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xvi., Annual Report, pp. xii. *et seq.*

[233] See text, p. 408.

[234] Shalmaneser may not have been more than about sixty at his death. But this is an age which Eastern monarchs, with their habits of life, rarely exceed. Only two kings of Judah after David exceeded sixty years of age.

[235] Shalmaneser reigned 35 years. His annals terminate with his thirty-first year, B.C. 828. As they make no mention of Asshur-danin-pal's revolt, we may conclude that it broke out and was suppressed in the course of the monarch's last five years. He could not, therefore, have survived its suppression more than four years.

[236] That is, if we view the subjection of the kingdom of Israel as complete. Perhaps it was scarcely received as yet fully into the empire.

[237] See the "Black-Obelisk Inscription," p. 424.

[238] Ibid. p. 423.

[239] This must be understood especially of Northern and Western Armenia. Shalmaneser, as we learn from the Kurkh stele, reduced all the Van region, and set up his image on the shores of the lake.

[240] From Hupuska may have been formed the Greek name of Physcus, which was assigned to the Diyaleh by Sophænetus and Xenophon. (See Xen. "Anab." ii 25; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Φύσκος.)

[241] One important exception, however, must be noticed—the submission of the Muzri, the chief people of north-western Kurdistan. By this the Assyrian Empire was considerably extended to the north-east.

[242] In the selection of the five nations whose tributes are commemorated by the sculptures on the Black Obelisk, there is an evident intention to exhibit the *extent* of the Empire. The Patena and Israelites mark the bounds on the north-west and south-west, the Muzri those on the north-east. The extreme north is marked by the people of Kirzan, the extreme south by the Tsukhi.

[243] This term may possibly correspond to the Hebrew גוים, *Goim*—the singular, which is *Quë* (Coé), answering to גוי, *Goï*.

[244] The Bartsu at this time inhabit south-eastern Armenia. By Sennacherib's time they had descended to a more southerly position. In fact, were then in, or very near, Persia Proper.

[245] See Jerem. xxv. 25.

[246] This term is the Assyrian representation of the Biblical Ararat (אררט) and is probably the original of the Ἀλαρόδιοι of Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 79).

[247] This inscription has been engraved in the "British Museum Series," vol. i. Pls. 29 to 31; in which a transcript of the inscription in the ordinary character has been also published (ibid. Pls. 32 to 34).

[248] See text, pp. 413 *et seq.*

[249] The first Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, attacked Assyria by this route in his first expedition. (See text, pp. 381, 382.) It was also followed by Asshur-izir-pal and Shalmaneser II. in their Babylonian wars. In the time of Herodotus it seems to have been the ordinary line by which travellers reached Babylon. (See Herod. v. 52, and compare the author's "Outline of the Life of Herodotus" in his "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 9, note [1].)

[250] Sir H. Rawlinson regards the Daban as probably the Babylonian Upper Zab (or Nil), which left the Euphrates at Babylon and joined the Tigris at the site of Apamea, near the commencement of the Shat-el-Hie.

[251] One copy of the Assyrian Canon contains brief notices of Shamas-Vul's expeditions during his last six years. From this document ("Brit. Mus. Series," vol. ii. Pl. 52) it appears that he was engaged in military expeditions year after year until

B.C. 810, when he died. The most important of these were against Chaldæa and Babylonia in his 11th and 12th years. The reduction of Babylonia was probably effected by these campaigns (B.C. 813 and 812).

[252] See Pl. CXLV., Fig. 2.

[253] An abstract of this Inscription of Vul-lush III. was published by Sir H. Rawlinson in the year 1856, and will be found in the "Athenæum," No. 1476. More recently, Mr. Fox Talbot has translated the Inscription word for word. (See the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 182–186.) The original has been published in the "British Museum Series," vol. Pl. 35, No. I.

[254] It is an interesting question at what time exactly Judæa first acknowledged the suzerainty of the Assyrians. The general supposition has been that the submission of Ahaz to Tiglath-Pileser II. (about B.C. 730) was the beginning of the subjection (see 2 K. xvi. 7); but a notice in the 14th chapter of the Second Book of Kings appears to imply a much earlier acknowledgement of Assyrian sovereignty. It is said there that "*as soon as the kingdom was confirmed in Amaziah's hand*, he slew the servants who had slain the king his father." Now this is the very expression used of Menahem, king of Israel, in ch. xv. 19, where the "confirmation" intended is evidently that of the Assyrian monarch. We may suspect, therefore, that Judæa had admitted the suzerainty of a foreign power before the accession of Amaziah; and, if so, it must be regarded as almost certain that the power which exercised the suzerainty was Assyria. Amaziah's accession fell probably towards the close of the reign of Shalmaneser II., and the submission of Judæa may therefore be assigned with much probability to the time of that monarch (ab. B.C. 840 or 850).

[255] Ezek. xxxi. 5, 6.

[256] The patterns were in fair taste. They consisted chiefly of winged bulls, zigzags, arrangements of squares and circles, and the like. Mr. Layard calls them "elaborate and graceful in design." ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 15.)

[257] Ibid. p. 16.

[258] The Turks themselves at one time excavated to some extent in the Nebbi Yunus mound, and discovered buildings and relics of Vul-lush III., of Sennacherib, and of Esar-haddon.

[259] Sir H. Rawlinson, who discovered these statues in a temple dedicated to Nebo by Vul-lush III., which adjoined the S.E. palace at Nimrud, found with them six others. Of these four were colossal, while two resembled those in the Museum. The colossal statues were destitute of any inscription.

[260] Pl. XXI., Fig. 3.

[261] The inscription on the statues shows that they were offered to Nebo by an officer, who was governor of Calah, Khamida (Amadiyeh), and three other places, for the life of Vul-lush and of his wife Sammuramit, that the God might lengthen the king's life, prolong his days, increase his years, and give peace to his house and people, and victory to his armies.

[262] See the Inscription in the "British Museum Series," vol. i. Pl. 35, No. II.

[263] See p. 287.

[264] Herod. i. 184.

[265] This date is obtained by adopting the estimate of three generations to a century, which was familiar to Herodotus (ii. 142), and counting six generations between Semiramis and Labynetus (the supposed son of Nitocris), whose reign commenced B.C. 555, according to the Canon of Ptolemy. The date thus produced is not quite high enough for the reign of Vul-lush III., but it approaches sufficiently near to make it probable that the Semiramis of Herodotus and the Sammuramit of the Nebo statues are one and the same person.

[266] See Diod. Sic. ii. 4, where Semiramis is made the daughter of the Syrian goddess Derceto; and ii. 20, where she is said to have turned into a dove and to have flown away from earth to heaven. Compare Mos. Chor. "Hist. Armen." i. 14 *et seq.*, and the whole narrative in Diodorus (ii. 4–20), which is full of extravagances.

[267] Herod. l. s. c.

[268] Diod. Sic. ii. 14.

[269] Ibid. ii. 18.

[270] Ibid. ii. 7–10.

[271] Ibid. ii. 11, 13, 14, etc.; Mos. Choren. "Hist. Arm." i. 15; Strab. xi. p. 529, xii. p. 559.

[272] "Manual of Ancient History," Book i. p. 26, E. T.

[273] "Vorträge über alte Geschichte," vol. i. p. 27.

[274] From the accession of Asshur-izir-pal to the death of Vul-lush III. is above a century (103 years).

[275] 2 Kings xv. 19.

[276] Until the discovery of the Assyrian Canon had furnished us with three kings between Vul-lush III. and Tiglath-Pileser II., thus separating their reigns by a space of 35 years, it was thought that Vul-lush III. might possibly represent the Biblical Pul, the two names not being so very different. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 382.) The identification was never very satisfactory, for the phonetic value of all the three elements which make up the name read as Vul-lush is very uncertain. Chronological considerations have now induced the advocates of the identity to give it up.

[277] The argument is here based upon the Scriptural numbers *only*. As Menahem reigned 10 years, Pekahiah 2 years, and Pekah 20, if Pul's expedition had fallen in Menahem's first year, and Tiglath-Pileser's in Pekah's last, they would have been separated at the utmost by a space of 32 years. We shall hereafter show reasons for thinking that in fact they were separated by no longer an interval than 18 or 20 years.

[278] See the *Athenæum* for Aug. 22, 1863

(No. 1869, p. 245). The chief arguments for the identity are, 1. The fact that Scripture mentions Pul's taking tribute from Menahem, but says nothing of tribute being taken from him by Tiglath-Pileser, while the Assyrian monuments mention that Tiglath-Pileser took tribute from him, but say nothing of Pul. 2. The improbability (?) that two consecutive kings of Assyria could have pushed their conquests to the distant land of Judæa during the short reign of Menahem. 3. The way in which Pul and Tiglath-Pileser are coupled together in 2 Chron. v. 26, as if they were one and the same individual (?), or at any rate were acting together; and, 4. The fact that in the Syriac and Arabic versions of this passage one name only is given instead of the two. To me these arguments do not appear to be of much weight. I think that neither the writer of Chronicles nor the writer of Kings could possibly have expressed themselves as they have if they regarded Pul and Tiglath-Pileser as the same person.

[279] See the next note.

[280] See Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. iv. "Post hos ait extitisse *Chaldæorum regem*, cui nomen Phulus erat." Eusebius makes the quotation from Polyhistor; but Polyhistor's authority beyond a doubt was Berosus. Pul therefore must have figured in the Babylonian annals, either as a native king, or as an Assyrian who had borne sway over Chaldæa.

[281] Assyrian names are almost always compounds, consisting of two, three, or more elements. It is difficult to make two elements out of Pul. There is, however, it must be granted, an Assyrian Eponym in the Canon, whose name is not very far from Pul, being Palaya, or Palluya (= "my son"). The same name was borne by a grandson of Merodach-Baladan. Mr. G. Smith, moreover, informs me that he has found Pulu as the name of an ordinary Assyrian on a tablet.

[282] The "Porus" of Ptolemy's Canon is a name closely resembling the "Phulus" of Polyhistor. The one would be in Hebrew בּוּר, the other is כּוּל.

[283] According to Ussher (see the marginal dates in our Bibles) Menahem reigned from B.C. 771 to B.C. 761, or twenty years earlier than this. Clinton lowers the dates by two years ("F. H." vol. i. p. 325). Nine more may be deducted by omitting the imaginary "interregnum" between Pekah and Hoshea, which is contradicted by 2 K. xv. 30. The discrepancy, therefore, between the Assyrian Canon and the Hebrew numbers at this point does not exceed ten years.

[284] B.C. 747. The near synchronism of Tiglath-Pileser's accession (B.C. 745) with this date is remarkable, resulting as it does simply from the numbers in the Assyrian Canon, without any artifice or manipulation whatsoever.

[285] See 2 Kings xiv. 25–28; xv. 16.

[286] This general defection and depression is stated somewhat over-strongly by Herodotus (i. 95, 96).

[287] The date of Jonah's preaching to the Ninevites has been much disputed. It has been placed as early as 860 (see our Bibles), or from that to B.C. 840 (Drake), which would throw it into a most flourishing Assyrian period, the reign of Shalmaneser II. Others have observed that it may as well belong to the *latter part* of the reign of Jeroboam II. (Bailey), which would be about B.C. 780, according to the ordinary chronology, or about B.C. 760–750, according to the views of the present writer.

[288] Jonah iii. 4.

[289] This was the prophetic dress. (See 2 Kings i. 8, and Zech. xiii. 4.)

[290] Jonah iii. 6.

[291] On the custom of putting beasts in mourning, see above, ch. viii. note [215].

[292] Jonah iii. 7, 8.

[293] Ibid. verse 5.

[294] Ibid. verse 10.

[295] Ibid. iv. 5.

[296] Ibid. verse 11. On the meaning of the phrase see vol. i. pp. 161, 162.

[297] "Fr. Hist. Gr." vol. iv. p. 351.

[298] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 210.

[299] The native form is *Pal-tsira*, or *Palli-tsir* (Oppert), whence Beletar, by a change of the initial *tenuis* into the *media*, and a hardening of the dental sibilant.

[300] Compare the stories of Gyges, Cyrus, Amasis, etc. Gyges, the herdsman of Plato ("Rep." ii. 3), and the guardsman of Herodotus (i. 8), appears in the narrative of Nicolaus Damascenus, who probably follows the native historian Xanthus, as a member of the noblest house in the kingdom next to that of the monarch (Nic. Dam. Fr. 49). Cyrus, son (according to Herodotus, i. 107) of an ordinary Persian noble, declares himself to have been the son of a "powerful king." (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 200, note [9], 2d edit.) There are good grounds for believing that the low birth of Amasis is likewise a fiction. (Ibid. vol. ii. p. 222, note [7].)

[301] Bion's date is uncertain, but it probably was not much before B.C. 200. (See the remarks of C. Müller in the "Fr. Hist. Gr." vol. iv. p. 347.)

[302] This fact is stated on a mutilated tablet belonging to Tiglath-Pileser's reign.

[303] Merodach-Baladan is called "the son of Yakin" in the Assyrian Inscriptions. His capital, Bit-Yakin, had apparently been built by, and named after, his father. Compare Bit-Omri (*i.e.*, Samaria), Bit-Sargina, etc. It has been suggested that Yakin may be intended by Jugæus, if that be the true reading, in Ptolemy's Canon.

When Merodach-Baladan is called "the son of Baladan" in 2 Kings xx. 12, and Is. xxxix. 1, the reference is probably to a grandfather or other ancestor.

[304] As *Nadina*, who would seem to be Nadius; and *Zakiru*, who may possibly be Chinzirus.

[305] Babylon, Borsippa, Nipur, Cutha, Erech, Kis, and Dilmun. Compare the

conduct of Vul-lush III. (see text, p. 419).

306 See text, p. 419.

307 Besides the great Hiram, the friend of Solomon, there is a Tyrian king of the name mentioned by Menander as contemporary with Cyrus (Fr. 2); and another occurs in Herodotus (vii. 98), who must have been contemporary with Darius Hystaspis.

308 The Arabs of the tract bordering on Egypt seem to have been regularly governed by queens. Three such are mentioned in the Inscriptions. As these Arabs were near neighbors of the Sabæans, it is suggested that the queen of Sheba came from their country, which was in the neighborhood of Sinai. (See "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," vol. vii. New Series, p. 14.)

309 2 Kings xv. 29.

310 Isaiah ix. 1. This war is slightly alluded to in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser; but no details are given.

311 See text, p. 409.

312 Isa. vii. 1–6. Comp. 2 Kings xvi. 5.

313 2 Kings xvi. 7.

314 2 Kings xvi. 9. There is an imperfect notice of the defeat and death of Rezin in a mutilated inscription now in the British Museum.

315 2 Chron. v. 26. That Tiglath-Pileser attacked Pekah twice seems to follow from the complete difference between the localities mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 29, and 2 Chron. v. 26. In Isaiah ix. 1, both expeditions seem to be glanced at.

316 That the Gozan of Scripture was this country is apparent enough from Scripture itself, which joins it with (Halah Chalcitis of Ptolemy), Habor (the Khabour), Haran (Harran or Carrhæ), Rezeph, and Eden (Beth-Adini). It is confirmed by the Assyrian inscriptions, which connect Guzan with Nisibis.

317 Megiddo and Dora are mentioned under the forms of *Magidu* and *Duru* among the Syrian cities tributary to Tiglath-Pileser. They are joined to a place called *Manatsuah*, which now for the first time appears in the lists, and which probably represents the land of Manasseh.

318 The south-western limit of Assyria was now advanced to about lat. 32° 30′. Dur and Megiddo seem to have been her frontier towns.

319 2 Kings xvi. 10. Tiglath-Pileser records his reception of tribute from a king of Judah whom he calls *Yahukhazi*, or Jehoahaz. It was at one time suggested that the monarch intended might be Uzziah whose name would become Jehoahaz by a metathesis of the two elements; but the late date of the tribute-giving, which was certainly towards the close of Tiglath-Pileser's reign, renders this impossible. *Yahukhazi* must represent Ahaz. It has been suggested that Jehoahaz was the monarch's real appellation, and that the Jews dropped the initial element because they were unwilling to profane the sacred name of Jehovah by connecting it with so wicked a monarch; but perhaps it is more probable that the name was changed by Tiglath-Pileser, when Ahaz became his tributary, just as the name of Eliakim was turned by Necho to Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiii. 34), and that of Mattaniah to Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar (ibid. xxiv. 17). His impieties may have prevented the Jews from recognizing the change of name as legitimate, and made them still call him simply Ahaz.

320 Compare the Matgenus (*Μάτγηνος*) of Menander, the father of Pygmalion and Dido (Fr. 1).

321 See text, p. 419.

322 They were often partially destroyed, in order to reduce the size of the stone and make it fit into a given place in Esarhaddon's wall. (See Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series," p. 14.)

323 This plan is exhibited in the basement story of the British Museum.

324 See text, pp. 181–183.

325 For representations of Tiglath-Pileser's sculptures, see Mr. Layard's "Monuments," 1st Series, Plates, 57 to 67; and compare Pls. XXXV., XXXVI., LXXVII., and LXXIX.

326 2 Kings xvii. 3. "Against him came up Shalmaneser, king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant and gave him presents," or "rendered him tribute" (marginal rendering).

327 It was probably now that Shalmaneser made his general attack upon Phœnicia. (See text, p. 433.)

328 2 Kings xvii. 4. "And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year.

329 Several kings of the 18th and 19th dynasties seem to have ruled over Syria, and even to have made war across the Euphrates in Western Mesopotamia. (See Wilkinson in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 302–305 and p. 311; and compare Sir H. Rawlinson's "Illustrations of Egyptian History," published in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," vol. vii. New Series.)

330 The invasions of Shishak (Sheshonk) and Zerah (Osorkon) show that the idea of annexing Syria continued even during a period of comparative depression.

331 See text, p. 395.

332 If we were obliged to follow Manetho's dates, as reported to us through Eusebius and Africanus, we should have to place the accession of the first Sabaco 22 or 24 years only before Tirhakah, B.C. 712 or 714. But the Apis *stelæ* have shown that Manetho's numbers are not to be trusted; and it is allowable therefore to assign to the two Ethiopian kings who preceded Tirhakah ordinary reigns of (say) 20 years each, which would bring the Ethiopian conquest to B.C. 730.

333 Manetho stated that Bocchoris the Saite was burnt alive by Sabaco I. (Eu-

seb. "Chr. Can." i. p. 104.) Herodotus gave a different account (ii. 137–140).

[334] According to Herodotus, the native king whom Sabaco superseded (called by him Anysis) was blind. Diodorus calls Bocchoris *τῷ σώματι παντελῶς εὐκαταφρόνητον*, but does not specify any particular infirmity. (Diod. Sic. i. 65, § 1.)

[335] That the So, or rather Seveh (סוא), of 2 Kings xvii. 4, represents the Egyptian name Shebek is the general opinion of commentators. It is not perhaps quite certain, but it is highly probable.

[336] It has not been generally seen that there is an interval of time between verses 4 and 5 of 2 Kings xvii.; yet this is sufficiently clear to an attentive reader.

[337] 2 Kings xvii. 4.

[338] So Josephus. *Εἶλε κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμαρίαν.* ("Ant. Jud." ix. 13.)

[339] *Ἐπῆλθε Φοινίκην πολεμῶν ἅπασαν.* (Menand. Eph. ap. Joseph. "Ant. Jud." ix. 14.)

[340] *Ὑπέστρεψε.* (Ibid.)

[341] Menander speaks of the Phœnicians as "*helping* to man the sixty ships" (*συμπληρωσάντων αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑξήκοντα*). It is uncertain how many rowers the Phœnician vessels of this time required. In Sargon's sculptures they are represented with only four or five rowers on each side; in Sennacherib's with eight, nine, or eleven, and also with two steersmen. Probably the latter representation is the more correct; and this would make the average number of rowers to be twenty. In that case each crew on this occasion would have been two-thirds Phœnician to one-third Assyrian.

[342] It has been usual to see in this Tyrian war of Shalmaneser's an expedition against Cyprus; and the author originally understood the passage in this sense (see his "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 234, note [8]). But he now thinks with Mr. Kenrick ("Phœnicia," p. 379, note [1]), that, even if the present text of Josephus is correct, no Cyprian expedition is intended. At the same time he suspects that the words which cause the difficulty (*Ἐπὶ τούτους πέμψας ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεύς*) contain a wrong reading. He would propose to change *τούτους* into *τοῦτον*.

[343] Shalmaneser's first attack on Phœnicia may be assigned to his first year. The revolt of the island Tyre, and his naval attack on it, cannot fall earlier, but may easily have fallen later, than his second year. The blockade of the fountains might possibly be established in the autumn of that year (B.C. 726), in which case the five years of resistance would terminate in the autumn of B.C. 721, which is Sargon's second year.

[344] This is the probable origin of the title Pharaoh, which signifies *Ph' Ra*, "the Sun." Among the common titles of Oriental sovereigns are "the light of the Universe," "the brother of the Sun and Moon," and the like.

[345] Nabonidus always styles himself "the son of Nebo-belatzu-ikbi, the Rab-Mag."

[346] See Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 31.

[347] M. Oppert now prefers the form *Saryukin*. ("Chronologie Biblique," p. 20.) Mr. G. Smith regards *Sar-gina* as the Accadian and *Saru-kina* as the Assyrian form. ("Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache" for 1869, p. 93.)

[348] "Sargon (*Sar-kin*) veut dire, *roi de fait*, et indique l'usurpateur." (Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 8.)

[349] The religious character of the Assyrian royal names has been already repeatedly noticed. (See text, pp. 348, 352, 354, etc.) They consist almost universally of two or three elements, forming a short sentence, and including the name or designation of a god. (See Appendix A, "On the Assyrian Royal Names.")

[350] "Zeitschrift," l. s. c. It had also been borne by an ancient Chaldæan monarch, of whom mention is made in two or three places, but whose date cannot be fixed. In reference to this early king the Assyrian Sargon is sometimes called *Sarukina-arku*—"the later Sargon."

[351] This is the usual estimate. M. Oppert regards the annals as covering *sixteen* years, from B.C. 721 to B.C. 706, inclusively.

[352] Sargon seems not to have effected the deportation of the Samaritans at once. Apparently he acted towards them as Sennacherib intended to act towards the Jews of Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 31, 32. "Thus saith the king of Assyria, Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me, and then eat ye every man of his own vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his cistern, *until I come to take you away* to a land like your own land," etc.)

[353] The Simyra of the classical geographers, which was near Marathus. (Plin. "H. N." v. 20; Mela, i. 12; etc.) The city is not mentioned in Scripture; but we hear in Genesis (x. 16) of the "Zemarites," in conjunction with the Hamathites and Arvadites.

[354] The Hebrew literation of Aroer is ערע, which is very likely to be represented by Gargar, since the Hebrew *ain* is very nearly a *g*. On the position of the various Aroers, see Mr. Grove's article in Smith's "Bibl. Dictionary," vol. i. p. 115.

[355] Manetho placed the accession of the Ethiopian dynasty 191 or 193 years before the invasion of Cambyses, *i.e.*, in B.C. 716 or 718.

[356] See above, note [334]. Bocchoris, according to Manetho, reigned either six or forty-four years!

[357] Philistia had submitted to Vul-lush

III. (see text, p. 419), and probably to Tiglath-Pileser II. (p. 430). The extension of Egyptian influence over the country is perhaps glanced at in the prophesy of Isaiah,—"In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan." The "five cities" of the Philistines were Ashdod, Gaza, Ascalon, Gath, and Ekron. (See Josh. xiii. 3; and 1 Sam. vi. 17.)

[358] See above, note [335].

[359] See Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides, p. 22; and compare Sir H. Rawlinson in the "Athenæum." No. 1869, p. 247, note [28]; and Dr. Hicks in the same journal, No. 1878, p. 531.

[360] Manetho assigned to Neco six years only, whereas it is certain that he reigned sixteen. He interposed three kings, whose reigns covered a space of twenty-one years, between Tirhakah and Psammetichus, whereas the monuments show that Psammetichus followed Tirhakah immediately. Again, he gave Tirhakah eighteen years, whereas the monuments give him twenty-six. His numbers may have been falsified; but certainly, *as they come to us*, no dependence can be placed on them. (See M. de Rougé's "Notice sommaire des Monuments égyptiens du Musée du Louvre." Paris, 1855.)

[361] The title borne by Shebek is read as *Tar-danu* by Sir H. Rawlinson, and explained as honorific, signifying "the high in rank." M. Oppert reads it as *Sil-tan*, and compares the Hebrew *shilton* (שׁלטון), "power," and the Arabic *Sultan*. In either case the title is a subordinate one, occurring in an Assyrian list of officers *after* that of Tartan.

[362] That Shebek the *Tar-dan* or *Sil-tan* is not the Pharaoh who gave the tribute is evident from the great Chamber Inscription of Khorsabad, where the two names stand contrasted in two consecutive paragraphs. (Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 22.)

[363] The position of Raphia is well marked in Polybius, who places it between Rhinocolura and Gaza (v. 80, § 3). It was the scene of a great battle between Ptolemy Philopator and Antiochus the Great, B.C. 217. Pliny calls it Raphea. ("H. N." v. 13.)

[364] See above, note [361].

[365] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 36.

[366] The Thamudites are a well-known Arabian tribe, belonging anciently to the central portion of the peninsula. They occupied seats to the south of Arabia Petræa in the name of Ptolemy. ("Geograph." vi. 7.)

[367] Compare Nehem. ii. 19, and iv. 7.

[368] Tsamsi appears to have been the successor of Khabiba (see text, p. 429).

[369] These presents were gold, spices (?), horses, and camels. The Egyptian horses were much prized, and were carefully preserved by Sargon in the royal stables at Nineveh.

[370] M. Oppert understands the passage somewhat differently. He translates, "Yaman apprit de loin l'approche de mon expédition; il s'enfuit *au delà* de l'Egypte, *du côté* de Méroé." ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 27.)

[371] The name Ashdod (אשדוד) is probably derived from the root שׁד, "strong," which appears in שׁדי and שׁדד. *Shedeed* is "strong" in Arabic.

[372] It is perhaps this capture of Ashdod of which Isaiah speaks—"In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod (when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him), and fought against Ashdod, and took it; at the same time spake the Lord by Isaiah," etc. (xx. 1, 2). For it is possible that Sargon may claim as his own act what was really effected by a general. But perhaps it is most probable that the capture by the Tartan or general was the earlier one, when Azuri's revolt was put down, and Akhimit was made king in his place.

[373] See Mr. G. Smith's paper in the "Zeitschrift für aegypt. Sprache" for 1869, p. 107.

[374] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 28. It is this statement, joined with the fact that the expedition took place in Sargon's 12th year, that enables us definitely to fix the accession of Sargon to B.C. 722–1, which is the first year of Merodach-Baladan (Mardocempalus) in the Canon of Ptolemy.

[375] Sargon seems by skilful movements to have interposed his army between Merodach-Baladan and Sutruk-Nakhunta, and even to have threatened to cut off Merodach-Baladan from the sea. Hence, probably, his hasty evacuation of his capital. (See Mr. G. Smith's paper in the "Zeitschrift," p. 109.)

[376] See above, note [303].

[377] The tribes summoned were the *Gambulu*, the *Bukudu*, or *Pukudu* (perhaps the Pekod of the Jewish prophets, Jer. l. 21; Ezek. xxiii. 23), the *Tamuna*, the *Rikhikhu*, and the *Khindari*, who all appear among the Aramæans plundered by Sennacherib. (See text, p. 447.) The Gambulu or Gumbulu were known to the Arab geographers and historians as *Junbulá*. They place the *Junbulá* in the Lemlun marsh district.

[378] I have hitherto doubted this identification since the initial S of an Assyrian name is nowhere else replaced by a mere breathing. But the discovery that Sargon took the title of "king of Babli" in the very year which Ptolemy makes the 1st of Arceanus, B.C. 709 ("Zeitschrift," p. 95), convinces me that I have been wrong.

[379] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 30.

[380] This expression, and the subsequent statement that Cyprus, which is less than 65 miles distant from the nearest part of the Phœnician coast, was, "seven days' sail from the shore," sufficiently mark the ignorance of the Assyrians where nautical matters are concerned. Sargon

calls Cyprus "a country of which none of the kings of Assyria or Babylonia had ever heard the name." ("Inscriptions," etc., p. 31.)

[381] The tribute of *Upir* is not stated. That of the Cyprians consisted of gold, silver, vases, logs of ebony, and the manufactures of their own land.

[382] This effigy of Sargon, found on the site of Idalium, is now in the Berlin Museum. In the Inscriptions, "setting up the image of his majesty" is always a sign that a monarch has conquered a country. Such images are sometimes represented in the bas-reliefs. (See Botta, "Monument de Ninive," Pl. 64.)

[383] There was peculiar ingratitude in the conduct of Ambris. Sargon had selected him from among the neighboring kings for the honor of a matrimonial alliance; and had given him the province of Cilicia as the dowry of the daughter whom he sent to Ambris to be his wife.

[384] This name has been compared with the Phrygian Midas. (Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 131, 2d ed.) The name of another chief engaged in this war—Daiukka the Mannian—has been compared with that of the supposed Median monarch Deïoces. Some go so far as to identify the personages.

[385] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 24, Sargon represents this as a pure act of favor on his part: but we cannot be mistaken in considering it as an act of prudence.

Urza's signet-cylinder has been discovered and brought to Europe. It bears a four-winged genius, grasping with either hand an ostrich by the neck. (See Cullimore, "Cylinders," Pl. 8, fig. 40.) It is now in the Museum of the Hague.

[386] Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 25. Compare p. 37.

[387] On the Nisæan horses see the author's "Herodotus," vol. iv. p. 33, note [6], 2d ed.

[388] Sutruk-Nakhunta's inscriptions have been found on the great mound of Susa. (Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 363, note [4], 2d ed.)

[389] Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 26, 27.

[390] 2 Kings xviii. 11. "And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in *the cities of the Medes.*"

[391] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 37.

[392] See text, pp. 391, 399, 429, and 430.

[393] The Arab geographer Yacut speaks of Khurstabadh (Khorsabad) as a village east of the Tigris, opposite to Mosul, and *adjoining the old ruined city of Sarghun.* (See "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xii. p. 419, note [2].)

[394] It is true the evidence is only negative, but it is as strong as negative evidence can be. Sargon neither mentions hunting in any of his inscriptions, nor represents himself as engaged in it in his sculptures. The only representation of sport which his bas-reliefs furnish consists of one series of slabs, where partridges, hares, and gazelles are the objects of pursuit. The king is present, driving in his chariot, but seems to take no part in the sport. (See text, p. 304.)

[395] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 31, note [1].

[396] This must have been his principal residence, as the Khorsabad palace was not finished till his fifteenth year.

[397] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 35.

[398] Ibid.

[399] "Zeitschrift für aegypt. Sprache" for 1869, p. 110.

[400] At any rate the earliest *known* specimens belong to this reign. (See text, p. 234.)

[401] King, "Antique Gems," p. 127.

[402] See the representations on Plates LXXXIV. and LXXXV.

[403] See Pls. CVII. and CXIV.

[404] See Pls. XLIX., LXXXII., CXXXIII., and CXXXVIII.

[405] See Pl. LXVII.

[406] This document is known as "the Taylor Cylinder." It is dated in the Eponymy of Bel-emur-ani, who appears in the Assyrian Canon as the Eponym of Sennacherib's fifteenth year, B.C. 691, and again of his twentieth year, B.C. 686. An abstract of the most important portion of this inscription was given by Sir H. Rawlinson so long ago as 1852, in his "Outlines of Assyrian History," while detailed translations have been since published by Mr. Fox Talbot ("Journ. As. Soc." vol. xix. pp. 135–181), and M. Oppert ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 41–53).

[407] There is a second document called "the Bellino Cylinder," which was written in Sennacherib's fourth year, and contains his first two campaigns, together with an account of his early buildings at Nineveh. In general it agrees closely with the Taylor Cylinder; but it adds some few facts, as the appointment of Belipni. Mr. Fox Talbot translated it in his "Assyrian Texts," pp. 1–9.

[408] 2 Kings xviii. 13–37; Isa. xxxvi. and xxxvii.

[409] Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. iv. v. Eusebius has also preserved a passage of Abydenus in which Sennacherib is mentioned (ib. c. ix. § 1); but it contains little of any value that is not also mentioned by Polyhistor.

[410] Herod. ii. 141.

[411] The Assyrians and Babylonians counted as their "first year," not the actual year of their accession, but the year following. Thus if Sennacherib ascended the throne B.C. 705, his "first year" would be B.C. 704.

[412] It is an admitted feature of Ptolemy's Canon that it takes no notice of kings who reigned less than a year.

[413] The following is Polyhistor's statement as reported by Eusebius: "Postquam regno defunctus est Senecheribi frater, et post Hagisæ in Babylonios

dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto trigesimo imperii die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, Marudachus ipse Baldanes tyrannidem invasit mensibus sex; donec eum sustulit vir quidam nomine Elibus, qui et in regnum successit." ("Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, v. § 1.)

414 See text, p. 441.

415 It was formerly concluded from Sennacherib's cylinders that his first Babylonian expedition was in his first and his Syrian expedition in his third year. But neither the Bellino nor the Taylor Cylinder is, strictly speaking, in the form of *annals*. The Babylonian was his first campaign, the Syrian his third. But two years seem to have passed before he engaged in foreign expeditions.

It is confirmatory of this view, which follows from the chronology of the Assyrian Canon compared with the Canon of Ptolemy, to find that the Bellino Cylinder, written in Sennacherib's fourth year, gives, not four campaigns, but two only—those of B.C. 703 and B.C. 702.

416 This king was probably the Sutruk-Nakhunta who had warred with Sargon. (See text, p. 443.)

417 "As. Soc, Journ." vol. xix. p. 137.

418 See text, p. 469.

419 In Elibus the El is perhaps אל, "god," used for Bel, the particular god, or possibly Elibus is a mere corruption due to the double translation of Polyhistor's Greek into Armenian, and of the Armenian Eusebius into Latin.

420 These tribes had all assisted Merodach-Baladan against Sargon. (See above, note 377.)

421 Compare 1 Chr. v. 10, 18–22; Ps. lxxxiii. 6. The Hagarenes are perhaps the Agræi of Strabo (xvi. p. 1091), Pliny ("H. N." vi. 32), and others.

422 "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 138.

423 See text, p. 443.

424 "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. pp. 139–143; "Inscrip. des Sargonides," pp. 42, 43.

425 Ap. Joseph. "Ant. Jud." ix. 14.

426 This identity is maintained by Mr. Bosanquet. ("Fall of Nineveh," p. 40; "Messiah the Prince," p. 385.)

427 This name appears as that of a Philistine king in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II. (See text, p. 430.)

428 M. Oppert is, I believe, of this opinion. Mr. Fox Talbot so translates ("Asiatic Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 144). Sir H. Rawlinson denies the identity of the town mentioned with Samaria, which is ordinarily represented in the Inscriptions by an entirely different set of characters.

429 Joppa and Bene-berak are connected with Ekron in Josh. xix. 43–46. There was a Hazor among the extreme southern cities of Judah (ib. xv. 23). And there was a Beth-Dagon in the low country or coast tract of Judah, which is probably the modern *Beit-Dajan* between Lydda and Joppa. These seem to be the four cities now taken by Sennacherib.

430 Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. xx.; African. ap. Syncell. "Chronograph," p. 184, C.

431 We shall have fuller evidence of the continuation of this practice under the Assyrian kings when they became masters of Egypt. (See text, pp. 472 and 491.) It is slightly indicated by the Dodecarchy of Herodotus (ii. 147).

432 The first great battle was that of Raphia. (See text, p. 438.)

433 See Josh. xix. 44, where Eltekeh (אלתקה) is mentioned next to Ekron. It was a city of the Levites (Josh. xix. 23).

434 Perhaps not real "sons," but rather "servants." Compare the double use of παῖς in Greek.

435 Tamna is no doubt Thimnatha (תמנתה), the Θάμνα of the Alexandrian codex, which is mentioned in Joshua (xix. 43) immediately before Ekron. This is probably not the Timnath or Timnatha of Samson's exploits.

436 "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. pp. 146, 147; "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 44, 45.

437 The first intention was that Hezekiah should put Padi to death. The Ekronites, we are told, "sent Padi to Hezekiah *to be destroyed;* but he prayed to God, and he (God) softened their hearts." It is remarkable that the determinative for "God" is here used alone, without the addition of any name of a god.

438 If it was in Hezekiah's sixth year that Samaria was taken by Sargon, he should now have reached his twenty-seventh year. The Hebrew and Assyrian numbers are here irreconcilable. I should propose to read in 2 Kings xviii. 13, "twenty-seventh" for "fourteenth."

439 2 Kings xviii. 13–16.

440 The translation of Sir H. Rawlinson, which has already appeared in the author's "Bampton Lectures" (pp. 141, 142, 1st edition) is here followed. It agrees in all essential points with the translations of Dr. Hincks (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 143, 144), M. Oppert ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 45, 46), and Mr. Fox Talbot, ("Journ. of As. Soc." vol. xix. pp. 147–149).

441 It is perhaps this desolation of the territory to which Isaiah alludes in his 24th chapter: "Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad all the inhabitants thereof. . . . . The land shall be utterly emptied and utterly spoiled, for the Lord hath spoken this word. The earth mourneth and fadeth away, the world languisheth and fadeth away; the haughty people of the earth do languish. The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore has the curse devoured the earth, and they that dwell therein are desolate; therefore the inhabitants of the earth are burned, and

few men left. The new wine mourneth, the vine languisheth, all the merry-hearted do sigh. The mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth. They shall not drink wine with a song; strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it. The city of confusion is broken down; every house is shut up, that no man may come in. There is a crying for wine in the streets; all joy is darkened; and the mirth of the land is gone. In the city is left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction." (Is. xxiv. 1–12.)

[442] Demetrius regarded this as one of the great captivities, paralleling it with the previous captivity of Samaria, and with the final captivity of Jerusalem in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. (Demetr. ap. Clem. Alex. "Strom." i. p. 403.)

[443] Compare Is. xxix. 1–4, which seems to be a prophecy of this siege, the only one (so far as we know) that Jerusalem underwent at the hands of the Assyrians. "Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt! Add ye year to year; let them kill sacrifices. For I will distress Ariel, and there shall be heaviness and sorrow; and it shall be unto me as Ariel. And I will *camp against thee round about*, and will lay siege against thee *with a mount*, and I will *raise forts* against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust."

[444] Is. xxii. 9. 10.

[445] Ib. verses 1, 2.

[446] Ib. verse 5.

[447] Ib. verses 12, 13.

[448] It appears that Hezekiah either now or on the second occasion, when Jerusalem was threatened by Sennacherib, "stopped all the fountains which were without the city, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land," because the people said, "Why should the Assyrian come and find much water?" (2 Chron. xxii. 3, 4; compare Is. xxii. 9, 11.) From both passages I should infer that the blocking of the fountains took place on this, the *first*, occasion. On the general subject of the changes made at this time in the water supply, see Williams's "Holy City," vol. ii. pp. 472–482.

[449] 2 Chron. iii. 4–8.

[450] These were Mitinti king of Ashdod, Padi king of Ekron, and Tsilli-Bel king of Gaza. ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 45; "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 148.)

[451] "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. pp. 149, 150; "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 46.

[452] Ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma. c. v. "Hoc (*i.e.*, Elibo) tertium jam annum regnante, Senecheribus rex Assyriorum copias adversum Babylonios contrahebat, prælioque cum iis conserto, superior evadebat; captumque Elibum cum familiaribus ejus in Assyriam transferri jubebat. Is igitur Babyloniorum potitus, filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat; ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat."

[453] This change would easily take place by the two *sigmas* ($\sigma\sigma$) being mistaken for a *pi* (π).

[454] There is nothing in the Assyrian records to fix, or even to suggest this date. It is required in consequence of the length of Hezekiah's reign. As Hezekiah is given only 29 years (2 Kings xviii. 2; 2 Chron. xxix. 1), if Sennacherib's first invasion was in his twenty-seventh year, the second must, at the latest, have fallen two years later, since that would be Hezekiah's twenty-ninth or last year. The arrangers of the dates in the margin of our Bibles made *three* years intervene between the first and second expeditions.

[455] This is implied in the reproach of Rabshakeh (2 Kings xviii. 21; Is. xxxvi. 6). It seems to be alluded to in Is. xxxi. 1–3, and stated positively in Is. xxx. 4.

[456] 2 Kings xix. 8.

[457] 2 Chron. xxxii. 9.

[458] 2 Kings xviii. 17; Is. xxxvi. 2.

[459] It has been supposed from this fact that he was a renegade Jew (Prideaux, Milman). But there is no need of this supposition. Hebrew is so like Assyrian that an Assyrian would acquire it with great facility. At any rate, it is not more surprising that an Assyrian officer should know Hebrew than that three Jewish officers should understand Aramaic. (2 Kings xviii. 26.)

[460] 2 Kings xix. 8.

[461] Ibid. 9–13.

[462] Ibid. 14–16.

[463] 2 Kings xix. 20–34. On the receipt of the message sent by Rabshakeh, Isaiah had declared—"Thus saith the Lord God, 'Be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumor, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.'" (Ibid. 6, 7.)

[464] Herod. ii. 141. According to some writers, the Sethos of Herodotus is the Zet of Manetho, the last king of the twenty-third dynasty, who reigned at Tanis (Zoan), while Bocchoris was reigning at Sais, and the Ethiopians in Upper Egypt. (Hincks in "Athenæum," No. 1878, p. 534; Stuart Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. iii. p. 1856, ad voc. ZOAN.) The fact of a number of princes at this time dividing Egypt is apparent both in Scripture (Is. xix. 2), and in the Assyrian Inscriptions. ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 44.)

[465] 2 Kings xix. 9. The Apis stelæ show that Tirhakah did not ascend the throne of *Egypt* till B.C. 690, *eight* years after this; but he may have been already—as he is called in Scripture—"king of Ethiopia."

[466] Herod. ii. 141. It is thought that

the main outline of the narrative in this writer is compatible with the account in the Book of Kings, and may be used to fill up its chasms.

[467] "And it came to pass *that night*, that the angel of the Lord went out," etc. (2 Kings xix. 35.)

[468] See text, pp. 439 and 449.

[469] I cannot accept the view that the Assyrian army was destroyed by the Simoom, owing to the foreign forces of Sennacherib being little acquainted with the means of avoiding this unusual enemy. (Milman, "History of the Jews," vol. i. p. 307.) The Simoom would not have destroyed one army and left the other unhurt. Nor would it have remained for the survivors to find when they *awoke in the morning* that the camp contained 185,000 dead men. The narrative implies a secret, sudden taking away of life during sleep, by direct Divine interposition.

[470] Herod. ii. 141, ad fin.

[471] Ibid.

[472] See the "Persæ," 893–1055.

[473] Sennacherib, however, does not speak of years, but of campaigns. ("In my first campaign," "In my second campaign," and the like.) M. Oppert translates more correctly than Mr. Fox Talbot.

[474] This is proved by the name of the Eponym. The date may be later, for the same person, or a person of the same name, was Eponym five years afterwards, in Sennacherib's twentieth year.

[475] Tobit i. 21.

[476] "Ant. Jud." x. 2. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι.

[477] As Clinton, "Fasti Hellenici," vol. i. pp. 279, 280.

[478] The expression in 2 Kings xix. 36, that "Sennacherib departed, and went and returned, *and dwelt at* Nineveh," implies some considerable length of time, and shows the unhistorical character of Tobit.

[479] "Assyrian Texts," p. 10.

[480] In B.C. 694, Sennacherib's 12th year, the Prefect of Damascus is Eponym; in B.C. 692 the Prefect of Arpad; and in B.C. 691 the Prefect of Carchemish. None of these places had furnished eponyms previously.

[481] This emplacement depends almost entirely on the name Nibur, which seems to be represented by the Mt. Nibarus (Νίβαρος) of Strabo. This range lay east of Niphates, stretching as far as Media (παρατείνει μέχρι τῆς Μηδίας, xi. p. 766). It seems rightly regarded as the *Ala Dagh*, a range due north of Lake Van.

[482] *Dayan* is mentioned on the Tiglath-Pileser cylinder among the countries of the Naïri. ("Inscription," p. 46.) A bull-inscription of Sennacherib shows that it lay to the extreme west of their country, where it abutted on Cilicia and the country of the Tibareni (Tubal).

[483] *Dayan* is not new; but *Uzza*, its capital, and its strongholds, *Anara* and *Uppa* are *new* names. Mr. Fox Talbot conjectures that Anara is "the celebrated Aornus, besieged many ages afterwards by Alexander the Great." ("As. Soc. Jour." vol. xix. p. 153.) But Aornus was in Bactria, far beyond the utmost limit to which the Assyrian arms ever penetrated eastward.

[484] Compare the removal of the Scyths from Media to Lydia in the reign of Cyaxares, which is said to have produced the Lydian war of that king (Herod. i. 73, 74), and the instances collected by Mr. Grote ("History of Greece," vol. ii. p. 417, note [1], 2d edition).

[485] See text, p. 433.

[486] The Chaldæans, whose "cry was in the ships" (Is. xliii. 14), no doubt possessed a mercantile marine which had long been accustomed to the navigation of the Persian Gulf. (See text, pp. 17 and 65.) But they probably fell very far short of the Phœnicians both as respected their vessels and their nautical skill.

[487] Sennacherib calls them "Syrian vessels." Most probably they were biremes.

[488] See text, p. 451.

[489] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 47, 48; "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 154–156.

[490] See text. p. 443.

[491] Kudur-Nakhunta was the son of Sutruk-Nakhunta, the antagonist of Sargon (see text, p. 442). Bricks of Kudur-Nakhunta, brought from Susa, are in the Assyrian Collection of the British Museum.

[492] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 48.

[493] Badaca is placed by Diodorus on the Eulæus, between Susa and Ecbatana (xix. 19). It seems to have been situated at the point where the Kerkhah originally bifurcated, sending down an eastern arm which fell into the Kuran at Ahwaz. (See Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 424.)

[494] See text, p. 458.

[495] So Mr. Fox Talbot understands the passage ("As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 159). It is thought, however, by some to mean that the whole reign of Kudur-Nakhunta lasted only three months.

[496] Compare the conduct of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 8).

[497] See text, p. 447. The principal of these tribes were the Pukudu (Pekod) the Gambulu, the Khindaru, the Ruhua, and the Damunu.

[498] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 49–51; "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 159–165.

[499] Regibelus ascends the throne in B.C. 693, and Mesesimordachus in the following year. These are the 13th and 14th years of Sennacherib. The omission of Susub from the Canon may be accounted for by the probable fact that neither of his two reigns lasted for a full year. That he was actual king is proved by a "contract" tablet in the British Museum dated in his reign.

[500] Polyhist. ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. v.:—"Is igitur (*i.e.*, Senacheribus) Babyloniorum potitus, filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat, ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat. Mox quum ad ejus aures rumor esset perlatus, Græcos in Ciliciam coactis copiis bellum transtulisse, eos protinus aggressus est, prœlioque inito, multis suorum amissis, hostes nihilominus profligavit: suamque imaginem, ut esset victoriæ monumentum, eo loco erectam reliquit; cui Chaldaicis litteris res a se gestas insculpi mandavit ad memoriam temporum sempiternam. Tarsum quoque urbem ab eo structam ait ad Babylonis exemplar, eidemque nomen inditum Tharsin." Abyden. ap. eund. c. ix.;—"His temporibus quintus denique et vigesimus rex fuit Senacheribus, qui Babylonem sibi subdidit, et in Cilicii maris litore classem Græcorum profligatum disjecit. Hic etiam templum Atheniensium (!) struxit. Ærea quoque signa facienda curavit, in quibus sua facinora traditur inscripsisse. Tarsum denique ea forma, qua Babylon utitur, condidit, ita ut media Tarso Cydnus amnis transiret, prorsus ut Babylonem dividit Arazanes."

[501] It is not certain that this means more than the emplacement of the town on both sides of the Cydnus, so that the stream ran through it. (See the parallel passage in Abydenus.)

[502] See below, note [613].

[503] Cilicia remained independent at the time of the formation of the Lydian Empire (Herod. i. 28). It had its own kings, and enjoyed a certain amount of independence under the Persians (ibid. vii. 98; Æschyl. "Pers." 328–330; Xen. "Anab." i. 2, § 25).

[504] See text, p. 443.

[505] The Greeks generally ascribed the foundation of Tarsus to Sardanapalus, the best known of the Assyrian monarchs. (See Hellan. Fr. 158; Apollodor. Fr. 69; Strab. xiv. p. 968; Arrian. "Exp. Alex." ii. 5; Athenæus, "Deipn," xii. 7; Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. 873.)

[506] If the Tarshish of Gen. x. 4, which is joined with Kittim (Cyprus), Rodanim (Rhodes), and Elishah (Æolis, Elis) is allowed to be Tarsus (Joseph. "Ant. Jud." i. 6), the *original* foundation of the city must have preceded the time of Sennacherib.

[507] In the epitome of Sennacherib's wars inscribed upon the Koyunjik bulls, there is a statement that he "triumphantly subdued the men of Cilicia inhabiting the inaccessible forests." This epitome dates from the first Susian expedition—ab. B.C. 695. If therefore the war to which it alludes is the same as that mentioned by the Greeks, the date in the text must be modified.

[508] See text, p. 469.

[509] On the importance of Tarsus in Greek and Roman times, see Xen. "Anab." i. 2, § 23; Cæs. "Bell. Alex." 66; Strab. xiv. p. 960; Dionys. Perieg. 1. 869; Solin. 41, etc. *Tersoos* is still a city with a population of 30,000.

[510] Isaiah x. 12–14; 2 Kings xix. 23–28. Sennacherib calls himself in his inscriptions, "the great king, the powerful king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, the king of the four regions, the diligent ruler, the favorite of the great gods, the observer of sworn faith, the guardian of the law, the embellisher of public buildings, the noble hero, the strong warrior, the first of kings, the punisher of unbelievers, the destroyer of wicked men." ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 41; compare "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 135.)

[511] This third or *Hareem* Court was very partially explored. The one side uncovered measured ninety-three feet. Mr. Layard in his restoration ("Nineveh and Babylon," Plan 1, opp. p. 67) makes the width of the court eighty-four feet, but it may easily have been ninety feet or even more.

[512] It is not quite certain that this passage led to the apartments in question, as it was not explored to the end; but its apparent object was to conduct to the north-west group of chambers.

[513] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 103.

[514] This hall was traced to a distance of 160 feet. Assuming that it had the same sort of correspondence and regularity as the halls at Khorsabad, its entire length must have been 180 feet.

[515] Mr. Layard counts seventy-one chambers; but he includes in this estimate the three courts, the long gallery, four passages, and four rooms which were imagined rather than proved to exist.

[516] Two great ravines on this side probably mark the position of flights of steps, or inclined ways, which led up to the platform from the lower level of the city.

[517] On the rare use of passages by the Assyrians, see text, p. 183.

[518] So at Khorsabad (Pl. XLII., Fig. 2) and at Nimrud (Pl. CXLV., Fig. 1).

[519] Sennacherib used foreign timber in his palace to a large extent, cutting it in Lebanon and Amanus. Perhaps, by choosing the tallest trees, he was able to span with single beams the wide space of forty-one or forty-two feet. (See text, p. 196.)

[520] Backgrounds occur but very rarely in the reliefs of Asshur-izir-pal (Layard, "Monuments," 1st Series, Pls. 15, 16, and 33). They are employed more largely by Sargon (Botta, "Monument," Pls. 31 to 35, and 108 to 114); but even then they continue the exception. With Sennacherib they become the rule, and at the same time they increase greatly in elaboration.

[521] For a representation see Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 8 and 9; compare "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 338–340.

[522] Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 10 to 17.

[523] See Pl. LXXXVIII.

524 "Assyrian Texts," p. 7; "As. Soc. Journ." vol. xix. p. 166.

525 "Assyrian Texts," l. s. c.

526 Ibid. p. 8.

527 The great gate of Nineveh, described in the first part of this work (p. 165), was composed of bricks marked with Sennacherib's name (Layard "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 123). Another similar gateway in the eastern wall (ibid.) was probably his; and his bricks have also been found along the curtain of the east side of the city.

528 On the Bellino Cylinder Sennacherib tells us that he employed these four races, together with the *Quhu* (Coans), on his great works. ("Assyrian Texts," pp. 6, 7.) From a bull-inscription we learn that the number of Aramæans carried off as slaves in one raid was 208,000. (Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 141.

529 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 10, 11, 13, 15, and 16.

530 The same practice prevailed in Persia (Herod. vii. 22); and there must be something akin to it wherever forced labor is used.

531 See text, p. 338.

532 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pls. 12 and 15.

533 See text, p. 452.

534 Abydenus, who alone mentions this Nergilus, omits to state his relationship to Sennacherib. He makes him the father of Adrammelech and Esar-haddon (Axerdis), which is certainly incorrect. In the texts I have followed probability.

535 The Adrammelech of Scripture (2 Kings xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38) is mentioned as Adrameles by Abydenus (Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. ix.), and as Adramelus by Moses of Chorêné ("Hist. Armen." i. 22). This latter writer calls him also Argamozanus (ibid.), while Polyhistor gives his name as Ardumuzanes (ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. v. § 1).

536 2 Kings, l. s. c.

537 See Abydenus, l. s. c. "Proximus huic (*i.e.*, Senacheribo) regnavit Nergilus, quem Adrameles filius (?) occidit."

538 See 2 Kings xix. 7 and 37.

539 A king was not entered on the Babylonian list until the Thoth which followed his accession. Thoth fell at this time in February. Hence the Babylonian dates are in almost every case one year later that the Assyrian.

540 See Mr. G. Smith's article in the *North British Review* for July, 1870, pp. 324, 325. The war in question is also mentioned by Abydenus, l. s. c. "Hunc (*i.e.*, Adramelem) frater suus Axerdis interfecit, patre eodem alia tamen matre genitus, atque Byzantium (?) usque ejus exercitum persecutus est quem antea mercede conduxerat auxiliarem."

541 See the preceding note.

542 2 Kings xix. 37. Mos. Chor. l. s. c. "Eum vero (*i.e.* Senecharimum) filii ejus Adrammelus et Sanasarus ubi interfecerunt, ad nos confugere."

543 Mos. Chor. l. s. c.

544 "British Museum Series," Pls. 45 to 47. Both copies of the cylinder are imperfect; but together they supply a very tolerable text. M. Oppert has translated the second in his "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 53-60.

545 See Sir H. Rawlinson's "Illustrations of Egyptian History and Chronology from the Cuneiform Inscriptions," p. 23.

546 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; Ezra iv. 2.

547 Abyden. ap. Euseb. l. s. c. "Ægyptum præterea partesque interiores Syriæ acquirebat Axerdis."

548 There is a second cylinder inscription belonging to the reign of Esar-haddon, which would be of great importance if it were complete. It is published in Mr. Layard's "Inscriptions of Assyria," pp. 54-58. It contains the account of Esar-haddon's wars with his brothers, and some particulars of his Arabian and Syrian expeditions not elsewhere mentioned. (See *North British Review*, p. 340.)

549 As the records of Esar-haddon's reign are not written in the form of annals, it is very difficult to determine the order of his campaigns. The order given in the text will be found to differ somewhat from that preferred by Mr. G. Smith (*N. B. Review*, pp. 325-333), the most important difference being that Mr. Smith places the Babylonian expedition (see text, p. 469) before the Syrians.

550 "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 54.

551 The name Abdistartus occurs among the kings of Tyre mentioned by Menander (Fr. 1). Abdi-Milkut, or Abed-Melkarth, is formed on the same model, and would mean "Servant of Melkarth" (Hercules), just as Abdistartus is "Servant of Ishtar" (Venus). Compare Abdiel, Abdallah, Obadiah, etc.

552 It was probably with special reference to this campaign and conquest that Abydenus spoke of Esar-haddon as having added to the empire "the more inland parts of Syria." (See above, note 547.)

553 M. Oppert understands Egypt here ("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 54), as also does Mr. G. Smith (*N. Brit. Review*, p. 329); but Sir H. Rawlinson has shown that the Eastern Muzr must be meant. ("Illustrations," etc., p. 21.)

554 This is the first mention of Cimmerians in the Assyrian Inscriptions. Herodotus places the great Cimmerian invasion of Asia in the reign of Ardys the Lydian, which, according to him, was from B.C. 686 to B.C. 637. The name of Tiuspa is curiously near to Teispes, who must have been king of Persia about this time.

555 See text, p. 459.

556 "Inscriptions des Sargonides," pp. 54, 55; "Assyrian Texts," pp. 11, 12.

557 The scene of the first of these wars was Northern Syria; the second was in South-Eastern Armenia—against the Mannai or Minni.

[558] Mr. G. Smith reads this name as Nabu-zira-napisti-esir (*N. Brit. Review*, p. 326).

[559] The name of the Chaldæan prince deposed is read as Shamas-ipni; his successor was Nebo-sallim, the son of Balazu (Belesys).

[560] See text, p. 472.

[561] See text, p. 460.

[562] This appeal recalls Laban's address to Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 30), when Rachel had "stolen his gods."

[563] Is this a trace of a system like that which the Romans adopted in the case of the Parthians and Armenians during the early part of the Empire? (See Tacit. "Ann." ii. 2.) Was Tabua an Arabian princess, taken as a hostage, and so bred up in the palace of the Assyrian king? It is highly improbable that she was a native Assyrian.

[564] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 56.

[565] Mr. G. Smith reads these numbers somewhat differently; but comes to the same conclusion as the present writer, viz., that Esar-haddon "penetrated into the middle of Arabia" (*N. B. Review*, p. 332).

[566] The combination of Bazu and Khazu closely resembles that of Huz and Buz (Gen. xxii. 21). That Huz and Buz both gave names to countries is apparent from the Book of Job (i. 1, and xxxi. 2); and both countries seem to have been in Arabia. (See Jer. xxv. 25, and cf. Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," ad voc.) Bazu, it may be noted, is the nearest possible Assyrian representation of the Hebrew בוץ. The names of the king, Lailé, and of the other potentates mentioned, are thoroughly Arabic, as are also the places, some of which are well known. The entire list is as follows:—*Kitsu* (Keis), king of *Khaltil*; *Akbaru* (Acbar), king of *Dupiyat*; *Khabizu*, king of *Qadatsia* (Qadessiyeh); *Yelua*, queen of *Dihyan*; *Mannuki*, king of *Maraban* (?); *Tabkharu*, king of *Gahvan*; *Leilu*, queen of *Yakhilu*; and *Khabaziru*, king of *Sidah*.

[567] "Inscriptions," etc., l. s. c.

[568] It has been disputed how far the expedition of Ælius Gallus in the reign of Augustus (Strab. xvi. pp. 1107-1110) penetrated. According to some, it reached Yemen; according to others, it proceeded no further than the eastern foot of the great Nejd chain. (See a note by Dr. W. Smith in his edition of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," vol. i. pp. 138, 139.)

[569] Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vol. v. p. 364, Smith's edition.

[570] Stuart Poole in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. i. p. 92. Much of Nejd is no doubt a good grazing country, and the best horses in the world are bred in it. But still large portions of it are desert, and the outskirts of Arabia on the north and east are still more arid and desolate.

[571] Arrian, "Exped. Alex." vii. 19, sub fin.

[572] See above, note [377], and compare pp. 447 and 459.

[573] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 56.

[574] On the Khuzeyl, see Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana," pp. 38-40; on the Affej, see the same work, pp. 91-93, and Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 551-555. Compare also the present work, p. 25.

[575] Cattle of some kind or other are certainly mentioned. The marsh region is the special resort of the buffalo. (Layard, p. 553.)

[576] The *-bijan* or *-bigan* of Azerbijan may possibly represent the *Bikan* of the inscriptions. Azerbijan can scarcely be, as commonly supposed, a corruption of Atropatêné.

[577] *E.g.*, Sitirparna or Sitraphernes Eparna or Ophernes, Ramatiya or Ramates, and Zanasana or Zanasanes.

[578] "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 57.

[579] See the passage of Abydenus above quoted, note [547]. Abydenus, it is almost certain, drew from Berosus.

[580] It is either to this capture or to a subsequent one under Esar-haddon's son that the prophet Nahum alludes when threatening Nineveh—"Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it; whose rampart was the flood (ים) and her wall from the flood? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite. Put and Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honorable men; and all her great men were bound in chains." (Ch. iii. 8-10.)

[581] On the question of identity see Mr. Stuart Poole's article in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," vol. ii. p. 576. In the Assyrian inscription Thebes is called "Nia."

[582] Herod. ii. 152.

[583] Manetho ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. xx. p. 10.

[584] See Sir H. Rawlinson's paper in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," New Series, vol. vii. p. 136 et seq. Compare G. Smith in the "Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache" for 1868, p. 94, and the *N. Brit. Review* for July, 1870, pp. 334, 335.

[585] See text, p. 475; Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. p. 348.

[586] This title, which does not appear on the cylinders, is found on the back of the slabs at the entrance of the S. W. palace at Nimrud, where the sphinxes occur; on a bronze lion dug up at Nebbi Yunus; and on the slabs of the palace which Esar-haddon built at Sherif Khan.

[587] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

[588] It is this circumstance that serves to fix the captivity of Manasseh to the reign of Esar-haddon. Otherwise it might as well have fallen into the reign of his son.

589 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12.
590 Ibid. verse 13.
591 It has been supposed that Manasseh may have been released by Esar-haddon's successor, as Jehoiachin was by Nebuchadnezzar's. (Ewald, "Geschichte d. Volkes Israel," vol. iii. p. 678.) And this is certainly possible. But it is a mere conjecture.
592 See text, pp. 398, 399, etc.
593 See text, p. 443.
594 See 2 Kings xvii. 24.
595 See text, p. 439.
596 It has been usually supposed that the colonization to which reference is made in Ezra iv. 2, 9, is the same as that whereof an account is given in 2 Kings xvii. 24. But a comparison of the places named will show that the two colonizations are quite distinct. Sargon brought his colonists from Hamath in Cœle-Syria, and from four cities in Babylonia—Babylon itself, Cutha, Sippara, and Ava or Ivah. Esar-haddon brought his mainly from Susiana and the countries still further to the east. They were Susianians, Elymæans, Persians (אפרסיא), Dai (דהוא), etc. Those of Esar-haddon's colonists who were furnished by Babylonia came from Babylon and Erech, or Orchoë. The Dinaites (דינא) were probably from *Dayan*, a country often mentioned in the Inscriptions, which must have adjoined on Cilicia. The Tarpelites and the Apharsathchites are still unrecognized.
597 When wild beasts multiply in a country, we may be sure that its human occupants are diminishing. The danger from lions, of which the first colonists complained to Sargon, is indicative of the depopulation produced by his conquest. (See 2 Kings xvii. 25, 26.)
598 "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 57; "Assyrian Texts," p. 16. Sir H. Rawlinson reads this passage differently. He understands Esar-haddon to say that he "repaired ten of the high-places or strongholds of Assyria and Babylonia."
599 Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 30.
600 Ibid. vol. i. p. 349.
601 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 654.
602 See text, p. 181.
603 Mr. Fergusson seems to be of opinion that the divisions which broke up this grand room into four parts would not have greatly interfered with the general effect. His account of the apartment is as follows:—

"Its general dimensions are 165 feet in length, by 62 feet in width; and it consequently is the largest hall yet found in Assyria. The architects, however, do not seem to have been quite equal to roofing so large a space, even with the number of pillars with which they seem usually to have crowded their floors (?); and it is consequently divided down the centre by a wall supporting dwarf columns (?), forming a centre gallery (?), to which access was had (?) by bridge galleries at both ends, a mode of arrangement capable of great variety and picturesqueness of effect, and of which I have little doubt that the builders availed themselves to the fullest extent." ("Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. pp. 176, 177.)

604 The excavations were here incomplete. Mr. Layard speaks in one place as if he had uncovered the southern façade of the building ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 655); but his plan ("Nineveh and its Remains," vol. i. opp. p. 34) rather indicates the existence of further rooms in this direction.
605 See text, p. 132. Compare "As. Soc. Journal." vol. xv. p. 347.
606 The sculptures had been removed by the chisel in some cases. (Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. p. 29.) I conceive that the intention was to remove them in all.
607 Layard, vol. i. pp. 347, 376: vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.
608 Ibid. vol. i. p. 348; vol. ii. p. 26.
609 The sphinxes were sometimes double; *i.e.* two were placed side by side. (Ibid. vol. i. p. 349.)
610 "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 462, 463.
611 "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 57; "Assyrian Texts," p. 16. Compare above, note 598.
612 1 Kings v. 6–18; 2 Chr. ii. 3–18.
613 Esar-haddon gives a list of twenty-two kings, who supplied him with materials for his palace at Nineveh. Among them are Manasseh, king of Judah; Baal, king of Tyre; Mitinti, king of Ascalon; Puduel, king of Beth-Ammon; Ægisthus, king of Idalium; Pythagoras, king of Citium; Ithodagon, king of Paphos; Euryalus, king of Soli; Damastes, king of Curium; and kings of Edom, Gaza, Ekron, Byblus, Aradus, Ashdod, Salamis, Tamissus. Ammochosta, Limenium, and Aphrodisia. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 397, note [9], 2d edition; and compare Oppert, "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 58.)
614 Mr. Layard made stealthily a single slight excavation in the Nebbi Yunus mound ("Nineveh and Babylon," p. 598), which produced a few fragments bearing the name of Esar-haddon. The Turks afterwards excavated for nearly a year, but without much skill or judgment. They uncovered a long line of wall belonging to a palace of Sennacherib, and also a portion of the palace of Esar-haddon. On the outer surface of the former were winged bulls in high relief, sculptured apparently after the wall was built, each bull covering some ten or twelve distinct blocks of stone. The slab-inscription published in the British Museum Series, Pls. 43 and 44, was obtained from this palace. A bronze lion with legend was obtained from the Esar-haddon palace.

615 By Mr. Layard ("Nineveh and Babylon," l. s. c.), and afterwards by Sir H. Rawlinson.

616 See text, p. 473.

617 See "British Museum Series," Pl. 8. No. II., l. 11.

618 Ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. v. § 2. "Sub Ezechia enim Seneccherimus regnavit, uti Polyhistor innuit, annis octodecim; post quem ejusdem filius, annis octo: tum annis viginti et uno Sammughes." The *octo* here is probably an error of Eusebius or Polyhistor, IT having been mistaken for H.

619 See text, p. 473.

620 See text, p. 472.

621 Urdamané is called "son of the wife of Tarqu." It is conjectured that Tirhakah had married the widow of Sabaco II.

622 Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xlix. No. 661. A stele, however, of another king, whose name is read as *Nut-amun-mi* or *Rut-amun-mi*, is in such close agreement with the record of Asshur-bani-pal as to raise a strong suspicion that he, rather than Rud-Amun, is the monarch with whom Asshur-bani-pal contended. (See the parallel drawn out by Dr. Haigh in the "Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache," January, 1869, pp. 3, 4.)

623 The Egyptians regarded the reign of Psammetichus as commencing immediately upon the termination of the reign of Tirhakah. (Sir G. Wilkinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 320, 2d edition.) The Apis stelæ give for the year of Psammetichus's accession B.C. 664. Asshur-bani-pal's second Egyptian expedition was probably in B.C. 666 or 665.

624 Sargon gave one of his daughters in marriage to the king of Cilicia, contemporary with him. (See above, note 383.)

625 This is his own statement. It is confirmed by the fact that the geographical names are entirely new to us.

626 We learn from this that Gyges was still living in B.C. 667. Herodotus placed his death about nine or ten years earlier. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 287, 2d edition.) But in this he differed from other writers. (See Dionys. Hal. "Ep. ad Cn. Pomp" c. 3; Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 2nda, p. 325; Hieronym. p. 107.) The reigns of the Lydian kings in Herodotus are improbably long.

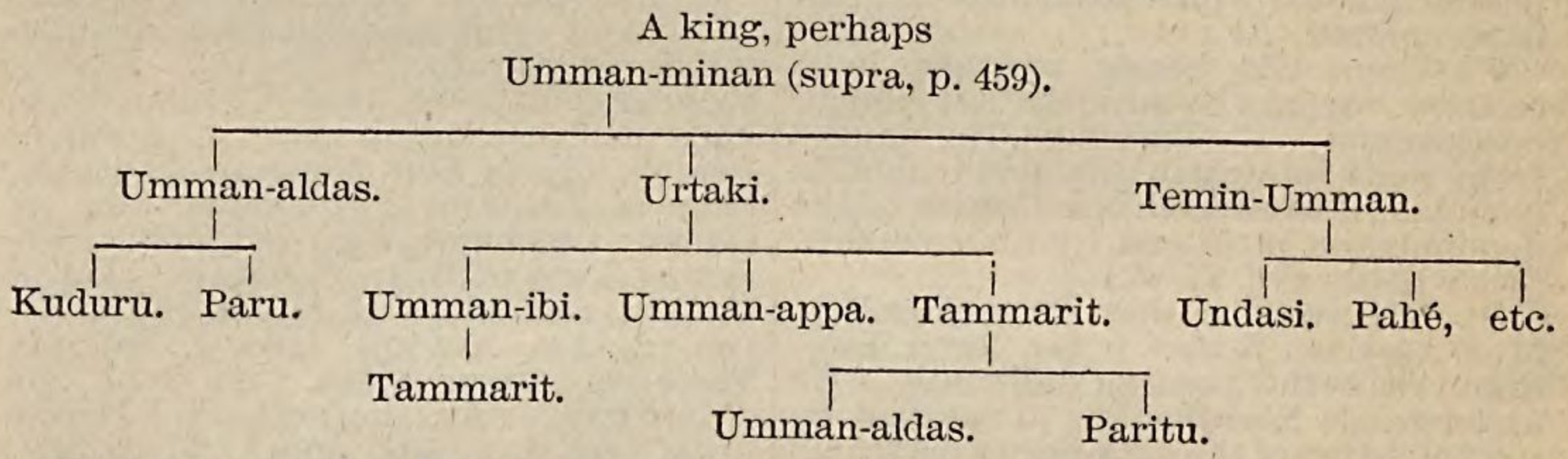
627 The invasion of Lydia by the Cimmerians, which Herodotus assigns to the reign of Ardys, is thus proved to have really occurred in the time of his predecessor.

628 See text, p. 456, and compare the narrative of Herodotus, i. 73.

629 See text, pp. 441, 447, 458, 471, etc.

630 Umman-aldas was subsequently put to death by command of Urtaki, and with the consent of Temin-Umman.

631 It may assist the reader towards a clearer comprehension of the narrative in the text to exhibit the genealogical tree of the Susianian royal family at this time, so far as it is known to us.



632 Khidal or Khaidala (Oppert, Fox Talbot) is mentioned also in the annals of Sennacherib. It was the place to which Kudur-Nakhunta fled from Badaca. (See text, p. 458.)

633 Inda-bibi appears to have belonged to the Susianian royal family, and to have held his crown as a sort of appanage or fief.

634 Among the rivers, the Eulæus (Hulai) is distinctly mentioned as that on which Susa was situated.

635 Among these are particularized eighteen images of gods and goddesses, thirty-two statues of former Susianian kings, statues of Kudur-Nakhunta, Tammarit, etc.

636 In a later passage of the annals there is a further mention of Umman-aldas, who appears to have been captured and sent as a prisoner to Nineveh.

637 There can be little doubt that the "Ionians and Carians," who gave the victory to Psammetichus ("Herod." ii. 152), represent the aid which Gyges sent from Asia Minor.

638 It is a reasonable conjecture that this enemy was the Cimmerians (Lenormant, "Manuel," tom. ii. p. 117); and that the invasion which Herodotus places in the reign of Ardys (i. 15) fell really in that of his father. But it is highly improbable that the invasion took place (as M. Lenormant thinks) at the call of the Assyrians.

639 A lake is mentioned, which apparently was the Sea of Nedjif. (See text, p. 11.)

640 The only additional facts mentioned are the reception of tribute from Husuva, a city on the Syrian coast, the capture of Umman-aldas, and the submission of Belat-Duri, king of the Armenians (Urarda).

641 See the preceding note.

642 See text, p. 297. Asshur-bani-pal's love of sport appears further by the figures of his favorite hounds, which he had made in clay, painted, and inscribed with their respective names. (See text, pp. 151 and 212.)

643 See text, p. 297.

644 It is Asshur-bani-pal who is represented, see text, p. 296.

645 See text, p. 298.

646 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 270; Ainsworth, "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand," p. 77.

647 The greater part of the tablets, and more especially those of a *literary* character, are evidently copies of more ancient documents, since a blank is constantly left where the original was defective, and a gloss entered, "wanting." There are a large number of religious documents, prayers, invocations, etc., together with not a few juridical treatises (the fines, *e.g.*, to be levied for certain social offences); and finally, there are the entire contents of a Registry office—deeds of sale and barter referring to land, houses, and every species of property, contracts, bonds for loans, benefactions, and various other kinds of legal instruments. A selection from the tablets has been published, and a further selection is now being prepared for publication by Sir H. Rawlinson.

648 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 345.

649 Ibid, p. 347.

650 As especially the chronological scheme drawn from seven different tablets, which has been called "the Assyrian Canon."

651 See Pl. XLI., Fig. 2.

652 So far as appeared, only one doorway led from the rest of the palace to these western rooms.

653 Here was the representation of the royal garden, with vines, lilies, and flowers of different kinds (see Pl. XLVIII., Fig. 2, and Pl. LXIX., Fig. 1), among which musicians and tame lions were walking.

654 See Pl. LXII., Fig. 1.

655 See Pl. CXV.

656 See Pls. LXVIII. and LXIX.

657 See Pl. LXXIII.

658 See Pl. LII.

659 See Pl. L. The temple (No. V., Pl. XLIX., Fig. 4) also belongs to this monarch.

660 See Pls. CXXIX. and CXXXII.

661 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 446–459.

662 "Monuments," Second Series, Pls. 45 to 49.

663 "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 459.

664 Or Anchiale. (See Arrian. "Exp. Alex." ii. 5; Apollod. Fr. 69; Hellanic. Fr. 158; Schol. ad Aristoph. "Av." 1021, etc.)

665 See text, p. 460.

666 See, besides the authors quoted above, note 664, Strab. xiv. p. 958, and Athen. "Deipn." xii. 7, p. 530, B.

667 Clearchus said that the inscription was simply, "Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxes, built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day—yet now he is dead" (ap. Athen. l. s. c). Aristobulus gave the inscription in the form quoted above (Strab. l. s. c.; Athen. l. s. c). Later writers enlarged upon the theme of this last version, and turned it into six or seven hexameter lines (Strab. l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. ii. 23; Schol. ad Aristoph. "Av." 1021). Amyntas said that the tomb of Sardanapalus was at Nineveh, and gave a completely different inscription (Athen. l. s. c). I regard all these tales as nearly worthless.

668 See Pl. CXLIV., Fig. 3.

669 I incline to believe that the so-called tomb of Sardanapalus was in reality the stele set up by Sennacherib (as related by Polyhistor, see above note 500) on his conquest of Cilicia and settlement of Tarsus. I cannot agree with those who see in the architectural emblem on the coins of Tarsus a representation of the monument in question. (See M. Raoul Rochette's Memoir in the "Mémoires de l'Institut," tom. xvii.) That emblem appears to me to be the temple of a god.

670 As Diodorus Siculus (ii. 23-27); Cephalion (ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. xv.); Justin, i. 3; Mos. Chor. "Hist. Armen." i. 20; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 8; Clearch. Sol. Fr. 5; Duris Sam. Fr. 14; etc.

671 In one point only does the character of Asshur-bani-pal, as revealed to us by his monuments, show the least resemblance to that of the Sardanapalus of Ctesias. Asshur-bani-pal desired and secured to himself a multitude of wives. On almost every occasion of the suppression of a revolt, he required the conquered vassal to send to Nineveh, together with his tribute, one or more of his daughters. These princesses became inmates of his *hareem*. (See Mr. G. Smith's article in the *N. British Review* July, 1870, p. 344.) 344.)

672 On the wealth and power of Gyges, see Herod. i. 14; and compare Arist. "Rhet." iii. 17; Plutarch, ii. p. 470, C.

673 The short revolt of Saül-Mugina (see text, p. 481), which was begun and ended within a year, is an unimportant exception to the general rule of tranquil possession.

674 Asshur-bani-pal raised a temple to Ishtar at Koyunjik (Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 497) and repaired a shrine of the same goddess at Arbela (ibid. p. 522).

675 Hellanic. Fr. 158.

676 Suidas ad voc. Σὰρδαναπαλος.

677 Herod. ii. 150.

678 Aristoph. "Av." l. 988, ed. Bothe.

679 Ezek. xxxi. 3–8.

680 Nahum ii. 12.

681 See text, pp. 448, 458, 471, and 472.

682 The great Asshur-izir-pal (B.C. 884–859) was apparently the most cruel of all the Assyrian kings. (See above, note

151.) Asshur-bani-pal does not exactly revive his practices; but he acts in his spirit.

683 Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 457 and 458.

684 Layard, "Monuments," 2d Series, Pl. 49; compare "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 452.

685 "Monuments," Pl. 47.

686 "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 458; "Monuments," Pl. 48.

687 Nahum iii. 1.

688 Lenormant, "Manual," vol. ii. p. 114.

689 Asshur-bani-pal distinctly states that when he conquered Babylon, and put Saül-Mugina to death (see text, p. 481), he ascended the Babylonian throne himself. Numerous tablets exist, dated by his regnal years *at Babylon*. The eponyms assignable to his reign are, at the lowest computation, twenty-six or twenty-seven. Add to this that the king of Babylon, who followed Sammughes (Saül-Mugina), is distinctly stated by Polyhistor to have been *his brother* (ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 5, § 2), and to have reigned *at Babylon* 21 years; and the conclusion seems inevitable that Asshur-bani-pal is Cinneladanus, however different the names, and that his entire reign was one of 42 years, from B.C. 668 to B.C. 626.

690 Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτός τε διεφθαρη, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός. (Herod. i. 102.)

691 Herod. i. 103.

692 See text, p. 37.

693 Compare the stories as to the first invasion of Italy by the Gauls. (Niebuhr's "Roman History," vol. ii. p. 510, E. T.)

694 Hippocrat. *De aere, aqua, et locis*, c. vi. p. 558.

695 Herod. iv. 75. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ λοῦνται ὕδατι τοπαράπαν τὸ σῶμα.

696 Ibid. ch. 73.

697 It seems to have been only the women who made use of this latter substitute. (Ibid. ch. 75.)

698 Ἀμαξόβιοι or φερέοικοι. (See Herod. iv. 46; Hes. Frs. 121 and 222, ed Göttling; Hippocrat. *De aere, aqua*, etc., § 44; Æschyl. "P. V." 734-736; etc.)

699 Herodotus describes these tents (i. 73) as composed of woollen felts arranged around three bent sticks inclined towards one another. Æschylus calls them πλεκτὰς στέγας, perhaps regarding the covering as composed of mats rather than felts. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. iii. p. 54, note 4, 2d edition.)

700 Γλακτοφάγοι ἱππημολγοί (Hom. Il. xiii. 6, 7; Hes. Fr. 122; Herod. iv. 2; Callimach. "Hymn. ad Dian." l. 252; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 123; etc.).

701 Herod. iv. 61. So too the modern Calmucks. (See De Hell's "Travels in the Steppes," p. 244. E. T.)

702 Herod. iv. 64, 65.

703 Herod. iv. 46. Compare Æschyl. "P. V." l. 736.

704 Herod. iv. 70.

705 Ibid. chs. 17–20.

706 Ibid. ch. 81.

707 Ibid. ch. 59.

708 Ibid. ch. 62.

709 Herod. iv. 68, 69.

710 The Scythians Proper of Herodotus and Hippocrates extended from the Danube and the Carpathians on the one side, to the Tanais or Don upon the other. The Sauromatæ, a race at least half-Scythic (Herod. iv. 110–117), then succeeded, and held the country from the Tanais to the Wolga. Beyond this were the Massagetæ, Scythian in dress and customs (ib. i. 215), reaching down to the Jaxartes on the east side of the Caspian. In the same neighborhood were the Asiatic Scyths or Sacæ, who seem to have bordered upon the Bactrians.

711 The opinion of Herodotus that they entered Asia *in pursuit of the Cimmerians* is childish, and may safely be set aside. (See the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 301, 2d edition; compare Mr. Grote's "History of Greece," vol. ii. p. 431, 2d edition.) The two movements may, however, have been in some degree connected, both resulting from some great disturbance among the races peopling the Steppe region.

712 On the employment of slaves by the Scythians, see Herod. iv. 1–4.

713 Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vol. iv. pp. 239–245, Smith's edition.

714 Ibid. vol. v. pp. 170–172.

715 Herod. i. 106; iv. 1, etc.

716 Ibid. ii. 157.

717 Ibid. i. 105.

718 The tale connecting the Enarees with the Syrian Venus and the sack of Ascalon (ibid.) seems to glance at this source of weakness.

719 Herod. i. 106; iv. 4.

720 Ibid. i. 73.

721 The Sacassani or Sacesinæ were first mentioned by the historians of Alexander (Arrian, "Exp. Al." iii. 8). Their country, Sacasêné, is regarded as a part of Armenia by Strabo (xi. p. 767), Eustathius (ad Dionys. Per. l. 750), and others. It lay towards the north-east, near Albania and Iberia. (Plin. "H. N." vi. 10; Arrian, l. s. c.)

722 The earliest mention of Scythopolis is probably that in the LXX. version of Judges (i. 27), where it is identified with Beth-shean or Beth-shan. The first profane writer who mentions it is Polybius (v. 70, § 4). No writer states how it obtained the name, until we come down to Syncellus (ab. A.D. 800), who connects the change with this invasion.

723 The palaces at Calah (Nimrud) *must*, I think, have been burnt before the last king commenced the S.E. edifice. Those of Nineveh may have escaped till the capture by the Medes.

724 Abyden. ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 9.

[725] See "British Museum Series," Pl. viii. No. 3.

[726] Abyden. ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. ix.: "Post quem (*i.e.*, Sardanapallum) Saracus imperitabat Assyriis: qui quidem certior factus turmarum vulgi collecticiarum quæ à mari adversus se adventarent, continuo Busalussorum militiæ ducem Babylonem mittebat. Sed enim hic, capto rebellandi consilio, Amuhiam Asdahagis Medorum principis filiam nato suo Nabucodrossoro despondebat; moxque raptim contra Ninum, seu Ninivem, urbem impetum faciebat. Re omni cognita, rex Saracus regiam Evoritam (?) inflammabat." Compare the parallel passage of Syncellus:—*Οὗτος (ὁ Ναβοπολάσαρος) στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σαράκου τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως σταλεὶς κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαράκου εἰς Νῖνον ἐπιστρατεύει· οὗ τὴν ἔφοδον πτοηθεὶς ὁ Σάρακος, ἑαυτὸν σὺν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνέπρησεν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος παρέλαβεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ναβοπολάσαρος.* "Chronograph." p. 210, B.

[727] Ap. eund. c. v. § 2. Polyhistor here makes Sammughes succeeded by his brother after a reign of 21 years; and then gives this "brother" a reign of the same duration. After him he places Nabopolassar, to whom he assigns 20 years. In the next section there is an omission (as the text now stands) either of this "brother" or of Nabopolassar—probably of the latter.

[728] As especially in Susiana (see text, p. 499).

[729] Layard, "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii. pp. 38, 39; "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 655.

[730] See Mr. Layard's plan ("Nineveh and its Remains," p. 39).

[731] Abydenus, l. s. c.

[732] Herod. i. 106; iv. 4.

[733] I do not regard this date as possessing much value, since the Median chronology of Herodotus is purely artificial. (See Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 340–342.) I incline to believe that the Scythian invasion took place earlier than Herodotus allows, and that eight or ten years intervened between the first appearance of the Scyths in Media and the second siege of Nineveh by Cyaxares.

[734] The "turmæ vulgi collecticiæ quæ à mari adversus Saracum adventabant" (Abyd. l. s. c.) can only, I think, be Susianians, or Susianians assisted by Chaldæans.

[735] See above, note [726]; and compare Polyhistor (ap. Syncell. "Chronograph." p. 210 A.), *Τοῦτον [τὸν Ναβοπολάσαρον] ὁ Πολυίστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος Σαρδανάπαλλον καλεῖ πέμψαντα πρὸς Ἀλστυάγην σατράπην Μηδείας καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀμυῖτην λαβόντα νύμφην εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ.* Or, as Eusebius reports him ("Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. iv.), "Sardanapallus ad Asdahagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam e filiabus Asdahagis unam."

[736] See besides Abydenus and Polyhistor, Tobit xiv. 15 (where both kings, however are wrongly named), and Joseph. "Ant. Jud." x. 5, § 1.

[737] Abyden. ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." Pars 1ma, c. ix. p. 25; Syncell. "Chronograph." p. 210, B.

[738] The self-immolation of Saracus has a parallel in the conduct of the Israelitish king, Zimri, who, "when he saw that the city was taken, went into the palace of the king's house, and *burnt the king's house over him, and died*" (1 Kings xvi. 18); and again in that of the Persian governor, Boges, who burnt himself with his wives and children at Eïon (Herod. vii. 107).

[739] See Diod. Sic. ii. 24–27. According to Ctesias, the Medes were accompanied by the Persians, and the Babylonians by some Arabian allies. The assailing army numbered 400,000. In the first engagement the Assyrians were victorious, and the attacking army had to fly to the mountains (Zagros). A second and a third attempt met with no better success. The fortune of war first changed on the arrival of a contingent from Bactria, who joined the assailants in a night attack on the Assyrian camp, which was completely successful. The Assyrian monarch sought the shelter of his capital, leaving his army under the command of his brother-in-law Salæmenes. Salæmenes was soon defeated and slain; and the siege of the city then commenced. It continued for more than two years without result. In the third year an unusually wet season caused the river to rise extraordinarily, and destroy above two miles (?) of the city wall; upon which the king, whom an oracle had told to fear nothing till the river became his enemy, despaired, and making a funeral pile of all his richest furniture, burnt himself with his concubines and his eunuchs in his palace. The Medes and their allies then entered the town on the side which the flood had laid open, and after plundering it, destroyed it.

[740] The author has transferred these observations, with such alterations as the progress of discovery has rendered necessary, from an Essay "On the Chronology and History of the great Assyrian Empire," which he published in 1858, in his "Herodotus." He found that eight years of additional study of the subject had changed none of his views, and that if he wrote a new "Summary," he would merely repeat in other words what he had already written with a good deal of care. Under these circumstances, and having reason to believe that the present work is read in quarters to which his ver-

sion of Herodotus never penetrated, he has thought that a republication of his former remarks would be open to no valid objection.

[741] See text, p. 381 .

[742] See text, p. 484.

[743] The homage of the Lydian kings, Gyges and Ardys, to Asshur-bani-pal scarcely constitutes a real subjection of Lydia to Assyria.

[744] 1 Kings iv. 21. Compare ver. 24; and for the complete organization of the empire, see ch. x., where it appears that the kings "brought every man his present, *a rate year by year*" (ver. 25); and that the amount of the annual revenue from all sources was 666 talents of gold (ver. 14). See also 2 Chron. ix. 13-28, and Ps. lxxii. 8-11.

[745] Our own, for instance, and the Austrian.

[746] There are several cases of this kind in the Inscriptions. ("Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. p, 145; "Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 56, etc.) Perhaps the visit of Ahaz to Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings xvi. 10) was of this character.

[747] Cf. Ps. lxxii. 11: "All kings shall fall down before him." This is said primarily of Solomon. The usual expression in the Inscriptions is that the subject kings "kissed the sceptre" of the Assyrian monarchs.

[748] See 2 Kings xvii. 4, and the Inscriptions *passim*.

[749] Josiah perhaps perished in the performance of this duty (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxv. 20-23.)

[750] In some empires of this type, the subject states have an additional obligation—that of furnishing contingents to swell the armies of the dominant power. But there is no clear evidence of the Assyrians having raised troops in this way. The testimony of the book of Judith is worthless; and perhaps the circumstance that Nebuchodonosor is made to collect his army from all quarters (as the Persians were wont to do) may be added to the proofs elsewhere adduced (see the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 195, 2d ed.) of the lateness of its composition. We do not find, either in Scripture or in the Inscriptions, any proof of the Assyrian armies being composed of others than the dominant race. Mr. Vance Smith assumes the contrary ("Prophecies," etc., pp. 92, 183, 201); but the only passage which is important among all those explained by him in this sense (Isa. xxii. 6) is somewhat doubtfully referred to an attack on Jerusalem *by the Assyrians*. Perhaps it is the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar which forms the subject of the prophetic vision, as Babylon has been the main figure in the preceding chapter. The negative of course cannot be proved; but there seem to be no grounds for concluding that "the various subject races were incorporated into the Assyrian army." An Assyrian army, it should be remembered, does not ordinarily exceed one, or at most two, hundred thousand men.

[751] This is an expression not uncommon in the Inscriptions. We may gather from a passage in Sennacherib's annals, where it occurs, that the Assyrian tribute was of the nature either of a poll-tax or of a land-tax. For when portions of Hezekiah's dominions were taken from him and bestowed on neighboring princes, the Assyrian king tells us that "according as he increased the dominions of the other chiefs, so he augmented the amount of tribute which they were to pay to the imperial treasury."

[752] It is not always easy to separate the tribute from the presents, as the tribute itself is sometimes paid partly in kind (see text, p. 384); but in the case of Hezekiah we may clearly draw the distinction, by comparing Scripture with the account given by Sennacherib. The tribute in this instance was "300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold" (2 Kings xviii. 14); the additional presents were, 500 talents of silver, various mineral products, thrones and beds and rich furniture, the skins and horns of beasts, coral, ivory, and amber.

[753] The Assyrian kings are in the habit of cutting cedar and other timber in Lebanon and Amanus. Tiglath-Pileser I. derived marbles from the country of the Naïri (see text, p. 387).

[754] "Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xix. pp. 137, 148, etc. Sennacherib uses Phœnicians to construct his vessels on the Tigris and to navigate them. (See text, p. 457.)

[755] The numbers are often marvellous. Sennacherib in one foray drives off 7200 horses, 11,000 mules, 5230 camels, 120,000 oxen, and 800,000 sheep! Sometimes the sheep and oxen are said to be "countless as the stars of heaven."

[756] The usual modes of punishment are beheading and empaling. Asshur-izir-pal empales on one occasion "thirty chiefs;" on another he beheads 250 warriors; on a third he empales captives on every side of the rebellious city. Compare the conduct of Darius (Herod. iii. 159).

[757] This frequently takes place. (See text, pp. 398, 399, etc.) Hezekiah evidently expects an augmentation when he says, "That which thou puttest upon me I will bear" (2 Kings xviii. 14).

[758] It has been noticed (see text, pp. 449 and 450) that Sennacherib carried into captivity from Judæa more than 200,000 persons, and an equal or greater number from the tribes along the Euphrates. The practice is constant, but the numbers are not commonly given.

[759] As the Aramæans, Chaldæans, Armenians, and Cilicians, by Sennacherib (see text, p. 465), and the numerous captives who built his temples and palaces, by Sargon("Inscriptions des Sargonides," p. 31). The captives may be seen engaged in their labors, under taskmasters, upon the monuments. (See Pl. LXXXIX., Fig. 1.)

[760] See the annals of Asshur-izir-pal, where, however, the numbers carried off are small—in one case 2600, in another 2500, in others 1200, 500, and 300. Women at this period are carried off in vast numbers, and become the wives of the soldiery. Tiglath-Pileser II. is the first king who practises deportation on a large scale.

[761] By Sargon (see text, p. 443).

[762] 2 Kings xvii. 6.

[763] 2 Kings xvii. 24; and Ezra iv. 9.

[764] The case of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 29), which may appear an exception, does not belong to Assyrian, but rather to Babylonian, history.

[765] Gen. xiv. 1-12. See text, pp. 105, 106.

[766] Babylonia and Susiana are the only large countries bordering upon Assyria which appear to have been in any degree centralized. But even in Babylonia there are constantly found cities which have independent kings, and Chaldæa was always under a number of chieftains.

[767] In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I. and Asshur-izir-pal, each city of Mesopotamia and Syria seems to have its king. Twelve kings of the Hittites, twenty-four kings of the Tibareni (*Tubal*), and twenty-seven kings of the *Partsu*, are mentioned by Shalmaneser II. The Phœnician and Philistine cities are always separate and independent. In Media and Bikan, during the reign of Esar-haddon, every town has its chief. Armenia is perhaps less divided: still it is not permanently under a single king.

[768] Although Assyria came into contact with Median tribes as early as the reign of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 850), yet the Median kingdom which conquered Assyria must be regarded as a new formation—the consequence of a great immigration from the East, perhaps led by Cyaxares.

[769] See text, p. 389.

[770] It is probable that the altar which Ahaz saw at Damascus, and, of which he sent a pattern to Jerusalem (2 Kings xvi. 10), was Assyrian rather than Syrian, and that he adopted the worship connected with it in deference to his Assyrian suzerain.

[771] See text, pp. 440, 441, 447, etc.

[772] For one exception in this district, see text, p. 468. Another is furnished by the Assyrian Canon, which gives a prefect of Arpad as Eponym in B.C. 692. The general continuance, however, of native kings in these parts is strongly marked by the list of 22 subject monarchs in an inscription of Esar-haddon (see above, note [613]).

[773] The old scientific treatises appear to have been in the Hamitic dialect of the Proto-Chaldæans. It was not till the time of Asshur-bani-pal that translations were made to any great extent.

[774] *Quarterly Rev.*, No. clxvii., pp. 150, 151.

[775] See text, pp. 222-225.

[776] See text, p. 233.

[777] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 197.

[778] Long before the discovery of the Nimrud lens it had been concluded that the Assyrians used magnifying glasses, from the fact that the inscriptions were often so minute that they could not possibly be read, and therefore could not have been formed without them. (See text, pp. 168 and 234.)

APPENDIX.

[1] Isaiah viii. 3.

[2] The list of Eponyms in the famous Canon, which contains nearly 250 names, furnishes (according to the reading of M. Oppert) *one exception* to this rule—the Eponym of the 18th year of Asshur-izir-pal. Mr. G. Smith finds in the name, however, only four elements.

[3] *Gin* or *gina* is the Turanian equivalent of the Assyrian *kin* or *kina*.

[4] Or Saül-mugina may be in good Turanian "Saül establishes me," the syllable *mu* being a separate element, sometimes equivalent to our "me."

[5] Other names of this kind are Abdi-Milkut (see text, p. 468), Abdolominus (or rather Abdalonimus), Abed-Nego, Abd-er-Rahman, Abd-el-Kader.

[6] So Oppert, "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," vol, ii. p. 352.

[7] Sir H. Rawlinson believes *Zira* to mean "lord," as *Zirat* certainly means "lady," "mistress," or "wife," *Bitzira* would thus be "the Lord's house," or "the holy house."

[8] See text, p. 355.

[9] "Expédition scientifique," l. s. c.

[10] Asshur-izir-pal seems to be the true name of the king who was formerly called Sardanapalus I. or Asshur-idanni-pal.

[11] See text, p. 174. In Semitic Babylonian *pal* becomes *bal*, as in Merodach-*bal*-adan, "Merodach has given a son;" whence the transition to the Syriac *bar* (as in Bar-Jesus, Bar-Jonas, etc.) was easy.

[12] Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Athenæum*, No. 1869, p. 244 note [7]. *Elam*, "high," is to be connected with צל and מצלח.

[13] See text, p. 509.

[14] Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Athenæum*, No. 1869, p. 243, note [2].

[15] In the list of Eponyms, six names out of nearly 250 are composed of four elements.

[16] *Danin* is Benoni of a root דנן constantly used in Assyrian in the sense of "being strong" or "strengthening." *Sarru dannu*, "the powerful king," is the standard expression in all the royal inscriptions. The root has not, I believe. any representative in other Semitic languages.

[17] Oppert, "Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie," vol. ii. p. 355.

[18] Sir H. Rawlinson, in the author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 502, 2d ed.

[19] See text, p. 510.

[20] These five kings bear only two names,

Pud-il and Shalmaneser, the latter of which occurs four times in our list. Various explanations have been given of the name Shalmaneser (see *Athenæum*, No 1869, p. 244, note [5]; Oppert, "Expédition scientifique," vol. ii. p. 352); but none is satisfactory.

[21] Sargon, Adrammelech, and Sharezer. Even here some doubt attaches to one name. If we read Sanasar for Sharezer, the name will be a religious one.

[22] *I.e.*, they either contain the name Nin, or the common designation of the god, *Pal-Zira*.

[23] This is the name which has been given as Vul-lush, a name composed of three elements, each one of which is of uncertain sound, while the second and third are also of uncertain meaning.

[24] Sir H. Rawlinson has collected a list of nearly a thousand Assyrian names. About two-thirds of them have the name of a god for their dominant element. Asshur and Nebo hold the foremost place, and are of about equal frequency. The other divine names occur much less often than these, and no one of them has any particular prominence.

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Bd.: 1

New York 1885

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